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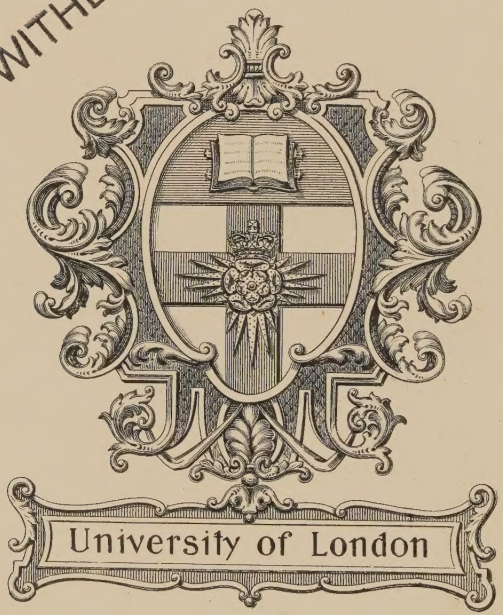
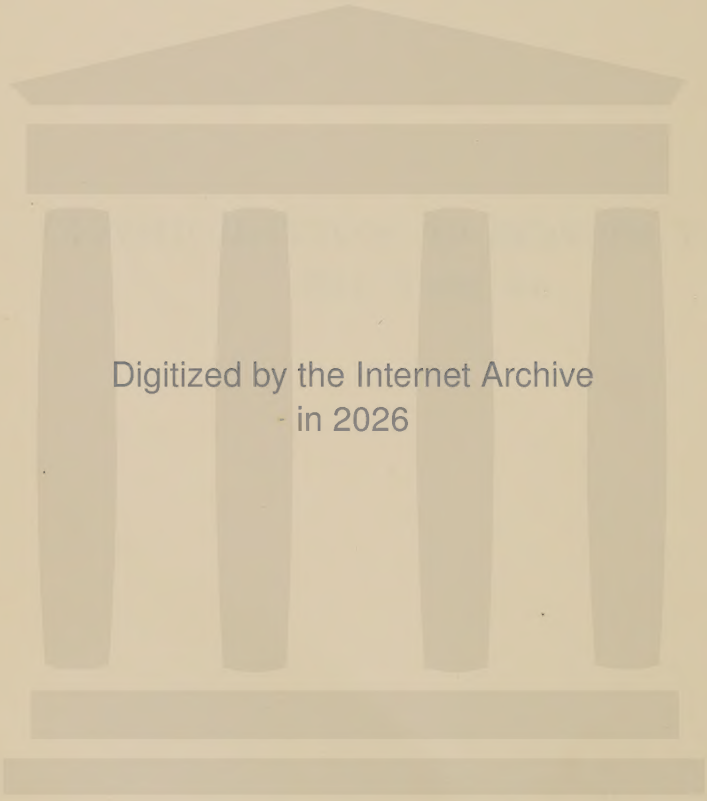


EARLY SOURCES OF SCOTTISH HISTORY

A.D. 500 TO 1286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EARLY SOURCES OF SCOTTISH HISTORY

A.D. 500 TO 1286

COLLECTED AND TRANSLATED BY

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Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers

VOLUME TWO

OLIVER AND BOYD

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CONTENTS

PART		PAGE
I.	Reign of Malcolm III ; and the Norman Conquest	1
II.	Life of Queen Margaret	59
III.	Reigns of Donald Bán, Duncan II, and Edgar. First Invasion of Magnus	89
IV.	Second Invasion of Magnus, and end of Edgar's Reign	126
V.	Reign of Alexander I. History of Huntingdon	142
VI.	Reign of David, and the Wars of Stephen	169
VII.	Reign of Malcolm IV	223
VIII.	Reign of William, and the Wars of Henry	263
IX.	Scotland in feudal subjection to England, 1175 to 1189	292
X.	Latter part of William's reign	322
XI.	Reign of Alexander II, and the Invasion of Louis	403
XII.	Reign of Alexander III, to the year 1263	562
XIII.	The Invasion of Hakon	607
XIV.	End of Alexander's Reign, and extinction of the Royal Family	643
APPENDIX—	Religious Houses	697
INDEX		701

EARLY SOURCES OF SCOTTISH HISTORY

VOL. II—PART I

Reign of Malcolm III; and the Norman Conquest

1058

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 398, s.a. 1058

A fleet [was led] by the son of the king of the Scandinavians,[1] along with the Foreigners of the Orkneys, and of the Hebrides, and of Dublin, in order to take the kingdom of England. But God permitted it not.[2]

1061

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 54, s.a. 1061

Ealdred, the archbishop of York, set out for Rome, along with earl Tostig; and received the pall from pope Nicholas.[3]

Meanwhile Malcolm, the king of the Scots, fiercely harried the earldom of Tostig, his sworn brother (that is, Northumbria); the peace of St Cuthbert being violated in Holy Island.

Pope Nicholas died; and Alexander, the 149th [pope], succeeded him.[4]

[1] *Lochland.*

[2] Annales Cambriae, 25, MS. B, s.a. [1056] (102 years after 510=954; 41 years before 1097): "Magnus, Harold's son, wasted the district of the English, with the assistance of Griffin, king of the Welsh." This Griffin or Grufud, Lewelin's son, was killed in 1064. See year 1061, note.

[3] Cf. R.S. 82, 411, 412.

[4] This entire year-section (excepting the words in round brackets) is derived from S.D. See E.C., 86-87.

Gaimar erroneously places this warfare after the death of Griffin or Grufud, king of North Wales († 1064; see R.S. 82, 416, 425-426; A.U., s.a. 1064; A.S.C., DE, s.a. 1063; F.W., s.a. 1064; C.M., s.a. 1064; A.C., MS. B, s.a. [1061]; Chronicle of Man, i, 50, s.a. 1045=1064; scholion 65 to Adam of Bremen, M.G.H., Scriptores, vii, 340); and therefore 1064 × 1066. Gaimar says (Estorie des Engles, ll. 5084-5126; R.S. 91, i, 215-217): "There was no more trouble with the Welsh. But the Scots made war

1062

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 403; s.a. 1062[1]

Ua-Maeldoraid, Columcille's successor, reposed.[2]

? 1065

Flatey-book's St Olaf's Saga, c. 357[3]

[Thorfinn] is buried at Christ's-church in Birsay, which he had caused to be built. The earl was much lamented in his inherited lands; but in those lands that he had laid under himself with warfare, many men thought it great servitude to live under his dominion. Then many of the dominions that the earl had laid under himself were lost; and men sought for themselves the protection of the chiefs that were there native-born to the dominions. Loss followed quickly upon the decease of earl Thorfinn.

against [the English]: they often harried Northumberland. King Edward yielded there [*la saprima*]; he sent thither two bishops, bishops Ægelwine and Kinsi; [and] earl Tostig went with them. They spoke so much to king Malcolm that they brought him beyond the Tweed. King Edward came to meet them, [and] held a conference with Malcolm. [Edward] made gifts to him, and greatly honoured him; for all of which [Malcolm] made a bad return. They made peace and truce between them; but that did not last for many days.

"Earl Tostig went to Rome; with him went countess Judith. Meanwhile, king Malcolm harried all [Tostig's] earldom. Then the Holy Island [Lindisfarne] was plundered, which had ever before been spared. . . .

"In this year [of the translation of St Oswine, in 1065], Tostig, and the countess Judith, returned. They made peace with Malcolm. The barons went with [Malcolm]; those of York held Tostig in such hatred at his return that he could not enter the city; they would have killed him, for a trifle. They slew many of his body-guard [*husecarles*]; and several of them perjured themselves. Then they made Morkere earl. He was a son of earl Ælfgar."

Tostig and Judith (the daughter of Baldwin, count of Flanders) went to Rome in 1061. They returned before 26th May, 1063. Tostig was expelled, and Morkere made earl in his place, in 1065. See A.S.C.

[1] With f.n. of 1062, and the incorrect e. 12 (for which, read 16).

[2] A.U., ii, 10, s.a. 1062 (with f.n. and e. of 1062), read: "Gillacrist Ua-Maeldoraid, Columcille's successor both in Ireland and in Scotland, . . . slept in Christ." To similar effect, F.M., ii, 880-882 (reading "died"); and A.L.C., i, 58 (omitting "slept in Christ"); both s.a. 1062.

Gillacrist was probably abbot of Kells. Cf. year 1070.

[3] In Fl., ii, 421; O.S., c, 38, i, 58. Birsay was the seat of the bishopric of Orkney, in the time of bishop William the Old. See year 1168.

? 1065

Heimskringla, St Olaf's Saga, c. 103[1]

Earl Thorfinn, Sigurd's son, has been the noblest earl in the islands, and has had the greatest dominion, of all earls of the Orkneymen. He possessed Shetland and Orkney, [and] the Hebrides; he had also a great dominion in Scotland and Ireland. Of this, Arnor Earls'-poet said:

"To the ring-hater[2] was subject a host (I tell the people truth, how Thorfinn was esteemed), from Thursa-sker to Dublin."[3]

Thorfinn was the greatest warrior. He took the earldom when he was five winters old, and he ruled for more than sixty winters[4]; and he died of disease, in the later days of Harold Sigurd's son.[5] But Brusi died in the days of Cnut the Powerful, a little after the fall of king Olaf the Holy.[6]

[1] Unger's c. 109. The same passage is in Snorri's St Olaf, 100 (F.S., iv, 230), and in Fl., ii, 182.

[2] I.e., "generous giver." Fl., ii, 421, reads instead "raven-feeder."

[3] Reading *Thorfinnr*, with Jónsson, as in Fl., ii, 421. Fl., ii, 182, reads *Thorfinni*, which is forbidden by the metre. The MSS. of H. read *Thorfinnz*, which would require the translation: "(I tell the people truth) every one was thought to be Thorfinn's [subject], from Thursa-sker" (literally "Giants' skerries") "to Dublin." Cf. Munch and Unger, 277.

[4] So Fl., u.s.; but Fl., ii, 421, reads "70 winters" (erroneously). "60 winters or more" in F.S. According to Icelandic Annals C, Thorfinn was earl for 62 years; version A, which copies C, changes this to 52 years. Version C thus dates Thorfinn's death 1065 × 1066; version A, 1055 × 1056. See year 1014, s.f., note.

Snorri's "more than 60 winters" is to be taken with his date of the battle of Clontarf, which he places in 1005 or 1004 (see year 1014), calculating it apparently backwards from the date of Thorfinn's death; 60 or 61 winters from 1005 or 1004 give the year 1065, and probably Snorri believed that Thorfinn died in that year. 60 winters are half a duodecimal hundred, and are perhaps an erroneous rendering of a tradition that Thorfinn was earl for more than half a decimal hundred winters.

[5] Harold Hardrádi, Sigurd Sow's son, reigned in Norway ca. 1046 - † 1066. He died on September 25th; Thorfinn had been succeeded in Orkney by his sons, some time before that day. Hardrádi's "latter days," not "years," would strictly mean 26 Sep. 1065 × 25 Sep. 1066.

Cf. Fl., ii, 421 (O.S., c. 38; R.S. 88, i, 58): "*Of the death of earl Thorfinn the Mighty.*

"Earl Thorfinn held all his dominion till his death-day. It is truly said that he has been the most powerful of all earls of the Orkneymen: he possessed nine earldoms in Scotland, and all the Hebrides, and a great

? 1065

Flatey-book's St Olaf's Saga, c. 358[1]

Beginning of the dominion of Paul and Erlend; and their genealogies.

Now earl Thorfinn's sons[2] took dominion after him. Paul was the elder of them. He was also the leader in counsels. They did not divide the lands between them; and yet they were for a very long time well satisfied with their sharing.

Ingibiorg Earls'-mother married Malcolm, the Scottish king, who was called Long-neck.[3] Their son was Duncan, the Scottish king[4]; the father of William, the nobleman.[5] His

dominion in Ireland. So says Arnor Earls'-poet: 'To the raven-feeder was subject . . . '" (as above).

"Earl Thorfinn was five winters old when Malcolm, the king of the Scots, his mother's father, gave him the name of earl; and he was earl after that for 70 winters. He died in the latter days of Harold, Sigurd's son."

[6] St Olaf died in 1030, on July 29th (H., St Olaf, c. 235; Unger's c. 248). Cnut died in 1035, on November 12th (A.S.C., CD). Therefore Brusi died 1030 × 1035.

[1] Fl., ii, 422-423; O.S., c. 39.

[2] Flatey-book's St Olaf, c. 356 (Fl., ii, 421; O.S., c. 37; i, 58): "Earl Thorfinn married Ingibiorg Earls'-mother. They had two sons that grew up from childhood: the one was called Paul, and the other Erlend. They were big men, and fair; and took more after their mother's family. [They were] wise men, and gentle. The earl was much attached to them; and so were all the people."

Cf. also the Longer Magnus' Saga, c. 3; R.S. 88, i, 239.

Cf. the Arnmœdlingatal, inserted in version B of Fagrskinna, 391, c 215: "A daughter of earl Finn, Arni's son, was Ingibiorg Earls'-mother, whom earl Thorfinn, Sigurd's son, married. Their sons were earl Paul and earl Erlend, the father of earl Magnus the Holy, and of Erling, and of Gunnhild, the mother of earl Ronald, the father of Ingigerd, whom Eric Stakblællr married. Their sons were earl Harold, who fell in Vik; and Magnus Mangi, who fell in Sogn."

For Arni's sons, see years 1036-1046, ? 1050, above.

Eric Stakblællr was the son of Audhild, daughter of Steinvor, daughter of Frakokk, daughter of earl Moddan, according to O.S., c. 56; see below, year 1106, note.

[3] The old Danish translation adds: "after the death of earl Thorfinn." The marriage of Malcolm with Ingibiorg seems to have taken place ? 1065 × 1067. See year 1070, note.

[4] See year 1094.

[5] *hins agæta mannz.* For William, Duncan's son, see E.C., s.aa. 1138 (178, 179, 182, 186, 195) and 1151 (227); and below, year 1094, note; Bain, ii, 16; D.K., 39-40.

son was called William the prince[1]; whom all the Scots wished to take as their king.

Earl Paul, Thorfinn's son, married a daughter of earl Hakon, Ivar's son[2]; and they had many children. Their son was called Hakon.[3] They had a daughter who was called Thora. She was married in Norway to Halldor,[4] son of Bryniolf Camel. Bryniolf was the name of their son. [His son was called Halldor,][5] who married Gyrid,[6] Dag's daughter. Another

[1] *ödlingr* ("ætheling"). For William, William's son, see Bain and D.K., u.s. For Donald, another son of William Duncan's son, see E.C., s.a. 1181 (278, 279); and for Donald's son Godfrey (or Cuthred), E.C., s.a. 1212 (330).

[2] Ivar the White, a Norwegian from the Uplands, a daughter's son of earl Hakon the Mighty (H., Hardrádi, c. 39), had, at Cnut's bidding, killed earl Ulf Thorgils' son, the brother-in-law of earl Godwine (H., St Olaf, c. 153), in 1027 (Icelandic Annals KOCE; in 1024, A). See year 1055, note.

Hakon, Ivar's son, had been on piracy, in company with Finn Arni's son. Hakon supported Hardrádi, when Finn took the part of king Sven against him, in 1062 (H., Hardrádi, cc. 61-66; cf. Fl., iii, 360-377). Hakon spared the life of king Sven; and for this reason fell into disfavour with Hardrádi. Hakon went to Gothland; he fought a battle with Hardrádi in 1064 (see H., Hardrádi, cc. 69-72; cf. ibid., Magnus Erling's son, c. 30. Icelandic Annals CA, s.a. 1064).

Hakon Ivar's son had married Ragnhild, the only surviving child of king Magnus the Good. See H., Hardrádi, cc. 46-50; and Fl., iii, 332, 365-377.

"Another daughter's son of earl Hakon, Ivar's son, was Hakon, who was called the Norwegian. He was the father of Eric the Wise, who was king in Denmark after king Eric Eimuni" († 1137) (Fl., ii, 424; O.S., c. 41).

Paul's marriage was the cause of discord between him and his brother Erlend. Paul's son Hakon claimed superiority over his cousins, Erlend's sons, because of his mother's descent. In the end, Hakon was induced to leave Orkney. He went to Norway, a little while before the death of king Olaf († 1093; earl Paul's first cousin); and thence to king Ingi, Steinkel's son, in Sweden (Fl., ii, 423-424; O.S., cc. 40-41). Hakon consulted a wizard with regard to his future (Fl., ii, 425-426; O.S., c. 42); and, after remaining for some time with king Ingi, went to king Magnus Bareleg in Norway (1093-1103; the son of Olaf the Quiet; and Hakon's second cousin). At Hakon's suggestion, king Magnus called out his forces for an invasion of the western islands; his son Sigurd being then 8 winters old (Fl., ii, 426-427; O.S., c. 43). See below, year 1098.

[3] For Hakon and his family, see year 1106.

[4] Cf. Heimskringla, Hardrádi, c. 100.

[5] The Danish translation supplies these words, which have been omitted by Fl.

[6] The name Gyrid should be Sigrid. Cf. Vigfusson, R.S. 88, i, 60.

Gyrid, Dag's daughter, married Gyrd, Amundi's son, foster-brother of

daughter of Paul was called Ingiríd, whom Einar Vorsa-Krákr married. Herbiorg was the name of Paul's third daughter. She was the mother of Ingibiorg the Honourable, whom Sigurd, of Westness,[1] married; and their sons were Hakon Pik, and Bryniolf. Sigrid too was a daughter of Herbiorg: [she was] the mother of Hakon Child, and of Herbiorg, whom Kolbein Hruga married.[2] Ragnhild was the name of the fourth daughter of earl Paul. She was the mother of Bendik, father of Ingibiorg, mother of Erling the archdeacon. Bergliót also was the name of Ragnhild's daughter, whom Havard, Gunni's son, married. Their sons were Magnus, and Hakon Claw, and Donald, and Thorstein.[3] These are all families of earls and of noblemen[4] in the Orkneys; and all these men come into the saga later.

Earl Erlend Thorfinn's son had then married the wife who

king Ingi. Sigrid, Dag's daughter, married Halldor, Bryniolf's son. See H., Hakon Broadshoulder, cc. 4, 14 (F.S., vii, 255, 271). Cf. the Arnmœdlingatal, u.s.: "Dag, Eilif's son, married Ragnhild, Skofti's daughter. Their children were Gregory [† 1161]; Gyrid; Baugeid; Sigrid, whom Halldor, Bryniolf's son, of Vettalond, married."

[1] Sigurd was a nobleman who lived at Westness in Rousay (Fl., ii, 439, q.v.; O.S., c. 59. Cf. also Fl., ii, 437, 448, 449, 451, 457, 460-463; O.S., cc. 57, 68, 69, 74, 80).

Sigurd and his sons "were all noblemen of earl Paul" (Fl., ii, 439).

[2] Cf. Fl., ii, 472 (O.S., c. 88): "In that time [ca. 1153-1158] there lived in the islands a young man" (*einn ungr madr í eyinnum.* The old Danish translation reads: *udi Viger i Orknöer;* therefore Vigfusson would substitute *í Vígr* "in Wyre" for Fl.'s *einn ungr madr*, assuming that these words had been written by the transcriber of Fl. as a paraphrase of *ungr*, which he read erroneously for *í uigr.* See R.S. 88, i, pp. xxiv, 147) "who was named Kolbein Hruga, and was the most notable man. He caused to be built there a good stone castle: it was a secure stronghold [*oruggt vigi*]. Kolbein had married Herbiorg, the sister of Hakon Child [for *bœns* reading *barns*]; and their mother was a daughter of Herbiorg, Paul's daughter. These were their children:—Kolbein Churl, Biarni Skáld, Sumarlidi, Aslak, Frida. They were all distinguished people." See also Fl., ii, 505, 514 (O.S., cc. 107, 118); and below, p. 482.

A mound in the island of Viera or Wyre is named Cobbie Row's Castle. See Tudor's Orkneys and Shetland (1883), 344-345.

Kolbein Hruga's son Biarni became bishop of Orkney († 1222).

[3] Donald is placed after Thorstein in Fl., ii, 439, q.v.; O.S., c. 59; where it is said that "these were all noblemen of earl Paul."

[4] *gœdinga.*

was called Thora[1] (and was a daughter of Sumarlidi, Uspak's son. Uspak's mother was Thordis, daughter of Side-Hall). Erling and Magnus were their sons; and their daughters were Gunnhild,[2] and Cecilia (whom Isaac married; and their sons were Eindridi and Koll). An illegitimate daughter of Erling[3] was called Iatvor; her son was called Berg.[4]

1045 × 1065

Adam of Bremen, Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum, addition to book III; M.G.H., Scriptores, vol. vii, pp. 365, 366, 367[5]

Our metropolitan [Adalbert][6] . . . began to use the generosity that he had for all, with much more indulgence towards the bishops of the gentiles, and the ambassadors of the eastern kings. He received, entertained, and dismissed, each of these with so great good cheer, that they all visited him of their own accord, as a father of many peoples; esteeming him higher than the pope: offering the man enormous gifts, and taking away his benediction as their reward.

[1] Cf. the Longer Magnus' Saga, c. 3; R.S. **88**, i, 239.

Fl., ii, 439: "Sigurd Earl's-stepfather married Thora, the mother of earl Magnus [† 1116]; their son was Hakon Churl. This father and son were great chiefs." Cf. Fl., ii, 430 (O.S., c. 47): "They lived in Paplay."

[2] Cf. the Latin Life of Magnus, c. 1 (Metcalfe's Lives, ii, 215-216), which adds:—"Koll Kali's son, satrap in Norway, married Gunnhild: their son was Ronald Kali, afterwards earl of the Orkneys. He was a truly holy man, the son of St Magnus's sister." See years 1136, 1158.

[3] Read "of Erlend." Cf. Fl., ii, 439; O.S., c. 59: "Iatvor, a daughter of earl Erlend, lived at Knarrarstadir [= Knarstoun, Orphir; according to Dasent]; and also Borgar, her son. They were rather well-provided with friends."

[4] Read "Borgar"; see the preceding note.

[5] This addition was made, according to Lappenberg, either by Adam himself (in a 2nd edition), or by another cleric of Bremen, almost contemporaneous with him.

[6] Adam says that Adalbert became archbishop of Bremen after ca. 15th April, 1043; held office for 29 years; and died on 16th March, 1072 (II 78; III 1, 66). Lappenberg disputed this, believing that Adalbert was not appointed until 1045, and that he held office for barely 27 years. See Lappenberg's ed., 329, 330, 335, 347-348, 355.

Norway was laid under the archbishopric of Bremen. Pope Alexander II wrote (1061 × 1066) to king Harold Hardrádi, bidding him and his bishops yield obedience to Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen (P.L. **146**, 1281).

The archbishop was therefore in his legation exactly such a man as both the times and the customs preferred to have: so affable, so generous, so hospitable, towards all men, that through his greatness little Bremen became famous like Rome; and was visited in crowds by [people from] all parts of the world; and especially by the northern nations.

Amongst these had come the remotest Icelanders, and Greenlanders, and legates of the Goths and the Orkneys requesting him to send preachers to those lands; and this too he immediately did. He ordained many bishops to Denmark to Sweden, and Norway, and to the islands of the sea. . . .

And of those whom the metropolitan ordained to the gentiles there are many, whose sees and names we have learned from his own narration. . . . Moreover he placed one Thurolf[1] over the Orkneys. Thither also he sent John, who had been ordained in Scotland[2]; and another man called Adalbert, his name-sake.

[He sent] Isleif to the island of Iceland.[3]

The bishops whom he ordained are twenty in all. Of these, three remained abortive and idle, outside the vineyard; seeking their own [profit], not the things that are Jesus Christ's.[4]

All these the glorious archbishop held in fitting honour: and he urged them by request and reward to preach the word of God to barbarians.

Thus we have most often seen him surrounded by four or five bishops. As we have heard him say himself, he could not be without a crowd. And when he had sent them away from

[1] *Thurolfum.* Cf. Adam, IV, 34, p. 384: "To the same Orkney islands (although they were previously ruled by bishops of the English and the Scots), our primate [Adalbert] by the pope's command ordained Thorolf as bishop of the city of Blascona, to direct the cures of them all."

Cf. year 1154, note; and E.C., 134, note. Blascona may be an old name for some place in Orkney; but this is doubtful, since Adam says that the bishops of Orkney had no fixed see. It may be implied that the Orkneys were added to Thurolf's see, and that bishop John and Adalbert were sent to Orkney as missionaries.

[2] This may have been the same bishop John who is spoken of below.

[3] Isleif had been sent by the Icelanders to Adalbert, who ordained him, and entertained him for some time (Adam, IV, 35, p. 385). Isleif's consecration is placed by the Icelandic Annals in 1056 (KCEA; 1057, O). CA say that he went out to Iceland in 1057.

[4] Paul to Philippians, II, 21.

him, he seemed to be more irritable[1] than usual, because of loneliness. He preferred, however, never to have fewer than three at least; of whom the most frequent were Tangward, of Brandenburg; a wise man, and the [arch]bishop's friend, even before he became bishop. The second was John, a certain bishop of the Scots; a simple and God-fearing man, who was afterwards sent to Slavonia, and was killed there with the prince Gotescalc.[2] The third had the name Bovo. . . .

[1] *molestior.*

[2] Cf. Adam, III, 20, p. 343: "[Adalbert] appointed John the Scot to Mecklenburg"; and the scholion 81 (later than Adam's date), ibid. 355: "This John left Scotland through love of pilgrimage, and came to Saxony; and was, like all men, graciously received by our archbishop. Not long afterwards, he was sent by him to Slavonia, to prince Gotescalc; with whom while he remained in those days, he is related to have baptized many thousands of pagans." Similarly also in Annalista Saxo; M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 690, s.a. 1057.

It seems possible that this bishop-errant was John, the titular bishop of Glasgow, consecrated 1055 × 1060 (E.C., 134). On the other hand, "Scot" and "Scotland" may mean "Irishman" and "Ireland."

Adam has described this John's death thus (III, 50; p. 355): "Bishop John, an old man, was captured with the rest of the Christians in the city of Mecklenburg, and was kept for the triumph. He was beaten with staves for confessing Christ; then led through each of the cities of the Slavs, for derision; and since he could not be turned from the name of Christ, his hands and feet were cut off, and his body was thrown out into a [public] place: his head was cut off, and the pagans fixed it upon a pole, in token of victory; and offered it to their god, Redigast.

"This was done in Rethre, the Slavs' metropolis, on the fourth day before the Ides of November" (i.e., 10th November). The Slavs invaded and destroyed Hamburg; Ordulf, duke of Saxony, fought against them unsuccessfully for 12 years. Ibid.: "Therefore the expulsion of the archbishop [see III, 45-48] and the death of Gotescalc happened almost in one year, which is the 22nd of the bishop. And, unless I mistake, these evils that were to come upon us were foretold by that terrible comet, which appeared in the same year, about the days of Easter." This was the comet of 1066. See Pingré, Cométographie, i, 373. Adam says that Gotescalc was killed on 7th June (III, 49). According to Adam, November in Adalbert's 22nd year was November, 1064; according to Lappenberg, 1066. It is possible that Adam may have retracted the comet to the year of Gotescalc's death. But in III, 51, he describes events of 1066. Probably 1066 was the true year.

Adam says that he went to Bremen as *matricularius* in Adalbert's 24th year.

Bishop John's death is described by Annalista Saxo, M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 694; following Adam's account.

We have learned that he cherished these three with greater clemency (since they were not his suffragans), because they had not sees of their own.

1065

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 14, s.a. 1065[1]

Dubthach the Scot, the chief confessor of Ireland and of Scotland, reposed in Armagh.[2]

"Dubthach, a righteous and austere man, will have a free abode with passage-ways.[3] See! the confessor has obtained heaven, in exchange for his fair, thin-boarded land."[4]

1047 × 1066

Adam of Bremen, Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum, book III, c. 16; M.G.H., Scriptores, vol. vii, p. 341

In Norway also great events took place at that time, in which king Harold exceeded all the mad acts of tyrants in his cruelty. By this man many churches were destroyed; many Christians were put to death by him with tortures. He was a powerful man, and famous for his victories: he had previously

[1] With f.n. and e. of 1065. This passage is the first in the year-section.

[2] Similarly in F.M., ii, 886; and A.L.C., i, 60; both s.a. 1065.

This Dubthach may have been St Duthac, patron of Tain. See Reeves, Adamnan, 401; cf. Grub, Ecclesiastical History, i, 318; D.B., 211-212.

In the Breviary of Aberdeen (i, 3, lxv), a Dubthach or Duthac is commemorated under March 8th :—"St Duthacus, bishop and confessor." He was of noble Scottish birth. He was sent, for education, to Ireland; and after his return, was made chief bishop of Scotland. The church of the city of Dornoch (*in Dormacensi . . . civitate*) is mentioned in the legend. Duthac died on the 8th of March; "and he is held in the very greatest honour and veneration in the church of Tain, in the diocese of Ross." His body was translated, and found uncorrupted there, after 7 years, 6 months, and 9 days (i.e., September 17th).

No evidence seems to show whether this was the Dubthach who died in 1065.

[3] Cf. the Description of Heaven in the L.B., 109; R.I.A., Todd Lecture Series, iii, 40.

[4] The passage within inverted commas is in verse in the original. It is entered in the margin of MS. A; is not in MS. B; but is copied by F.M. The last line (*arathir clarthana coemh*) might be read: "in exchange for his fair, thin coffin" (literally "earth-board": *ara thir-clar tana*, *coemh*, as in F.M.).

fought many battles against barbarians, in Greece and in the regions of Scythia. And after he came to his own country, he never rested from wars: [he was] a thunderbolt of the north, a deadly evil to all the islands of the Danes.[1]

This man ravaged all the maritime districts of the Slavs; he reduced the Orkney islands to his dominion[2]; he extended his bloody empire even to Iceland.

And thus ruling many races he was hated by all, because of his greed and cruelty. He also studied magic arts; not heeding, wretched man, the fact that his most holy brother [St Olaf] had uprooted such evils from the kingdom, striving (even to the shedding of blood) for the acceptance of the law of Christianity.

1066

Ágrip af Noregs Konungasögum, c. 36; Fornmanna Sögur, vol. x, p. 407

And when Harold [Hardrádi] had ruled over all Norway for nineteen winters since Magnus had deceased,[3] then came a man from England, Tostig by name. He was an earl, and brother of Harold, Godwine's son, who then ruled over England; and

[1] These words are derived from Lucan's description of Alexander (Pharsalia, X, l. 34; Lappenberg).

[2] Cf. the scholion 141 upon Adam's History, iv, 31, p. 382; "Harold, Olaf's most wicked brother, brought the Orkneys under his empire; and extended his kingdom as far as to the Riphean mountains, and to Iceland." The Riphean mountains were the boundary between Norway and Sweden (Adam, iv, 21, 25, 30; pp. 376, 379, 381).

Thorfinn, the earl of Orkney, had (supported by Malcolm II) successfully resisted the Norwegian claim. But during the reign of Macbeth he seems to have accepted Hardrádi's overlordship (see above, 1005-1034, 1036-1046, notes); and his sons, Paul and Erlend, were compelled to admit it (? 1065 × 1066). See year 1066.

[3] I.e., in 1066 (Magnus † 1047). But Snorri says that Hardrádi's fatal expedition occurred 35 winters after the death of St Olaf; i.e., in 1065 (Snorri's St Olaf, 245; F.S., v, 142; H., Hardrádi, cc. 80, 99; Harold Hardrádi's Saga, F.S., vi, 402, 430, cc. 114, 124). This statement is derived from some unauthoritative tradition of St Olaf.

M. and Fl.'s Magnus and Harold say erroneously that Harold Hardrádi fell 12 months before the fall of Harold Godwine's son; i.e., in 1065.

The Icelandic Annals record the death of the two Harolds in 1066 (KCPA; in 1065, O).

he had as good birthright to the land as Harold,[1] and was yet deprived of it all. And he asked support from Harold [Hardrádi], and promised him the half of England, if they won it as their spoil.[2]

1066

Heimskringla, Harold Hardrádi's Saga, c. 83[3]

When king Harold was ready, and there was a fair wind, he sailed out to sea[4]; and he came from the sea to Shetland, but some of his army came to the Orkneys. King Harold lay there for a little while, before he sailed for the Orkneys. And he brought with him from there a great army, and the earls Paul and Erlend,[5] sons of earl Thorfinn. But he

[1] Florence of Worcester says that they were sons of Godwine, earl of Wessex, and of Gytha, sister of Sven, the king of Denmark [† 1076] and father of St Cnut [† 1086] (E.H.S. ed., i, 275-276; ii, 2). But the Heimskringla says that Gytha was the sister of Sven's father, earl Ulf, son of Thorgils Spraka-leggr (St Olaf, c. 152; Hardrádi, c. 75. Cf. M., 109). See year 1055, note.

The saga says that Tostig appealed for aid first to king Sven of Denmark. He seems previously to have tried to gain the support of king Malcolm of Scotland (see E.C., 87).

[2] A similar account is in Theoderic, c. 28 (Storm's Monumenta, 56).

Cf. a passage in Morkinskinna, 111, and the Flateybook's Magnus and Harold (Fl., iii, 388): "And some men say that earl Tostig sent [first (Fl.)] Guthorm, Gunnhild's son, to king Harold, to offer him Northumberland, with oaths, and urge him to go west. And then Guthorm went to Norway. . . ."

[3] Unger's c. 86; Fr., pp. 243-244. The same passage is in Harold Hardrádi's Saga, in F.S., vi, 405: and a similar account is in Flatey-book's St Olaf (O.S. c. 40).

[4] "with the whole fleet" adds F.S. Cf. Flatey-book's St Olaf (Fl., ii, 423; R.S. 88, i, 61, c. 40): " . . . When the brothers Paul and Erlend had taken dominion in the Orkneys, Harold Sigurd's son came west from Norway with a great army. . . ."

[5] The A.S.C. D mentions the presence of one earl of Orkney ("Paul by name" according to Florence of Worcester) among the survivors of Stamford Bridge; so also the Ágrip, which names him Paul. Fagrskinna says that Paul accompanied Harold, but does not mention Erlend. Morkinskinna and the Flatey-book's Magnus and Harold say that Erlend went with Harold, but do not mention Paul. Both are mentioned by the Heimskringla, and the Flatey-book's St Olaf (Orkneyinga Saga): but perhaps the earlier authorities justify the assumption that Paul alone went with the expedition.

left behind there queen Ellisif,[1] and their daughters, Maria and Ingigerd.

Thence he sailed south along Scotland, and so along England; and he came there to land [at a place] called Cleveland. There he went ashore, and began immediately to plunder, and laid the land under himself: he met with no resistance. . . .[2]

1066

Ágrip af Noregs Konungasögum, c. 36; Fornmanna Sögur, vol. x, pp. 407-408

And Harold took out from [Norway] an army with [Tostig]; and they won all Northumberland.[3]

[1] Ellisif (Elizabeth) was a daughter of Iarizleif, king of Gardariki. See H., Hardrádi, c. 17. Hardrádi's previous wife, Thora, was the cousin of Ingibiorg, who was probably at this time married to king Malcolm III. See year 1070, note.

[2] F., c. 53, p. 283, says: "*Now Harold sails to the Orkneys.*

"Now king Harold sailed first to the Orkneys. He left there behind Ellisif, his wife, and Maria, his daughter. He brought from there with him earl Paul, son of earl Thorfinn and of Ingibiorg, daughter of earl Finn Arni's son. Thence king Harold held south with his army to England. He arrived so that he made his landing at the place called Cleveland. All fled away from him. . . ."

Morkinskinna reads more briefly (p. 112): "King Harold sailed first west to the Orkneys, and had an army from there, from earl Thorfinn's sons, Paul and Erlend. And there he left behind Thora, his wife; and Maria, his daughter. Then king Harold held with his fleet south to England. . . . King Harold arrived first so that he made his landing at the place called Cleveland; and all fled away [from him]. . . ." Similarly in the Flatey-book's Magnus and Harold, Fl., iii, 389-390.

The previous sentences in M. and Fl. are: "Then it happened, as the king stepped out upon the boat, that he stumbled clumsily" (in Fl.: "stumbled so clumsily that he could hardly keep himself upright"). "Earl Erlend went with him; and he foretold ill-luck in their expedition" (in Fl.: "said to him that he foreboded ill in their expedition").

[3] For an interesting account of Harold's campaign in England, see H., Hardrádi, cc. 83-94 (Unger's cc. 86-98); and F., 283-295. An abridged account is in the Flatey-book's St Olaf's Saga (Fl., ii, 423; R.S. 88, i, 61, c. 40).

For the events of 1066, see A.S.C. CDE, s.a. 1066 (cf. F.W., i, 225-227); W.M., i, 281-282; Eadmer, 9; William of Poitiers, and William of Jumièges (H.N.S., 199-206; 285-288); O.V., ii, 143-156; Wace, Roman de Rou (ed. Andresen, ii, 287-387; tr. Taylor, 124-259); the Bayeux

Tapestry. Cf. N.C., iii, cc. 14-15. For the election of Harold, cf. i.a. R.S. 8, 433-434.

The Chronicle of Melrose derives its account from A.S.C., and reads: "In the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1066 king Edward, of pious memory, died (the honour and glory of the English while he lived; their ruin, when he died), on the vigil of the Epiphany [i.e., on 5th January, 1066], after he had held his court in London, as well as he could, in the Lord's Nativity; and had caused to be dedicated, with great glory, the church of St Peter at Westminster, which he had built from the foundations. And after his death he was succeeded by Harold, the son of earl Godwine. [Cf. William of Poitiers, H.N.S., 196; W.M. ii, 297; De Inventione S. Crucis Walthamensis, c. 20.]

"Harold Fairhair," (read "Hardrádi." This error is common to all the English chronicles) "the brother of St Olaf, king and martyr; and earl Tostig, were killed at Stamford Bridge.

"William Bastard conquered and obtained England, and was consecrated king at Westminster by Ealdred, the archbishop of York.

"A comet was seen."

Cf. the Chronicle of Man, i, 50, s.a. 1047=1066.

The Series Regum (S.D., ii, 392) says that Harold reigned from 6th January to 14th October. Cf. W.M.

Harold Hardrádi was joined in his invasion of England by earl Tostig, Godwine's son, and many supporters of Tostig, along with an army from Flanders (so say the sagas; cf. A.S.C. C, at end). Chronicles CDE say that Tostig had previously gone to Scotland (see E.C., 87), "with twelve sailing-ships" (DE); and D says that Tostig met Hardrádi in Scotland; but E omits the word ("there") that implies this. The version of C is to be preferred. C says that Hardrádi came unexpectedly from Norway to the Tyne; and that Tostig joined him, and went with him up the Ouse, towards York.

For Tostig's visit to Malcolm, cf. i.a. Gaimar, ll. 5191-5194.

Heimskringla, Hardrádi, c. 86 (Unger's c. 89): "Earl Tostig had come east from Flanders to king Harold, as soon as [Harold] came to England; and the earl was in all these battles."

Hardrádi gained victories at Scarborough and Holderness; then sailed into the Humber, and up the Ouse. Earls Edwin and Morkere, Ælfgar's sons, who had been placed over the county of Northumbria (according to A.S.C.; cf. W.M., ii, 310-311. But according to the sagas, Morkere and Waltheof, wrongly called Godwine's sons) came against Hardrádi, with an army from York. A battle was fought on Wednesday, 20th September (according to the sagas, and A.S.C. CD), 1066: the earls' army was defeated with great slaughter, and driven to York.

King Harold, Godwine's son, came north by forced marches, and took the Norwegian army by surprise; and Hardrádi and Tostig were killed in the battle of Stamford Bridge, on 25th September (A.S.C. C; cf. F.W. But William of Jumièges erroneously dates this battle on Saturday, 7th October; H.N.S., 286).

William, duke of Normandy, landed in England, at Pevensey, on the

28th of September (A.S.C. D; at Hastings, on the 29th, E. William of Poitiers says that he left Normandy on the 29th; H.N.S., 209: he is followed by O.V., ii, 144-145. For the dates of these affairs, cf. N.C., iii, 732-733). Harold met him with an army exhausted by the northern campaign, and by another rapid march; and fell in the battle of Hastings, on Saturday, the 14th of October (A.S.C. D, and Eadmer; William of Jumièges, 287; Durham obituary, 146; "19 nights after the fall of king Harold, Sigurd's son" H., Hardrádi, c. 96; and F.S., vi, 425. Erroneously dated "12 months after the fall of king Harold, Sigurd's son," in M., 123, and in Fl., iii, 400; and on Saturday, 22nd October, by F.W., i, 227).

For the battle of Hastings, see (i.a.) A.S.C.; W.M., ii, 302-304; O.V., ii, 147-153. Baring's Domesday Tables (1909), 217-232. Cf. Wido, Carmen de Hastingae Proelio, C.A.N., iii, 1-38 (M.H.B., 856-872); and De Inventione S. Crucis Walthamensis, cc. 20-21. See, for Harold Godwine's son, the Life of Harold, C.A.N., ii, 143-222. Bulwer Lytton's Harold gives a vivid picture of the time. For Harold's relationships, see above, year 1055, note.

According to Icelandic writers (here untrustworthy) William the Conqueror was the great-grandson's grandson of Going-Hrólf, the son of Ronald, earl of Mærr, and brother of Turf-Einar, earl of Orkney. Cf. F., 296. William's grandfather, Richard, was (through his daughter Emma) also the grandfather of Edward Confessor and Edward Ironside, Æthelred's sons; and of Harold and Harthacnut, Cnut's sons. See year 1055, note.

For the magnitude of the English defeat, cf. Adam of Bremen, III, 51; M.G.H., Scriptores, vii, 356 (after a note of the comet of 1066): "At the same time occurred in England that memorable defeat, whose magnitude does not permit us to leave out a summary of its events; besides the fact that England was anciently subject to the Danes. . . . [Battle of Stamford Bridge; see above.]

"Scarcely, as they say, had eight days passed, when William (who is surnamed Bastard, because of the obliquity of his blood) crossed over from France to England, and fought a battle with the weary victor. And there the English, at first victorious, were afterwards conquered by the Normans, and in the end wholly crushed [*usque ad finem contriti*]. Harold fell there; and after him, about a hundred thousand of the English.

"The Bastard being the victor, for the vengeance of God (whom the English had offended) expelled almost all the clerics and monks who lived [in England] without a rule. Then, having removed the scandals, he appointed as teacher in the church the philosopher Lanfranc; by whose zeal, both formerly in France, and afterwards in England, many were animated to the worship of God."

The Chronicle of Man, i, 50, s.a. 1047 = 1066: "In the same year William Bastard conquered England; slew king Harold, and reigned in his place: and reduced the English to perpetual servitude. He ruled over the nation of the English for 20 years and 11 months; and his son succeeded him." (The 11th month was not complete; William died on 9th September, 1087.)

The king of England was then in Normandy.[1] And as soon as he learned this, he hastened back, with an army: and he came there so unexpectedly that the [Norwegians'] force was mostly on ship-board, and those that were on shore were nearly weaponless, except for cutting weapons and weapons of defence.[2] Then they formed up all in one company, and made ready.

The king [Hardrádi] himself sat on a horse, and rode while he arrayed his army. But the horse fell under him, and threw him from its back. The king said, when he stood up: "Seldom did it happen so, where good should follow" said he.[3] And it was so, and as the king said; so that he was no false prophet regarding it. Because in that very battle, the same day, fell both king Harold and earl Tostig; and a great host with them.[4]

1066

Heimskringla, Harold Hardrádi's Saga, c. 87[5]

King Harold's landing.

On the Monday,[6] when Harold, Sigurd's son, had satisfied

[1] This is not borne out by the A.S.C., which says that Harold was in the south of England, collecting an army to resist William of Normandy. His forced march was made from Sandwich, according to Chronicle C.

[2] I.e., swords and shields. They had left their coats of mail behind, in the ships, because of the heat of the day.

F., 286: "But that day the weather was hot, from the sun; and they left behind their coats of mail, and went ashore with shields and swords, helmets and spears; but some had bows. And they were all in great good-spirits."

According to Theoderic, c. 28 (Storm's Monumenta, 56-57), "the greater part of the army of the Norwegians had gone to the ships, laden with spoil."

[3] This incident appears variously in the sagas and in Theoderic (Storm, 57).

[4] Adam of Bremen adds an Irish king to the number of those who fell (III, 51; M.G.H., Scriptores, vii, 356): ". . . After the death of the most holy king of the English, Edward, the princes contended for that kingdom; and Harold, an earl of the English, a wicked man, usurped the sceptre. When his brother, Tostig by name, heard that this had been snatched from him, he brought to his aid Harold, the king of the Norwegians; and the king of the [Irish?] Scots. And Tostig himself was slain, and the king of Ireland, and Harold, with the whole of their army, by the king of the English. . . ."

[5] Unger's c. 90; Fr., 245-246. The same passage is in Harold Hardrádi's

himself with the day-meal, he let [the trumpets] blow for the landing,[1] and made ready the host, and divided the army, who should go and who should remain behind: he let two men go ashore, in each detachment, for one who remained behind. Earl Tostig prepared himself with his company, to go ashore with king Harold; but behind were left to watch the ships Olaf, the king's son, and Paul and Erlend, earls of the Orkneys, and Eystein Orri, son of Thorberg Arni's son[2]; [Eystein] was then the noblest and the dearest to the king of all the barons. King Harold had then promised to him Maria, his daughter.[3] . . .

Saga, F.S., vi, 411; and essentially the same is in F., 286, c. 55, and in M., 115.

[6] I.e., Monday, 24th September, 1066.

Theoderic, c. 28 (Storm's Monumenta, 57), says:—"This battle was fought in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1066 . . .", and mentions the comet of that year.

Harold Hardrádi's Saga says: "It was on the second day of the week that king Harold [Hardrádi] fell, two nights before Michaelmas"; for "two" read "five" (i.e., on 24th September).

Flatey-book's Magnus and Harold (Fl., iii, 386) says that king Edward [† 5 Jan. 1066] died in the 19th year of Harold Hardrádi's reign; but M. reads correctly, the 20th.

See A.S.C. CDE, s.a. 1066, and the Icelandic authorities referred to above, for an account of the battle of Senlac.

[1] A.S.C. C, s.a. 1066: ". . . And king Harold of Norway and earl Tostig, and their companies, had gone from their ships beyond York to Stamford Bridge, because [the English] had promised them for certain that they would bring to meet them there hostages from that whole shire. Then came Harold, king of the English, against them unawares, beyond the bridge. . . ."

[2] Flatey-book's St Olaf's Saga reads (Fl., ii, 423; R.S. 88, i, 61):—"He placed there, behind, his son Olaf, and the earls Paul and Erlend, and Eystein Orri, his kinsman-in-law." F. and M. do not here mention the earls. In F.S., the earls are named after Eystein.

[3] Eystein and his company, in coats of mail, renewed the battle after the death of Harold Hardrádi. But they were wearied by a hasty march.

Fl., ii, 423 (R.S. 88, i, 61-62): "After the king's fall, Eystein Orri and the earls came from the ships, and made a very hard attack. There fell Eystein Orri, and almost all the Norwegians' army."

The other accounts do not mention the presence of the earls in this attack.

Ágrip af Noregs Konungasögum, c. 36; Fornmanna Sögur, vol. x, p. 408

But those who escaped [from Stamford Bridge] fled to the ships.

The leader over this host was Olaf, Harold's son, the most handsome man, nearly twenty; who was called Farmer, because of the quietness and calmness of his mind. He asked for peace from Harold, and also for the body of his father; and he obtained both.[1] Then he betook himself with earl Paul to the Orkneys, and in the following spring to Norway; and he buried king Harold's corpse in Mary's church in Nidaróss.[2] But he now lies in Elgesætr. . . .

[1] A.S.C. D, s.a. 1066: ". . . And the English had possession of the place of slaughter. The king then gave peace to Olaf, the son of the king of the Norwegians, and to their bishop, and to the earl of Orkney, and to all that were left on the ships; and then they went up to our king, and swore oaths that they would ever keep peace and friendship toward this land. And the king let them go away, with twenty-four ships." The passage added later to Chronicle C calls Olaf wrongly "Edmund":—"And there was much slaughter made, both of Norwegians and of Flemings. And Harold let the king's son, Hetmundus, go home to Norway with all the ships."

Cf. Heimskringla, Hardrádi, c. 96 (Unger's c. 100): "Harold, Godwine's son, gave permission for the departure of Olaf, son of king Harold Sigurd's son; and of the army that had been there with [Harold], and had not fallen in the battle. And Harold moved then with his army southwards into England, because he had then learnt that William Bastard had come from the south to England, and was laying the land under himself." Fl., ii, 423: "After the battle, king Harold gave to Olaf, Harold's son, and the earls, and all the army that had not fled [read: fallen?], permission to go away from England."

Godfrey Crovan, afterwards king of Man, is said to have supported Hardrádi in this battle. Chronicle of Man, i, 50, s.a. 1047=1066: ". . . The English being the victors made very great slaughter of the Norwegians, and drove them all into flight.

"A man Godfrey, surnamed Crovan, the son of Harold the Black from Iceland, fleeing from this rout came to Godfrey Sigtrygg's son, who then reigned in Man; and was honourably received by him."

See years ca. 1075, 1095.

[2] Harold Hardrádi's Saga, c. 124 (F.S., vi, 428-429): "A little while after Olaf had been taken for king in Norway, Skúli went west to England, on the king's authority, and requested that he might receive king Harold's body; and that he got immediately. He came back to Norway, [and]

1066-1067

Heimskringla, Harold Hardrádi's Saga, c. 98[1]

The voyage of Olaf, Harold's son, to Norway.

Olaf, the son of king Harold, set out from England with his army[2]; and sailed out from Raven's Spur,[3] and came in autumn to the Orkneys. And there were these tidings, that Maria, daughter of king Harold Sigurd's son, had suddenly died, on the same day and at the same hour as king Harold, her father, had fallen.[4]

Olaf remained there for the winter.[5] But in the following summer Olaf went east to Norway. He was there taken for king, with Magnus, his brother. Queen Ellisif went east with Olaf, her stepson; and Ingigerd, her daughter. Then came

king Harold's body was conveyed north to Nidaróss. . . ." Cf. parallel passages in M., 122, and Fl., iii, 399.

H., Hardrádi, c. 99 (Fr., 252):—"One winter after king Harold's fall, his body was carried east from England, and north to Nidaróss. . . ."

Olaf therefore did not take his father's body with him.

[1] Unger's c. 102 (103); Fr., 251-252. Cf. the accounts in Harold Hardrádi's Saga, F.S., vi, 427-428; M., 121; Flatey-book's Magnus and Harold, Fl., iii, 397-398; Flatey-book's St Olaf, Fl., ii, 423 (R.S. 88, i, 62; c. 40).

[2] F., 295: "Olaf, son of king Harold, had not gone up on land. And with him was Skúli, earl Tostig's son. Now when the news reached them, they prepared to depart, with the host that survived of the Norwegians. They put their ships to sea, and as soon as there was a favourable wind they sailed, in the autumn, to the Orkneys; and they were there for the winter." Cf. M., 121.

[3] "Raven's Spur," i.e. Spurn Head; the promontory at Humber mouth formerly called Ravenser or Ravenspur. According to the fabulous Hemings Thättr, the English allowed the Norwegians to go from Spurn Head (Hauksbók, 345; Fl., ii, 423; R.S. 88, i, 383).

[4] F., 295: "The same day that king Harold fell in England, his daughter Maria died in the Orkneys. Men said that they had both had but one man's life. The next summer afterwards, Olaf and his companions went with all their host to Norway." Similarly in M., and in Fl., Magnus and Harold (but these begin with a doubt of the first statement:—"Men say that . . . "; and Fl. adds, "and at the same hour of the day"). After "one man's life," M. adds:—"She was also of all women the wisest, and the fairest to look upon, and the friendliest." Cf. Fl., St Olaf; and F.S. Hardrádi.

[5] Flatey-book's St Olaf (Fl., ii, 423; R.S. 88, i, 62, c. 40):—"Olaf remained for the winter in the Orkneys; and he was the greatest friend

too from west beyond the sea Skúli, who was thenceforward called King's-fosterer[1]; and Ketil Crook, his brother.[2] They were both noble men, and of high kin in England, and both very wise. . . .

1067

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 55

In the year 1067, king William returned to Normandy, taking with him Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury; the prince, Edgar; the earls Edwin, and Morkere, and Waltheof; and many other of the noblest men of England. And when he came back he laid an insupportable tribute upon the English.[3]

of the earls [Paul and Erlend], his relatives. Thora, mother of king Olaf, and Ingibiorg, mother of the earls, were brothers' daughters.

"Olaf went east to Norway in the spring, and was taken there for king, along with Magnus, his brother."

Olaf's visit to Orkney is not mentioned by Theoderic, who says (57, c. 29): "After this Harold had been slain in England, his son Olaf returned with the remainder of the army."

While Harold and Olaf were absent from Norway, Harold's son Magnus ruled there; for one year, according to Theoderic, 58, c. 29; for 12 months, according to the Ágrip, c. 37; M., 122; and Fl., iii, 399; but more correctly, "during the first winter after king Harold's fall," in H., Hardrádi, c. 101, and Magnus and Olaf's Saga, F.S., vi, 435.

Magnus and Olaf reigned together, 1067-1069 (H.; Ágrip; Magnus and Olaf's Saga); then Olaf reigned alone, 1069-1093.

[1] For Skúli, see the remainder of the same chapter; F., 301-302; M., 122; Hardrádi's Saga, F.S., vi, 431-432; Fl., iii, 398-399. He married Gudrun, grand-daughter of Sigurd Sow and Asta (F.; H.; Hardrádi's Saga).

[2] From Halogaland.

[3] This passage is derived from F.W., ii, 1-2. See William of Poitiers; H.N.S., 209.

For the submission of Edgar, Edwin, Morkere, Copsi, and other English nobles, in 1067, see F.W., i, 228; William of Poitiers, u.s., 208; O.V., ii, 165-166; W.M., 36. William of Poitiers says that the Conqueror returned to Normandy in March; Florence says, on the arrival of Lent [21st Feb. × 7th March]. For William's policy in taking English nobles with him to Normandy, cf. William of Poitiers (209) and O.V. (ii, 167).

Florence says that king William returned to England on the approach of winter.

Soon after their return, the English nobles began to revolt. See below; and E.C., years 1068-1070. For the northern rebellion, and William's suppression of it, in 1069-1070, see N.C., iv, 234-320. See A.S.C. D, s.a.

1067-1068

Benoît de Sainte-Maure, Chronique des Ducs de Normandie, ll. 38529-38556; vol. iii, p. 251 [1]

As I read, and as I find, much serious trouble was caused to [William], after he was crowned king,[2] and was acclaimed as lord of the realm.

Of the king of Scotland, he willed and required that he should render him such service as his predecessors had received, and as appertained to his honour. Scotland was always subject to England, in such a manner that [the English] had no sooner obtained power over it, than [the Scots] forgot the agreement.[3]

The king [of Scotland] dared not resist: and had neither strength nor power to do otherwise than to make peace at [William's] pleasure, and in accordance with all his wishes.

Edwin (so I find) and Morkere, who were sons of earl Ælfgar, made this treaty, and conducted this affair; and they had much opposition. These two led to Scotland French knights and gentlemen, as our king desired; and where there was the greatest strength, they made castles and fortresses, strongly enclosed, and well fortified. The king wished so to provide everywhere for the preservation of firm peace.[4]

1068; E, 1068-1069; F.W., ii, 3-4, s.a. 1069. O.V., ii, 192-199. Cf. S.D., ii, 186-188; W.M., 208, 253-254; ii, 308-309; and William of Jumièges, H.N.S., 289-290.

[1] Also in Michel's C.A.N., i, 250-251. This passage stands after the coronation of Matilda (on 11th May, 1068).

[2] 25th December, 1066.

[3] *Deu rei d'Escoce vous e quist | Que cel servise li rendist*
Qu' orent eu si anceisor | E qu'aparteneit à s'onor.
Toz jorz fu Escoce sozmise | A Engleterre, od teu devise
C'unc n'en orent si tost puissance | Qu'il lor menbrast de covenance.

For *vous*, Michel (iii, 456, 869) would read *voct*, with the Tours MS.; i.e., *vout* ("desired").

[4] Benoît proceeds to say that William had very great confidence in Edwin and Morkere, who concealed their disloyalty for two years, and then betrayed his trust (i.e., in 1068: see O.V., ii, 182; in H.N.S., 511). They took prisoners the Normans whom (according to Benoît) they had led to Scotland; and rebelled against William.

Benoît places after this revolt the death of Robert of Comines, earl of Northumbria. Benoît probably anticipates the events of 1072; but his account of the Scots' attitude to the overlordship is interesting.

1069

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 55

In the year 1069, earl Robert Cumin was killed by the Northumbrians at Durham, along with about seven hundred men. Archbishop Ealdred died.[1]

? 1070

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 50, s.a. 1051 = 1070

In the same year, Godfrey, Sigtrygg's son, the king of Man, died; and his son Fingal succeeded him.[2]

1070

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, pp. 20-22, s.a. 1070[3]

The abbot of Iona, the son of Baethen's son, was killed by the son of the abbot, Ua-Maeldoraid.[4]

[1] This annal is apparently derived from S.D., ii, 187. Simeon says that Robert of Comines, earl of Northumbria, was killed on Wednesday, 28th January, 1069; and that Ealdred, archbishop of York, died on Friday, 11th September.

The Chronicle of Holyrood (26-27) gives an account of Robert's death, on 28th January (beginning: "In the year 1069 . . . and the third year of king William's reign, the same William appointed one Robert, surnamed Cumin, as earl of the peoples of the Northumbrians. . . ." Cf. A.S.C. DE, s.a. 1068). This account is derived from S.D., i, 98-100. Cf. De Translationibus, in S.D., i, 245-246. See E.C., 90, note; O.V., ii, 187; iii, 243. N.C., iv, 235-238.

[2] For Godfrey, cf. year 1066, note. Fingal appears to have been deposed by Godfrey Crovan; see below, ca. 1075.

[3] With f.n. and e. of 1070.

[4] Similarly in A.L.C., i, 64, s.a. 1070. F.M., ii, 896, s.a. 1070, read: "Macc-Baithine, the abbot of Iona, was killed."

Ua-Maeldoraid's father was, according to Reeves (Adamnan, 401), probably Gillacrist Ua-Maeldoraid, Columba's successor, who died in 1062. The successor at this time (according to Reeves, 400-402) was Donald (1062 - † 1098), probably in Kells.

The abbey of Iona seems to have frequently been deserted at this time. Queen Margaret restored it (1070 × 1093); see O.V., VIII, 22, iii, 398-399 (E.C., 116); presumably as a dependency of Dunkeld. See below, years 1158, 1164. An abbot's death is recorded in 1099. Later, under Norwegian rule, the célidé retained a footing in the island. Cf. E.C., 328; and De Domibus Religiosis, below, s.f. For the introduction of monks of the Benedictine order, see below, year 1203. According to the lists added to Bower (ii, 538, 541), there were in Iona, at the beginning of the 16th century, a Benedictine abbey; and an Augustinian nunnery founded by Columba.

1070

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 55

In the year 1070, king Malcolm wasted England as far as Cleveland[1]; and then, on his return, at Wearmouth, he granted his peace to the prince Edgar,[2] and his sisters Margaret and

[1] The Chronicle of Carlisle, after stating s.a. 1054 that Malcolm "king of the Cumbrians" (a phrase incorrectly derived from F.W.) had been made king of Scotland, gives the following note, s.a. 1069 (Palgrave, 70): "Cumbria was [*dicebatur*] of the same extent as it is now:—the bishopric of Carlisle, and the bishopric of Glasgow, and the bishopric of Whithorn; and in addition [extended] from the bishopric of Carlisle as far as the river Doon [*Dunde*]: and so on there, in that passage" (*in passu illo;* i.e., in the chronicle from which the note is derived).

Immediately after this, the same chronicle notes, s.a. 1070: "Malcolm, the king of Scotland, seized Cumbria in his own right [*suo jure mancipavit*]. And he devastated Teesdale, and Cleveland, and Hexham district [*Halywarfolk*], and Northumbria, with slaughter detestable to the whole world, and with fire.

"For this reason, Gospatric, the earl of Northumbria, invaded [Cumbria] with ferocious devastation; and after decreeing slaughter and conflagration, he returned with great spoils, and betook himself to Bamborough.

"Hearing this, king Malcolm entered Northumbria again, more fiercely than before; and burned churches, and killed children and pregnant women, and led away innumerable English people into the direst servitude. And so on, in that passage" (Palgrave, 70).

This account is derived from S.D. (E.C., 92).

The 1291 chronicles of Reading and Salisbury mention Malcolm's invasion, under 1066 (Palgrave, 121, 122).

For Gospatric and Cumbria see below, 1072, note; and cf. i.a. Hinde's Northumberland, i, 186-187; N.C., iv, 506-507. A curious account is given by Langtoft (i, 420-424), who says that Gospatric betrayed Cumberland to king Malcolm for a bribe of 3,000 pounds.

Marianus Scottus, Chronicon, M.G.H., Scriptores, v, 560, s.a. 1092 = 1070 (also the 14th year of emperor Henry IV = 1069 × 1070): "The Scots and [Norman] French devastated the English; and [the English] were dispersed, and died of hunger; and were compelled to eat human flesh: and, to this end, to kill men, and to salt and dry them." More briefly in the second recension; M.G.H., Scriptores, xiii, 78, s.a. 1091 = 1069. Cf. F.W., ii, 4.

[2] Edgar had previously taken refuge in Scotland, probably first in 1068. He appears to have passed there the winter of 1068-1069, along with his mother and sisters, Mærleswegen, and other English nobles (F.W., s.a, 1068; E.C., 88. A.S.C. DE, s.a. 1067). In 1068, after William's expedition to Nottingham, York, and Lincoln, "earl Gospatric and the best men went to Scotland" (A.S.C. D, s.a. 1067).

DE say that Edgar went to York after the killing of earl Robert of Comines († 1069); and that after William's subjugation of York, Edgar re-

turned to Scotland. He was accompanied in this campaign by Mærleswegen and Gospatric (O.V.). Later in the same year, Edgar was again in England.

In 1069 (E; 1068, D) three sons of Sven, king of Denmark [Cnut, Harold, and another] and Sven's brother Esbiorn (Godwine's nephew and grand-nephews; perhaps Waltheof's grand-uncle and first-cousins once removed: see year 1055, note), and earl Thurkil (D), brought a large fleet (240 ships, D; 300 ships, E) from Denmark to the Humber (soon after 11th September, 1068, D; between 15th August and 8th September, 1069, E; before 8th September, F.W.).

Edgar and earl Waltheof (DE), Mærleswegen and earl Gospatric (D). Archill and four sons of Carl (O.V.; see year 1072, note), with a great following from Northumbria, joined the Danes in 1069. They plundered together the king's castle at York, and wintered in the Humber, where king William could not reach them, according to D; but according to E, between the rivers Ouse and Trent. William came against them; was in York on Christmas day; and passed the winter "in that land" (D).

Waltheof and Gospatric made peace with king William in 1070 (E; 1071, D: in January, 1070, O.V.). The insurrection was defeated before Easter, 1070, which William celebrated at Winchester (D; O.V., ii, 188). Edgar, his mother, his sisters, Siward Barn, Mærleswegen, Ælfwine Norman's son, and many others, took refuge in Scotland (S.D.; E.C. 91).

F.W. says that Esbiorn accepted a bribe, and returned peaceably to Denmark in 1070, before June 24th; and that for this reason he was outlawed by king Sven (ii, 4, 7).

Bishop Ægelwine and Siward Barn (cf. Gaimar, i, 231), returning from Scotland, joined earls Edwin and Morkere, who, with Hereweard, renewed the insurrection, in Ely, in 1071 (E; 1072, D). After their surrender, William led his expedition to Scotland in 1072 (E; 1073, D).

In 1073, according to F.W., ii, 10, but more probably in 1074, "Prince Edgar came from Scotland through England to Normandy, and made peace again with the king." This is abridged in C.M., 56. See E.C., 96-99. In 1086, Edgar Ætheling possessed lands in Hertfordshire (Doomsday Book, i, 142; Hertfordshire, s. 38). He went in that year to Apulia (F.W.; C.M.).

Edgar had received from count Robert an honour in Normandy, but was deprived of it by king William II in 1091. He returned to Scotland; and succeeded, with count Robert, in restoring peace between the kings of England and Scotland, and also between king William and himself, about Michaelmas in the same year. In 1093, he was an ambassador between king William and king Malcolm (E.C., 104-109). See Fordun's story, perhaps derived from Turgot; V, 21-23; i, 220-222.

In 1097 he assisted his nephew Edgar to gain the kingdom of Scotland. For the story of his visit to Jerusalem, see W.M., ii, 310 (Stevenson's Church Historians, iii, 1, 238).

Edgar was captured at Tinchebray with count Robert of Normandy, in 1106; and afterwards released. Robert died in custody at Cardiff, in 1134 (J.W.; cf. O.V., X, 9, v, 18; C.M.).

Edgar was still alive in 1125. W.M., i, 278: "King Edward, approaching

Christina, whom he found there fleeing from the king of England, and [intending] to go to Scotland. And afterwards he united Margaret to himself in marriage.[1]

1070

Inserted folio 13 in the Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 51-52

And in the year 1067,[2] the glorious queen Margaret was married to [Malcolm]. By her he had six sons (namely

to old age, since he had not got any children [cf. ibid., 239, 243] and saw that Godwine's sons were increasing in power, sent to the king of the Huns [asking him] to send his brother Edmund's son, Edward, with all his family; [saying] that it should happen that either [Edward], or his sons, would succeed to their hereditary kingdom of England: and that his childlessness ought to be helped by aid of relatives.

"Thus Edward came; but he immediately yielded to fate at St Paul's, in London: a man neither ready of hand, nor upright in mind. Three children survived him:—Edgar, who (after the slaying of Harold) was by some elected king; and who, after being revolved by the changing play of Fortune, ignobly passes an almost decrepit age in the country; Christina, who grew old in the habit of a nun at Romsey; Margaret, whom Malcolm, the king of the Scots, married in legitimate wedlock. . . ."

[1] This passage is repeated on the inserted folio 53 (Stevenson's ed., p. 233). It is abridged from S.D. (E.C., 91-93). The Chronicle of Man, i, 50, s.a. 1051 = 1070, copies the beginning and end of C.M.'s account.

Fordun, quoting a lost work of Turgot, says that Malcolm and Margaret were married in 1070, at Dunfermline, where the king's residence then was (V, 15-16; i, 213, 214). He says, upon the same authority, (V, 14-15) that Edgar with his mother and sisters had taken ship, in order to return to the land where he had been born; but a storm drove them to Scotland, where they landed at St Margaret's Hope. King Malcolm met them there, and received them graciously. He could speak English as well as his own language, having spent 15 years in England after his father's death. As soon as he saw Margaret, and had heard who she was, he asked for her in marriage, and obtained her; her brother Edgar giving her away, although she was less willing than were her relatives.

They seem, however, to have met before this, at Wearmouth. See E.C., 91-93. They may have met still earlier, in Scotland, in the winter 1068-1069.

[2] This date is derived from A.S.C. D or E. The evidence seems to show that 1070 was the year of the marriage.

The 1291 chronicle of Tewkesbury implies that the marriage took place in 1068 (Palgrave, 126).

Malcolm had previously married Ingibiorg, the widow of earl Thorfinn († ? 1065), and sister of a wife of Harold Hardrádi. See years 1036-1046, ? 1065, 1066, 1066-1067. Malcolm had by this wife certainly one son, Duncan, who reigned in 1094; therefore the marriage took place ? 1065 ×

Edward, Edmund, Æthelred, Edgar, Alexander, David), and two daughters (namely Maltilda, the queen of the English, and Mary, the countess of Boulogne).[1]

1069: and perhaps a second son, Donald, for whom see year 1085; possibly also a third son, Malcolm, who witnessed a charter of his elder brother, king Duncan II, in 1094 (April × November 12th). See National MSS. of Scotland, i, 4, no. 11; L.C., no. 12; D.K., 31. If these three were Ingibiorg's sons in wedlock, her marriage with Malcolm would be placed ? 1065 × 1067. Donald († 1085) seems to have had a son, Lodmund († 1116).

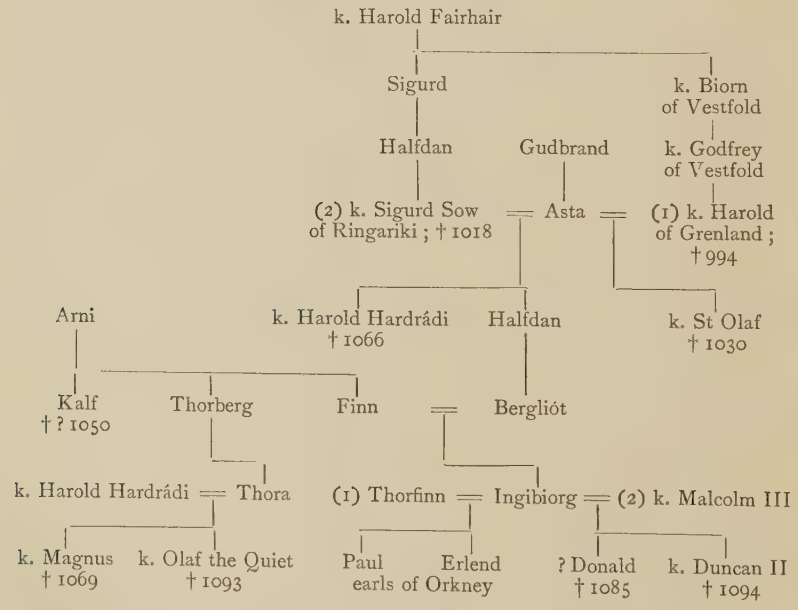
The evidence that Thorfinn lived until 1065 is by no means conclusive.

Ingibiorg was the daughter of Finn, Arni's son. Her cousin Thora, daughter of Thorberg Arni's son, was the mother of Olaf the Quiet (king of Norway, 1067 - † 1093). Cf. i.a. the Latin Life of Magnus, in Metcalfe's Lives, ii, 215. See year ? 1050, note.

W.M. (ii, 476; E.C., 119), the Chronicle of Huntingdon (below, 1093-1094), and Fordun (V, 24), call Malcolm's son Duncan illegitimate: implying that the marriage with Ingibiorg was not legal. But there is no evidence in support of the statement. Cf. years 1072, 1094.

If Malcolm had other sons by Ingibiorg, they appear to have died before 1094; when the next heir to Duncan appears to have been Margaret's son Edmund.

Some of Ingibiorg's relationships may be given in a table:



[1] For the children of Malcolm and Margaret, see year 1093, and notes.

1070

Chronicle of the Canons of Huntingdon; Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 210-211 [1]

(In the year 1017) the king of England, Edmund Ironside, was killed by the treachery of the faithless earl Eadric; and [Cnut] — — invaded his kingdom, and sent Edmund's sons,[2] Edmund and Edward, to the king[3] of the Swedes, to be killed. And he, refusing to slay the innocents, — — sent them to Solomon, the king of Hungary, to be brought up.[4]

[1] Also in Palgrave, 100-101. I enclose the marginal notes (which are part of the original work) in round brackets. Double dashes indicate undecipherable passages.

[2] For Edmund's eldest son, Eadwig, see A.S.C. CDE, s.a. 1017; F.W., i, 180-181.

[3] The king of Sweden at this time would have been Olaf, Eric's son; king Cnut's step-brother. Cf. year 1055, note.

[4] This paragraph is based upon F.W., i, 181. Cf. E.C., 94-95. A.S.C. CDE say that king Edmund of Wessex died on 30th November, 1016: F.W., i, 179, says about that day, in the 15th indiction, i.e. in 1016. Cf. W M., i, 217, 218.

For Eadric, cf. year 1055, note. King Edmund is called "Edwin" by Alberic (M.G.H., Scriptores, xxiii, 781, 814): his son Edmund is called "Eadwig" by W.M., ii, 218.

Edward married a lady of royal birth, named Agatha, in Hungary; see E.C., 94-95, note; R.S. **51**, ii, 236. O.V., i, 178; ii, 154; iii, 398, (E.C. 95, 107) says erroneously that she was Solomon's daughter, and that Edward reigned in Hungary after Solomon's death.

These statements appear also in the D'Alençon Genealogia (below).

Jordan's Waltheof, 249, says that Agatha was the daughter of emperor Henry's brother (as F.W.), and the sister of the queen of the Huns (as W.M.).

Alberic (814) follows W.M. in the statement that Edward married "Agatha, sister of the queen of the Huns."

The tract on the Laws, in Hoveden, R.S. **51**, ii, 236, says that Edmund's son Edward fled from Cnut to the king of Russia, Malescoldus.

The king to whom Edmund Ironside's children were sent may perhaps have been Cnut's cousin Mecislav, the king of Poland; the son of Boleslav Chrobri, son of Miesko, whose daughter Gunnhild was the mother of Cnut. See Thietmar, and Adam of Bremen (P.L. **139**, 1383; M.G.H., Scriptores, vii, 315); and Steenstrup's Normannerne, iii, 306. Cf. year 1055, note.

Steenstrup (iii, 307) suggests that Edward's wife may have been a daughter of the emperor's sister (reading *germanae* for F.W.'s *germani*): i.e., a daughter of Gisela, daughter of Henry II duke of Bavaria († 995), given by her brother, the emperor Henry II († 1024), in marriage to Stephen I, king of Hungary († 1038). The year of this marriage is said by

This Edward begot Margaret, the queen of the Scots[1]; and Edgar. Edgar — — [begot] Margaret, who was the mother of Henry, called Lupellus.

The aforesaid Cnut reigned over the English for eighteen years. His son Harold succeeded him, and reigned for five years. Harthacnut, son of Cnut and of queen Emma, succeeded him (in 1040); and reigned for two years.[2]

(In 1042) Edward, the son of Æ[thelred] — — [succeeded, and] reigned for twenty-four years.

(In 1070) Malcolm, Duncan's son, — — [took] in [marriage] Margaret, the said Edward's daughter; — — [and he had] by her six sons, namely Edward, who died without an heir; Edmund, who died without an heir; Æthelred, who died without an heir; Edgar, who reigned, and died without an heir; Alexander, who reigned, [and] died without an heir; David, who reigned, and married Matilda, the countess of Huntingdon, and [grand-]niece of William [I], the king of the English; the daughter of Ivetta, who was the daughter of Lambert, the count of Lens.[3] By [Matilda, David] begot earl Henry; who married[4] Ada, the daughter of earl William de Varenne, and begot by her Malcolm — — [who] reigned, and died without an heir; and king William, the father of king Alexander; and earl David. And king Alexander married[5] Joanna, the daughter of king John; and begot king Alexander; who married[6] Margaret, the daughter of our last king Henry [III].

Of the aforesaid Malcolm [III] and Margaret came Matilda

Sigebert to have been 1010; by other unauthoritative chroniclers, 1009 (M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 354; ix, 567, 574, 772). The christianization of Hungary was made a condition of the marriage (Adalbert; ibid., iv, 810).

[1] The Chronicle of Carlisle, in abridging a similar passage, appears erroneously to place the births of Margaret and Edgar in 1017 (Palgrave, 70).

[2] Cnut † 1035; Harold † 1040; Harthacnut reigned in England and Denmark 1040-† 1042.

[3] Judith was the niece of William I, according to the Chronicle of Huntingdon, below; O.V.; W.M., etc. See below, years 1071, ? 1114.

[4] See E.C., 215; and below, year 1139.

[5] See E.C., 335; and below, year 1221.

[6] See E.C., 363-369; and below, year 1251.

and Mary. And Matilda married Henry I, king of England (In 1100, Henry I, king of England, was elevated as king. In 1101,[1] this Henry took in marriage Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm and Margaret.) And of them came Matilda, who married firstly the emperor Henry; and afterwards Geoffrey, the count of Anjou. Of these [came] Henry II; who begot four sons: namely Geoffrey, count of Anjou; Henry III, who was crowned in his father's life-time, but who died before his father; and Richard, who died without an heir; (in the year 1[1]20, William and Richard, sons of king Henry, perished at sea) — — [and] king [John], who begot the most illustrious and most holy king Henry, the father of our lord king the most excellent Edward, who is [king] now.[2]

[1] In reality, in 1100.

[2] This chronicle was compiled from the sources in possession of the canons of Huntingdon, as their contribution to king Edward I's investigations in 1291.

Cf. the same Chronicle of Huntingdon, 213 (Palgrave, 104): "Malcolm III, king of Scotland, married Margaret, king Edward's daughter, who is called Saint [Margaret]. By her he had David, king of Scotland; and Matilda, who married Henry I, king of England. Of them — — [was born Matilda, the mother] of Henry II, [king] of England; who begot king John, the father of our last king Henry.

"And king David had, by Matilda, the countess — — [of Huntingdon] (the daughter of Judith, William the Conqueror's niece), earl Henry, the father of king William, — — [who begot] king Alexander, the father of the last Alexander.

"And upon these things, by command of our renowned king [Edward I], is placed the common seal — — [of the canons of the church] of St Mary of Huntingdon." (The seal has perished.)

Cf. William of Malmesbury, i, 278.

Genealogia Regum Angliae (Bibl. d'Alençon MS. no. 20), in Le Prevost's O.V., v, pp. liii, liv:—"(44) This [Æthelred] begot Edward [the Confessor], Alfred, Edmund Ironside. (45) This [Edmund] begot Edmund, Edward. (46) This [Edward] begot Edgar Ætheling; and Margaret, the queen of the Scots; and Christiana, the nun. (47) This [Margaret] bore to Malcolm, the king of the Scots, three sons and two daughters: Edgar, Alexander, David, Edith or Matilda, and Mary. (48) This [Edith] bore to king Henry William the Ætheling, and Matilda the Empress"; "Then, when Æthelred was dead, [in 1016] his son Edmund surnamed Ironside reigned [in England]. And he begot two sons, Edward and Edmund; whom Sven, the king of the Danes, by order of his brother Cnut gave as hostages (after the death of their father) to the king of the Huns. There prince Edmund died; and by God's will Edward received as wife the daughter of the king. And he reigned for a long time over the Huns; and begot Edgar the

Ætheling, and Margaret, queen of the Scots, and Christiana, the nun.

"Queen Emma [widow of Æthelred II ; sister of Richard II, duke of Normandy], married Cnut, who had now become a Christian ; and bore him Harthacnut and Gunhild. And she sent as exiles to Neustria Edward and Alfred, her sons by her former husband. Moreover, after Edmund [Ironside] had been killed by the treachery of Eadric Streona in a jakes, Cnut reigned throughout all England ; and he exiled to Denmark the sons of the aforesaid Edmund.

"After the death of Cnut, Harold (his son by a concubine, Ælfgifu) reigned in England. He caused to be put out the eyes of Alfred, who had been given up to him by a trick of earl Godwine. But [Harold] himself lived only for a short time afterwards ; and he left the kingdom against his will to Harthacnut. And Harthacnut recalled Edward, his uterine brother, from Normandy ; and two years afterwards, in a marriage feast of Osgod Clapa, who was giving his daughter Gytha to Tovi, a Dane, [Harthacnut] died of poison given by Emma. [In 1042. This was Tofig Pruda (Tófi hin Prudæ) ; cf. C.M., s.a. 1042 ; Kemble's Codex, iv, 44, 54. See De Inventione S. Crucis Walthamensis, cc. 7-14.]

"Afterwards Edward, the most rightful heir, reigned for 23 years. And he recalled the children of his nephew Edward from Denmark, and gave Margaret to Malcolm, the king of the Scots. And she bore him three sons and two daughters . . . ."

The D'Alençon Genealogia was written in the seventh year of John (u.s., liii) ; i.e. 1205 × 1206. It is probably derived from O.V. (a lost page ; and i, 177-178).

With the statement that Margaret was given to Malcolm by her father Edward, cf. O.V., iii, 395 ; E.C., 107. See also the curious account given by Gaimar, i, 197.

In the forged document of Malcolm III's homage to Edward the Confessor (Palgrave, 367 ; Bain, i, no. 1, cf. pp. xi-xii ; L.C., 238-239) Malcolm names Margaret his consort, and Edward his eldest son. This document is dated on 5th June, [1066] (9 Malcolm III ; but probably the forger thought that Malcolm's reign began in 1057, and intended the year to be 1065. Edward † 5th January, 1066).

A genealogy of Margaret's descendants was sent by William, the abbot of Sawtry, to king Edward in 1291 ; Palgrave, 123-124.

The quotation in A.S.C. (*Salvabitur* . . . ; E.C., 94) from 1 Paul to Corinthians, VII, 14, may have been suggested by a similar quotation made by pope Gregory VII in a letter (I, 71 ; P.L. **148**, 345) written on 4th April, 1074, to queen Matilda, the wife of William the Conqueror.

Of Christina or Christiana, Margaret's sister, the tract on the Laws says (R.S. **51**, ii, 236) : "To this Christiana king Edward gave the land that Ralph de Limesi afterwards had." Stubbs notes that this Ralph was lord of Wulverley, in Warwickshire ; and refers to Dugdale's Baronage, i, 413. See Doomsday Book, i, 244 ; Warwickshire, s. 42 ; V.C.R. Warwickshire, i, 340-341, 281, 298 × 299. Doomsday Book's *Ulverlei* is now called Solihull.

Christina became a nun at Romsey in 1086 (E.C., 116 ; C.M., s.a., from

1070 × 1089

Lanfranc, Letter to Margaret; in Stevenson's Scalacronica of Sir Thomas Gray, pp. 222-223[1]

Lanfranc, unworthy bishop of the holy church of Canterbury, to the glorious queen of the Scots, Margaret, greeting and benediction.

The brief space of a letter cannot unfold the great gladness with which thou hast filled my heart, when I have read thy letter which thou hast sent to me, queen beloved of God. With what delight flow the words, which proceed by inspiration of the divine spirit! For I believe that the things thou hast written were said not by thee, but through thee. Truly He has spoken with thy mouth, who says to his disciples: "Learn from me, because I am gentle, and of humble heart." From this teaching of Christ it has come that thou, born of royal stock, royally brought up, nobly united to a noble king, hast chosen as father me, a stranger, worthless, ignoble, entangled in sin; and dost beg me to regard thee as a spiritual daughter. I am not such as thou [thinkest]; but may I be such, because thou thinkest it![2] Continue not in delusion; pray for me, that I may be worthy as a father to pray to the Lord for thee, and to be heard. Let there be traffic of prayers and benefits in common between us. Though I give small [benefits], yet I am confident of receiving much greater. Henceforth, then, let me be thy father, and be thou my daughter.

According to thy request, I send to thy glorious husband and thee our dearest brother, sir Goldwine; also two other brothers, because he could not fulfil in himself alone all that ought to be done in God's service and yours. I ask too, and ask earnestly, that you should endeavour resolutely and effectually to complete what you have begun for God and for your souls. And if you can, or wish to, fulfil your work through

F.W.; Liveing's Records of Romsey Abbey, pp. 39, 51). She grew old there (*consenuit;* W.M., i, 278).

For the children of Malcolm and Margaret see year 1093, and notes.

[1] Also in H. & S., ii, 155-156; P.L. **150**, 549-550; Giles, Patres Ecclesiae, Lanfranc, i, 59-60; L.C., 7-8, cf. 236-237.

[2] *Non sum quod petas; sed sim quia putas.* Migne, Giles, and Lawrie, read *putas* for *petas*, and I have accepted the emendation.

others, we would greatly desire that these our brothers should return to us; because they were very necessary to our church in their services. But let it be according to your will; and we desire in everything to obey you.[1]

1071

Ordericus Vitalis; Historia Ecclesiae, vol. ii, p. 221

King William gave the earldom of Northampton to earl Waltheof, Siward's son, the most powerful of the English; and, in order that firm friendship should endure between them, united to him in marriage his own niece, Judith. She bore her husband two beautiful daughters.[2]

[1] The significance of queen Margaret's action rests in the fact that Lanfranc claimed superiority for the see of Canterbury over all the churches of Britain. Cf. Ordericus Vitalis, ii, 209: "The chair of Canterbury, sitting in which Augustine had, by pope Gregory's decree, been the superior of [*praefuit*] all the bishops of Britain, was decreed (after the deposition of Stigand) to Lanfranc, the abbot of Caen, by the election of the king, and all his nobles."

Stigand was deposed in a council held on 11th April, 1070 (F.W., ii, 5). Lanfranc was appointed to the see on 15th August (F.W., ii, 7); and was consecrated on 29th August, 1070 (A.S.C. A; O.V., ii, 213). Cf. C.M., s.a. 1070.

Thomas was appointed archbishop of York on 23rd May, 1070 (F.W., ii, 6). Lanfranc refused to consecrate him, unless he professed obedience to Canterbury. Both archbishops went to Rome (in 1071, according to C.M.); and there received palls (in 1071, according to F.W., ii, 8; C.M.); decision being given in favour of Lanfranc (A.S.C. A).

Thomas was a royal chaplain (O.V., ii, 200).

For the history of Lanfranc cf. i.a. the addition to A.S.C. A; ed. Thorpe, i, 386-389; ed. Plummer, i, 287-292. According to Adam of Bremen, Lanfranc suppressed in England the monasteries that lived without a rule. Under Lanfranc's influence, queen Margaret probably wished to do the same in Scotland. Monks who had adopted the customs of the célidé were now perhaps the only favoured remnant of the Columban church in Scotland.

[2] Waltheof had obtained the earldom of Northampton and Huntingdon by hereditary right in the reign of Edward the Confessor, in succession to Tostig: probably in 1065, when Tostig was expelled from his earldom of Northumbria. See year 1055, note; and N.C., iv, 559.

After having submitted to king William, Waltheof had been in revolt against him (E.C., 89, 90 note); but had made peace with him (A.S.C., 1070 E, 1071 D). Cf. W.M., ii, 312. According to O.V., ii, 197:— "Waltheof, present, and Gospatric, absent, were reconciled" with king William, in January, 1070.

Cf. Jordan's Life of abbot Waltheof, 251.

Continuation of William of Jumièges, VIII, 37 (by R.T.), H.N.S., 312; B.R., xii, 583-584: " . . . Now this Waltheof had three daughters by his wife, the daughter of [Adelaide] the countess of Aumâle; and this countess was the uterine sister of William the Elder, king of the English. Simon of Senlis received [Matilda] the eldest of these daughters of earl Waltheof, with the earldom of Huntingdon; and had by her one son, called Simon. [See year ? 1114.]

"And when earl Simon [I] was dead, David, brother of the second Matilda, queen of the English, married [Simon's] wife; by whom he had one son, Henry.

"When his brothers, Duncan and Alexander, kings of the Scots, had been raised up from the midst, this [David] received the kingdom [of the Scots]. . . ."

Life of Waltheof, in Michel's C.A.N., ii, 112: "Afterwards the aforesaid Waltheof, being reconciled with king [William], received as a gift the marriage of [the king's] niece Judith, and the great friendship of the king. Because of the nobility of his race, and the extent of his possessions and properties, king William granted him all his land, in peace, in freedom, and without cost [*solutam*]; and gave him, to be his wife, his niece Ivetta, the daughter of count Lambert of Lens, and sister of the noble man Stephen, the count of Aumale. With her the king conferred upon and conceded to [Waltheof] all the liberties that belong to the honour of Huntingdon. And in the celebration of marriage and nuptials the earl conferred upon his wife, in name of dowry [*nomine dotis*], all his lands that extended from the river Trent towards the south [*in austria*]. In process of time she received from her husband two daughters; namely Matilda and Alice."

After Waltheof's execution in 1076 (see 1072, note), Judith retained the title of countess, and received the entire honour of Huntingdon. The "honour of Huntingdon" meant the seignory over the manors that were held of the earl of Huntingdon. The lands that belonged to countess Judith in 1086 (before Matilda's marriage) are entered in Doomsday Book. See below, year ? 1114, note. For the lands that pertained to the honour of Huntingdon in the 13th century, see Miss Moore's Lands of the Scottish Kings, 123-128; and cf. 13-47.

Life of Waltheof, C.A.N., ii, 123-124: "*Of the countess.* The countess Judith, earl Waltheof's widow, after the death of her lord, along with her two daughters had the lordship [*dominacionem*] of the honour of Huntingdon, which had been conferred upon her in name of dowry [*nomine dotis*]. And they lived there, until the king wished to give [Judith] in marriage to a certain knight, a native of France, called Simon Silvanectensis [or] of Senlis." Judith refused, because Simon was somewhat lame. "And for this reason the king [William I] burst into indignation; and burning with the vehemence of his anger conferred the whole honour of Huntingdon, as having devolved upon the king's hands, upon the said Simon. And thenceforward the same Simon was called the earl of Northampton and of Huntingdon: and for a long time he held the lands and possessions that pertain to them" (ibid, 124-125). This is probably a tendencial account.

1072

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 24, s.a. 1072[1]

The [Norman] French went into Scotland; and took away with them as hostage the king of Scotland's son.[2]

See ?1114, note. It would imply that Matilda married Simon of Senlis 1086 × 1087, when she cannot have been 16 years old. (This account is the basis of Ingulf, in Gale, i, 72-73.)

Jordan's Life of abbot Waltheof, 251: "And when Matilda, the above-named daughter of [earl Waltheof], had arrived at woman's estate [*ad mundum muliebrem*], she married at an opportune time the most illustrious earl of Huntingdon, namely the elder Simon of Senlis [*de Samhet*]. By this pledge of fruitfulness [*votivo germine*] she bore two sons and daughters." Jordan says that the elder son, Simon, was his father's favourite; the younger, Waltheof, his mother's (252).

The preface to the Register of Northampton says (fo. 4; and D.M., v, 190): "And earl [Waltheof] had before [his death] two daughters. The king [William I] gave the elder, named Maud, to Simon of Senlis, with the whole honour of Huntingdon."

After the death of Simon I, Matilda or Maud married David, king Malcolm's son. See year ?1114.

[1] With f.n. and e. of 1072; and the marginal note "bissextile."

The passage here translated stands at the end of the year-section.

[2] The same passage appears in A.L.C., i, 66, s.a. 1072.

The hostage given was Duncan; he was not released from hostage-ship until 1087 (E.C., 104). Duncan was the son of Malcolm and Ingibiorg. The facts that he was given as hostage, and afterwards made king of Scotland, show that he was Malcolm's eldest son, and legitimate heir. Cf. year 1070, note.

The giving of hostages was, in the view of an Irish chronicler, an acknowledgement of vassalage. This statement implies that the Scots accepted William as their over-lord.

Scotland had been involved in the unsuccessful opposition to William: as a natural consequence she submitted to William. Feudal subjection was permanent only when it could be enforced. The Scots seem to have regarded these submissions not as contracts, but as agreements terminable at will.

Scottish kings were aided to the throne by Norman kings of England, and accepted their overlordship, while the kingdom of Scotland was still imperfectly consolidated. These submissions helped forward the unification of the Scots. With increasing solidarity, the Scottish people found increasing burdens of feudalism laid upon them. The struggle with the Angevin kings followed. Its ambiguous result prepared the way for the English conquest, out of which arose the final unity and independence of Scotland.

1072

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 56

In the year 1072, William entered Scotland; and king Malcolm, meeting him in the place that is called Abernethy, [became his vassal].[1]

Upon his return from Scotland, king William rashly wished to make investigation concerning St Cuthbert; but became terrified, and withdrew from Durham in great haste.[2]

[1] The words used by F.W. are *homo suus devenit;* these were probably copied here by C.M., but they have been erased. "The words here inserted within brackets are no longer visible in the original manuscript, but they are given in Gale's edition. Since the date of its publication [1684] they have been so carefully erased from the vellum that there does not remain even the vestige of a single letter" Stevenson, Church Historians, iv, 116, note.

This paragraph is derived from F.W.; perhaps through S.D, ii, 195-196. See E.C., 95.

The meeting and homage at Abernethy are mentioned by the Chronicle of Carlisle, and other 1291 chronicles: Palgrave, 70, 61, 87, 90, 97, 105, 109, 114, 121, 122, 122, 126, 131; Bain, ii, 113.

The Commissioners' record of the 1291 chronicles reads (Palgrave, 136-137): "In the Chronicle of St Albans:—Malcolm, the king of the Scots, going to William, the king of England, asserted that he had received none of his enemies, and that he would receive none, except with the intention that they should acknowledge their lord, and that he should restore them to the king in peace and loyalty. To this king William also, the same Malcolm did homage and fealty." (A visit of king Edward I to the abbey of St Albans is recorded to have occurred between 9th December, 1290, and 2nd January, 1291. Walsingham's Gesta Abbatum, ii, 7-8; R.S. **28**.)

I do not know whether this passage refers to the agreement of 1072, or the agreement of 1080. It does not appear among the Excerpta given in the fragmentary Annals of king Edward I, edited among the St Albans chronicles (Rishanger, Chronica et Annales, 455-460; R.S. **28**).

Edward I's letter to Boniface (Foedera, i, **2**, 932): "Also William, called the Bastard, the king of England, a kinsman of the said Edward [the Confessor], took homage from Malcolm, the king of the Scots, as from his man, subject to him."

Walter of Hemingburgh later exaggerated Malcolm's humiliation (i, 14, s.a. 1072): "And when [William] had entered [Scotland], king Malcolm sent messengers to him from a distance, and asked for the things that pertained to peace; knowing that he could not fight against him. And [Malcolm] met him in the place that is called Abernethy, and became his man; doing him homage, and giving many hostages."

Langtoft says falsely that Malcolm was made prisoner (i, 426).

[2] This paragraph is apparently derived from S.D., i, 106. According

1072

Geoffrey Gaimar, Estorie des Engles, ll. 5710-5720; vol. i, pp. 242-243

After this,[1] about this time, as the true history tells us, king William and his barons led a great army against Malcolm.

Malcolm collected his army, and came against them readily; and soon the two kings encountered each other at Abernethy. Their barons spoke so much that [the kings] came to an agreement. All the Scots thanked God.[2]

1072

Simeon of Durham, Historia Regum, c. 160; vol. ii, pp. 199-200

When Gospatric was cast down from the honour,[3] Waltheof was raised up to the earldom [of Northumbria], which was his due both by his father's and his mother's family: because he was earl Siward's son by Ælfflæd, a daughter of the former earl Ealdred.

to Simeon, this investigation into the condition of St Cuthbert's remains was to have been carried out on 1st November, 1072; and William left Durham on that day. See Hoveden, i, 126-127.

Langtoft (u.s.) says falsely that the investigation did take place.

[1] Previously have been described the submission of the English nobles at Ely [in 1071; after the second revolt of Edwin and Morkere]; the death [legendary?] of Hereweard; and the deaths of earl Morkere [† 1087] and bishop Ægelwine [† 1071].

Florence says of Edwin (ii, 9): "But when they saw that what they had begun had not gone favourably for them, Edwin decided to go to Malcolm, the king of the Scots. But upon the way he met with treachery on the part of his supporters, and was killed."

For the story of Hereweard, see the Gesta Herwardi, R.S. **91**, i, 339-404; C.A.N., ii, 1-98; or appendix to Caxton Soc. ed. Gaimar.

[2] Benoît of Sainte-Maure (iii, 269-270) says that William "went to Scotland with great power and with great force"; and that there "he accomplished as much as he wished." Cf. also above, 1067-1068.

Guibertus, abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy, († 1124) says that William "subdued to himself the kingdoms of the English and the Scots" (Historia Hierosolymitana, III, 15; P.L. **156**, 711).

Cf. the 1291 Reading chronicle; Palgrave, 121.

[3] Gospatric Maldred's son was one of the English nobles who submitted to William in 1067. Fearing William's distrust, he fled to Scotland in 1068 (E.C., 88; cf. above, year 1070, note).

Gospatric was reconciled with king William early in 1070 (see 1071, note); invaded Cumbria later in the same year (see 1070, note; E.C., 92);

and held the earldom of Northumbria (obtained 1066 × 1071) from the autumn of 1071 until the autumn of 1072, when William deprived him of it, on the ground of his complicity in the murder of earl Robert, and his invasion of York with the Danes, in 1069 (E.C., 96; see above, year 1070, note).

A Gospatrik made an announcement to "all my vassals [*wassenas*] and every man, free and unfree, that dwell in all the lands that were Cumber's [*Commbres*]." In this proclamation, he declares that Thorfinn, Thori's son (*Mac Thore*), "is as free in all things that are mine in Allerdale [*Alnerdall*] as any man is, whether I or any of my vassals" [u.s.]; and prohibits any man to break the peace that earl Siward and he had granted. He also declares that certain of Thorfinn's tenants shall be as free in their lands "as Maelmuire, and Thori, and Sigewulf, were in the days of Eadred" (*Eadread;* a former tenant of Allerdale?). First among the confirmers a Waltheof is named. (Hodgson's Northumberland, vii, 26.)

This document implies that a Gospatric was the ruler of Cumbria, under or after earl Siward. This might have been the Gospatric who was associated with earl Tostig, Siward's successor, and who probably died in 1064 (see below); but the Waltheof mentioned could in that case hardly have been Siward's son. It is more probable that Waltheof was Gospatric I's son, who afterwards possessed the lands of Allerdale; and that the Gospatric of the proclamation was his father. The proclamation would then have been made 1055 × 1072.

It seems to show that Gospatric I was of Cumbrian origin; and proves incidentally that Siward had dominion in Cumbria. Cf. year 1055, note.

Gospatric Maldred's son became (after 1072) the ruler of Lothian (S.D., ii, 199; E.C., 96); and is accounted the first earl of Dunbar, although he did not receive that title. He was succeeded in Lothian by his son, Gospatric II († ? 1138); he, by his son Gospatric III († 1166); he, by his son Waltheof († 1182). Patrick, Waltheof's son, earl of Dunbar, died in 1232; his son, Patrick II, in or after 1248. See J. Anderson's account of the earls of Dunbar, in S.P., iii, 240.

The mother of Gospatric I was Ealdgyth, a daughter of earl Uhtred, and grand-daughter of king Æthelred II, the father of Edward the Confessor. See below.

Of Gospatric's sons, Dolfin was probably placed by Malcolm III over the district of Carlisle, and driven out by William II in 1092 (E.C., 108-109); Gospatric (cf. E.C., 96, 81) was lord of Beanley, in Northumberland (see Bain, i, no. 1712; Hinde's S.D., 92), and succeeded his father in Lothian; Waltheof was lord of Allerdale, in Cumberland, in inheritance from his father (above; Testa de Nevill, Rec. Com. ed., 379. See Bain, ii, no. 64; where the statement is made that Dolfin and Gospatric were illegitimate sons of Gospatric I). For Waltheof, his wife Sigritha, and their son Alan, see Guisbrough, ii, 318-319; D.M., vi, 270-271.

According to Bain, ii, no. 64, and Wetherhal, 384-385, Cumbria was given to Randolph de Meschinis [le Meschin, vicomte de Bayeux, 3rd earl of Chester, 1121-† ca. 1129: he had married Margaret, daughter of earl

Hugh de Avranches, for whom cf. year 1098]; and Randolph enfeoffed the barony of Allerdale to Waltheof, Gospatric's son. It was inherited by Alan, Waltheof's son; and afterwards by William, Duncan's son. Cf. i.a. Harleian MS. 2188, fos. 2, 32-33, 48. See below, years 1094, 1124, 1190, notes. Waltheof is said to have been the abbot of Crowland, for whom see year 1125, and E.C., 166. His identity with the abbot has been doubted—cf. Hodgson's Northumberland, vi, 28-29—, and strongly disputed by J. Wilson in S.H.R., ii, 331-334. The evidence is not conclusive.

Gospatric I's daughter Æthelthryth or Octreda married Duncan, afterwards king Duncan II, the son of Malcolm and Ingibiorg. See year 1094, note. For the other daughters of Gospatric, see Hodgson's Northumberland, vii, 29. For Gunnhild, see W. Jackson, Papers and Pedigrees, i, 290.

Gospatric had an illegitimate son Edgar (cf. E.C., 209-210); and a daughter, Juliana, who married Randolph de Merlay, the founder of the monastery at Newminster, established in 1138. See D.M., v, 399. Cf. year ? 1114, note, s.f.

Maldred, mentioned by R.H., was probably a relative, possibly a son, of Gospatric I. E.C., 209.

Edward, son of earl Gospatric, and Edward's son Waltheof, are entered in the Liber Vitae of Durham (S.S. **18**, 102). An Edward, father of a Waltheof, received 7 manors from Gospatric I; see Bain, i, no. 1712.

Hoveden, i, 59, in quoting from S.D., ii, 199, through the Historia Saxonum post Bedam, (E.C., 96) adds these words: "But after a short time had passed, [Gospatric I] being in extreme ill-health summoned to him the monks Ealdwine and Turgot, who were at that time living for Christ's sake in poverty of goods and spirit at Melrose. And after a thorough confession of sins, and many lamentations of penitence, he ended his life at Ubbanford, [Ubbi's ford? I.e. Norham; S.D., i, 361] and was buried in the exit of the church. He had given them two noble dossals; so that in whatever place they should receive a seat in which to remain, they might keep them there in memory of him. These are still preserved in the church of Durham."

Ealdwine and others had been reviving monasticism in Northumbria (S.D., i, 108-113; C.M., s.a. 1074; Hoveden, i, 128-131). Ealdwine and Turgot were in Melrose 1073 × 1074 (E.C., 97-98): therefore Hoveden places Gospatric's death within that time. Ealdwine († 1087) was Turgot's predecessor in the priorate of Durham. If Hoveden's statement is correct, the Gospatric who appears in Doomsday Book must have been Gospatric II, See D.K., 57, 49; where it is suggested that Gospatric I fell ill 1073 × 1074, but recovered.

Another Gospatric, possibly a relative of Gospatric I, was a sheriff (see year 1125).

Gospatric II died 1135 × 1139, Aug. 16th (Raine's Hexham, i, Appendix, no. 9; with Raine's North Durham, Appendix, no. 20). He seems to have fallen in 1138, at the battle of the Standard (see E.C., 203).

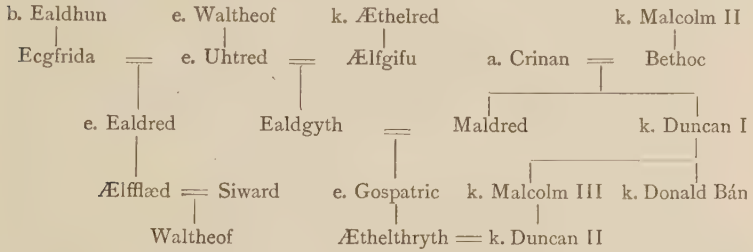
For the lands held by Gospatric ? II in 1086 in Yorkshire West Riding, see Doomsday Book, Yorkshire, s. 39 (Rec. Com. ed., i, 330; James's

At the same time, (when the king had returned from Scotland) [Waltheof] founded a castle in Durham, where the bishop along with his [clergy] could keep himself safely from invaders. For bishop Walchere and earl Waltheof were the greatest friends, and relied[1] upon each other. And so, residing along with the bishop, and in the synod of the priests, he humbly and obediently carried out whatever had been decreed by the bishop for the correction of Christianity in his county.[2]

facsimile, p. 65. A Gospatric is named there frequently ; e.g., on pp. 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 17, 24-30, 62, 67-69, 82-83).

See Ellis, Introd. to Domesday Book, i, 428 ; ii, 331.

A few relationships may be tabulated :



Cf. the table given under 1055 ; S.P., iii, 240-245 ; Hodgson's Northumberland, vii, 14-106, and genealogical table 106 × 107.

The name Gospatric is spelt *Gospatric* in A.S.C., and Doomsday Book ; *Gospatricus* in F.W. ; *Cospatricus* in S.D., and frequently ; *Gospatlicus* on the tomb-stone at Durham. The contemporary Life of Edward (1066 × 1074) spells the name *Gaius Patricius* (R.S. 3, 411. This was another Gospatric, a young man of the race of Edward the Confessor ; he died 28th December, 1064 ; F.W., i, 223) : and the same spelling is adopted by O.V. (1123 × 1141). The accepted etymology derives the name from a word equivalent to the Welsh *gwas* "boy, servant" (Irish *foss ;* see Stokes-Bezzenberger, Urkeltischer Sprachschatz, 278 ; cf. Old French and English *vassal*), and the name of St Patrick. If this is correct, the name should have appeared in a form *Waspatric*, or *Guaspatric*. It does appear, in one document of 1247, in the form *Quaspatricius* (Bain, i, no. 1712).

[1] For *acclives* in the text, reading *acclines*.

[2] Life of Waltheof, C.A.N., ii, 111 : "To [Siward] earl Waltheof, his son, succeeded in everything in his possessions and properties." By this the Life implies that Waltheof was earl of Cumbria as well as Northumbria. See year 1055, note.

With regard to the status of the northern counties, it is to be noted that Northumberland, Durham, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, were not included in the Conqueror's census of 1086, recorded in the Doomsday Book ; excepting a district of Cumberland that was formerly included in the West Riding of Yorkshire (V.C.H. Cumberland, i, 336 ; Doomsday

Book, facsimile, Yorkshire, p. VIII). For the extent of the region called Cumbria at this time, cf. year 1070, note.

For Waltheof, Siward's son, see E.C., 89, 90, 156; F.W., ii, 3, 10-12; W.M., ii, 311-314; Life, C.A.N., ii, 112-117. Unlike his father, Waltheof was born in England (O.V., ii, 285). His name is probably of Danish origin. The old Danish form would have been *Valthiuf;* cf. Icelandic and Old Norse *Valthiófr*. (The name is deliberately altered by Jordan, in his Life of abbot Waltheof, to Walthenus: see 251-252.)

In 1069, Waltheof was among those who made common cause with the Danes (O.V., ii, 192; H.H., 204-205). His reconciliation with William in 1070, marriage in 1071, and investiture in the earldom of Northumbria in 1072, had an important influence upon Scottish history, because of the marriage of his daughter Matilda with David. Through Matilda, the Scottish kings held Northampton and Huntingdon, and claimed Northumbria, and apparently Cumbria also.

The Chronicle of Melrose, 56, s.a. 1073, notes that "Earl Waltheof [Siward's son] heavily avenged upon the sons of Carl the death of earl Ealdred, his grandfather." This is derived from S.D., ii, 200; cf. i, 219. See above, and below. Waltheof's mother Ælfflæd had been the daughter of Ealdred.

Waltheof was again involved in a conspiracy against king William, in 1074 (O.V., ii, 260-262; F.W., ii, 10; cf. C.M., 57); but repented, confessed to Lanfranc, and surrendered himself to William, in 1075. He was imprisoned (F.W., ii, 11-12), and in 1076 beheaded at Winchester (A.S.C. E, s.a. 1076; D, s.a. 1077, on May 31st; on 30th April, erroneously, according to O.V., ii, 267. Cf. F.W., ii, 12, s.a. 1075; C.M., s.a. 1075; H.H., 206, s.a. 1075; and C.H., s.a. 1076. Icelandic Annals CA, s.a. 1075).

O.V. (ii, 265) and the Life of Waltheof (C.A.N., ii, 100, 115, 121; 104, 123) say that he was betrayed by Judith. At Judith's request, king William permitted his body to be buried at Crowland abbey, of which he had been a "faithful brother and helper" (O.V., ii, 267, 268; cf. 285). For his translation and miracles, see O.V., ii, 286-290; C.A.N., ii, 101-103, 118-119, 122-123, 131-142.

Cf. Jordan, Life of abbot Waltheof, 251.

According to O.V, ii, 290, William was blamed by many for the execution of Waltheof; "and he never afterwards obtained lasting peace."

"After [Waltheof], the charge of the county [of Northumbria] was committed to bishop Walchere" S.D., ii, 207-208. See below, and year 1080.

For Carl and his father Thurbrand, cf. S.D., ii, 197 (see E.C., 77, note):—"To [Osulf and Oslac] succeeded Waltheof the Elder, who had as his successor his son Uhtred. When, in the reign of Æthelred, king Cnut hostilely invaded Northumbria, [Uhtred] with his subjects, under compulsion of necessity, went over to the side of Cnut; and after swearing an oath and giving hostages, [Uhtred] was killed by a certain very rich Dane, Thurbrand (surnamed Hold), with the permission of Cnut. [Uhtred's] brother, Eadulf Cudel, was substituted in his place. . . ." Cf. E.C., 81.

Simeon of Durham, ii, 198 (after the passage translated in E.C., 97, note): "After Eadulf Cudel, Ealdred, the son of the aforesaid earl Uhtred,

received the earldom ; and he slew Thurbrand in revenge for the homicide of his father who had been slain. This Thurbrand's son Carl and the aforesaid earl Ealdred, after laying snares each for the other's life, were at last reconciled. But not long afterwards Ealdred, suspecting no evil, was treacherously killed by Carl, his sworn brother, in the wood that is called Risewde. . . ." (In Risewde, at Settrington ; S.D., i, 219 : east of New Malton, in Yorkshire East Riding.)

See the history of Uhtred, Eadulf Cudel, and Ealdred and his daughters, in the tract De Obsessione Dunelmi ; S.D., i, 215-220.

Cf. the sketch of Northumbrian affairs in the tract (earlier than S.D.) De Northymbrorum Comitibus ; S.D., ii, 383-384 (after the passage translated in E.C , 77) :—" To these earls [Oslac and Eadulf Yvelcild], Waltheof the Elder succeeded, in the reign of Æthelred. Afterwards Uhtred, Waltheof's son, administered the earldom of all the provinces of the Northumbrians. To him king Æthelred had given his daughter Ælfgifu as his wife. By her, [Uhtred] had a daughter Ealdgyth ; and he gave her in marriage to a very rich man, Maldred, Crinan's son [Maldred, son of Crinan the Thane : S.D., i, 216]. By her, [Maldred] had Gospatric the earl, the father of Dolfin, Waltheof, and Gospatric. [See above.]

"And when Uhtred had been killed by Thurbrand, surnamed Hold, by the wish of king Cnut [see S.D., i, 217-218 ; and ii, 197, above], his brother, Eadulf Cudel, administered the earldom [E.C., 81 ; apparently under Eric. See year 1018, note] ; and after him Ealdred, the aforesaid Uhtred's son, whom Uhtred had had by [Ecgfrida] a daughter of bishop Ealdhun [of Lindisfarne, 990-†1018], before he married the daughter of king Æthelred. [Uhtred] had other sons also, Gospatric and Eadulf, by another marriage [with Sigen, daughter of Styr, Ulf's son : S.D., i, 216]. [This] Gospatric's son was Uhtred, by whom was begotten Eadulf Rus, who was the chief and instigator of those who killed bishop Walchere [† 1080].

"After earl Ealdred had been killed by Carl (whose father, the aforesaid Thurbrand, Ealdred himself had slain, in revenge for the killing of his father, earl Uhtred, by that Thurbrand), [Ealdred] was succeeded by his younger brother, Eadulf. [Eadulf] was afterwards killed [in 1041 ; A.S.C. CD ; F.W.], in the reign of Edward [read "Harthacnut"], by Siward, who received after him the earldom of the province of the Northumbrians ; that is, from the Humber to the Tweed.

"After Siward's death [† 1055], king Edward transferred the earldom to Tostig, the brother of king Harold. Afterwards this Tostig was ejected and outlawed from the earldom by all the people of his county [in 1065], because of his excessive violence ; and Edwin and Morkere, to whom king Edward had delegated the charge of that earldom, committed the county, from the Tyne as far as the Tweed, to the son of earl Eadulf (earl Ealdred's brother), Osulf by name. Afterwards [in [1071] ; S.D., ii, 198] Copsi received from king William the government of the county ; and he expelled Osulf from the earldom. But later [Osulf] collected his forces, and killed Copsi in the entrance to the church of Newburn. [On 12th March, ? 1071 ; S.D., ii, 198-199 ; cf. i, 97-98. See Gaimar, ll. 5165-5167 ; William of Poitiers, H.N.S., 212-213 ; O.V., ii, 176. Hoveden, i, 58.] After a few

1072

Tigernach, Annals; Revue Celtique, vol. xvii, p. 410; s.a. [1072][1]

Diarmait, Maelnambó's son, the king of Wales, the Hebrides, Dublin, and Mugnuadat's Half,[2] was killed[3] by Conchobar

months, [Osulf] also, being carried by the impetus of a running horse against the spear of a robber that opposed him, instantly died. [In autumn, ? 1071; S.D., ii, 199.]

"After this, Gospatric [Maldred's son], the son (as has been said above) of king Æthelred's grand-daughter, administered the earldom, which he had bought from king William. But afterwards [in 1072] the same king took it from him, and gave it to Waltheof, earl Siward's son, whom [Siward] had had by Ælfflæd, the daughter of earl Ealdred.

"After Waltheof had been made prisoner and killed [† 1076], the king committed the earldom to bishop Walchere. After [Walchere] was killed [in 1080], [the king] gave the earldom to Albri. [Cf. S.D., i, 124; ii, 261. Liber Vitae of Durham, 66-67.]

"And when Albri relinquished the earldom, it was given to one Robert de Mowbray [later than 1088; F.W., ii, 24]; but king William the younger was offended by him; and, taking him prisoner with violence [in 1095; F.W., ii, 38; see E.C., 111, note], [William] retained the earldom in his own hand: and to-day his brother, king Henry, retains it."

Therefore this tract was written 1100×1135. It was used by S.D. (ii, 197-199). Cf. John of Eversden (in E.H.S. ed. of F.W., ii, 251-252).

The name Copsi is perhaps an abbreviated form of an Anglo-Saxon name Copsige; Albri, of Ælbeorht (Æthelbeorht).

Simon de Senlis II seems to have held the earldom of Northumbria 1136×1139. See year ? 1114, note. In 1139, it was given to Henry, king David's son.

[1] Placed 9 years after 1063; with f.n. of 1072, and e. 6 (read 7). The previous year-section has the correct f.n. and e. of 1071.

With this passage cf. C.S., 290, Hennessy's year 1069=1072; A.U., ii, 22-24, s.a. 1072; A.I., 77, s.a. 1072 (O'Conor's year 1055); D.A.I., 78-79; and A.B., 18; F.M., ii, 900-902; A.L.C., i, 66.

Three sons of king Harold Godwine's son had taken refuge with Diarmait, and he had assisted them in warfare against king William (A.S.C. D, s.aa. 1067, 1068; F.W., ii, 2-3, s.a. 1068; O.V., ii, 189-190). When Godwine and his family had been banished in 1051, Harold had gone to Diarmait, and remained in Ireland during the winter 1051-1052. He may have been with Diarmait when Diarmait expelled Echmarcach, and made himself king of Dublin, in 1052 (see year ? 1052, note). See A.S.C.; cf. R.S. 8, 411.

[2] I.e. of the southern half of Ireland.

So also in A.B. "King of Leinster, and the Hebrides, and Dublin" D.A.I. "King of the Foreigners, and Leinster, and Mug's Half" C.S.; "king of Leinster and Ossory" A.I.; "king of Leinster and the Foreigners" A.U.,

Ua-Maelsechlaind[1] in the battle of Odba[2]; and innumerable slaughter [was made] of the Foreigners and the Leinstermen, along with him.[3]

1073

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 24, s.a. 1073[4]

Sigtrygg, Olaf's son, and two grandsons of Brian, were killed in Man.[5]

ca. 1075

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, pp. 50-52, s.a. 1056 = 1075 × 1076

Godfrey Crovan[6] collected a great number of ships, and came to Man. He fought a battle with the people of the land; but he was defeated, and put to flight.

A.L.C.; "king of Leinster, and the Foreigners of Dublin, and Mugnuadat's Half" F.M.

[3] "and was destroyed" add A.B.; "and was beheaded, on Tuesday, the seventh day before the Ides of February, after he had been routed by" add F.M. (i.e., on Tuesday, 7th February, 1072). The same date is added by the text hand in a note in A.U.; and is in A.L.C.

Marianus Scottus, M.G.H., Scriptores, v, 560, s.a. 1094 = 1072: "Diarmait, the king of Leinster, was killed, on the eighth day before the Ides of February, the second day of the week" (i.e., on Monday, 6th February, 1072).

[1] "king of Tara" add A.U., A.L.C.; "king of Meath" add D.A.I., F.M. "By Ua-Maelsechlaind and Ua-Briain" A.I.

Conchobar Ua-Maelsechlaind, king of Meath, † 1073 (March 24th, M.S., 560). Toirdelbach, Brian's grandson, was king of Ireland († 1086).

[2] "of Odba" not in A.I., A.L.C.; added later in A.U. "In Meath" A.I., D.A.I. Killed "at Odba" Book of Leinster, 39, col. 3.

Odba was in Meath, near Navan.

[3] "innumerable" not in A.U., A.L.C.; "and . . . Leinstermen" not in A.B. "And slaughter along with him" C.S.; "and many of . . . fell along with him" A.I., and to same effect D.A.I.; "there were slain also many hundreds of . . ." F.M.

"And Gilla-Patraic Ua-Fergaile, king of the Fortuatha of Leinster, fell there" add A.I.; so read also in D.A.I., F.M.

A.I. and F.M. add verses written upon the death of Diarmait.

"Derbforgaill [*Derbfhorgaill*], a daughter of [king] Brian's son, and the wife of Diarmait, Maelnambó's son, died in Emly" [Tipperary], in 1080; A.U., ii, 32; F.M., ii, 914.

[4] With f.n. and e. of 1073.

[5] So also A.L.C., i, 66, s.a. 1073; omitting "and . . . Brian."

[6] *Godredus Crouan.* The epithet is probably Irish: *cró-bán* "very pale" (literally "white-blooded").

The Chronicle of Man says that this Godfrey was the son of Harold the

Again he brought together an army and ships, came to Man, [and] fought with the Manxmen; was conquered, and put to flight.

A third time he assembled a plentiful multitude, and came by night to the harbour that is called Ramsey; and he hid three hundred men in the wood that was upon a steep brow of the mountain called Snaefell.[1] When the star of day arose, the Manxmen formed their line of battle, and met with Godfrey in a great assault. And when the battle was proceeding vigorously, the three hundred men arose from their place of ambush, and began to weaken the Manxmen [by attacking them] from the rear, and to drive them into flight. And when they saw that they were defeated, and that no place of refuge was open to them (because the tide of the sea had filled the channel of the Ramsey river[2]), and that the enemy held his ground and pressed upon them from both sides, those who had still remained begged from Godfrey with piteous cries that their lives should be spared. And he, moved by compassion, and pitying their calamity (since he had been brought up among them, for some time), called back his army, and forbade it to pursue them longer.

On the following day, Godfrey gave his army the choice either of dividing Man among themselves, and living in it, if they preferred; or of taking the whole substance of the land, and returning home. And it pleased them better to pillage the whole island, and to be enriched by its goods, and so to return home. But to the few of the islanders[3] who had remained with

Black, of Iceland; and that he had fled from the battle of Stamford Bridge to Man, where he was received by king Godfrey, Sigtrygg's son († ? 1070). See year 1066, note. Munch believed him to have been the grandson of Godfrey, Harold's son († 989); and that *Ysland* ("Iceland") might have been an error for *Yle* ("Islay"): see the 1874 edition, i, 143-144. The latter conjecture is weakened by the fact that the *s* in Islay has no etymological justification, and has been added in comparatively recent times. The same chronicle, however, says that he died in Islay. See year 1095.

In 1075, another Godfrey, the king of Dublin, son of Olaf, son of Ronald, died (T., A.U.). To him Lanfranc had written a letter (? 1073 × 1075), in which he calls him king of Ireland (Opera, ed. Giles, i, 61-62): but cf. N.C., iv, 528-529.

[1] *Scacafel.*

[2] I.e., the river Sulby.

[3] I.e., Hebrideans in his army.

him [in Man] Godfrey granted the southern part of the island; and to the rest of the Manxmen, the northern part, on the condition that none of them should ever dare to usurp to himself any part of the land by hereditary right.[1] And so it happens that down to the present day the whole island is in the possession of one king; and all its revenues pertain to him.

Godfrey subdued to himself Dublin, and a great part of Leinster. And he so tamed the Scots that none who built a ship or a boat dared to put into it more than three [iron] bolts.[2]

1079

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 57

In the year 1079, Malcolm, the king of the Scots, devastated England as far as the Tyne.[3]

King William and his son William were wounded by his son Robert before the castle of Gerberoi, and turned to flight.[4]

1080

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 57

In the year 1080, Walchere, the bishop of Durham, was killed.[5] Odo, the bishop of Bayeux, was sent by king William, and wasted Northumbria.[6]

[1] This means that Godfrey was to be the overlord of the whole island. The king who was dethroned by Godfrey Crovan appears to have been Fingal, the son of Godfrey Sigtrygg's son: see year 1070.

[2] *Scotos vero ita perdomuit ut nullus qui fabricaret navem vel scapham ausus esset plus quam tres clavos* [*ferreos* MS. O] *inserere.* Among the dues paid by the city of Gloucester to Edward Confessor were "36 dicres of iron; and 100 ductile rods of iron, for the bolts [*clavi*] of the king's ships" (Doomsday Book, i, 162). These *clavi* were apparently used to strengthen in some way the timbering of war-ships.

By *Scoti* the Galwegians are probably meant. Cf. below, year 1098.

For the continuation, see year ? 1095.

[3] After 15th August; F.W.

This invasion is mentioned by the 1291 chronicles of Reading (s.a. 1081) and Worcester (Palgrave, 121, 131).

[4] These paragraphs are derived from F.W., ii, 13. Cf. E.C., 100.

[5] Walchere's predecessor in Durham was Ægelwine (or Æthelwine), who had died in prison in the winter of 1071 (F.W., ii, 8, 9-10). Ægelwine had taken part in the revolt of 1071.

Walchere, a Lotharingian (A.S.C. E; S.D., i, 105), of the clergy of Liége (S.D., i, 9), was appointed bishop of Durham in 1071 (S.D., ii, 195; C.M.,

King William sent his son Robert into Scotland against Malcolm, as far as Falkirk[1]; but he returned without having accomplished anything, and founded Newcastle.[2]

1085

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 38, s.a. 1085[3]

. . . Maelsnechtai, Lulach's son, the king of Moray, . . . happily ended his life.[4]

s.a.). He was consecrated at Winchester, in 1071 (R.H., i, 126; cf. C.M.). He was conducted to his see by earl Gospatric, and reached it in the middle of Lent [1072; Feb. 21 × Apr. 7] (S.D.). He was on friendly terms with earl Waltheof, Siward's son (see year 1072). After the execution of earl Waltheof in 1076, the county of Northumbria was placed under Walchere's charge (1072, note).

Walchere was killed in May, 1080, at an assembly in Durham, with 100 Normans and Flemings, according to A.S.C. E; on Thursday, 14th May, 1080, at Gateshead, according to F.W. and S.D., i, 117; in revenge for the murder of Liulf, or Ligulf, a noble of high birth, and vassal of St Cuthbert (see F.W., ii, 13-16; W.M., 271-272; ii, 330-331). Walchere declared his innocence of the murder; but he was disbelieved. Ligulf had married Ealdgyth, a daughter of earl Ealdred, and cousin of Gospatric; and aunt of Waltheof, Siward's son (S.D., ii, 209; i, 219. See above, 1072, note). Ligulf's avenger was Eadulf Rus, Uhtred's son, a great-grandson of earl Uhtred (above; and E.C., 97-98, note). Cf. Round, in the Genealogist, N.S., v, 27.

The obituaries of Durham place Walchere's death on 13th May (143) and 14th May (140, 150).

See the verses in S.S. **70**, 72-73.

For Ligulf († 1079/1080) cf. also Langtoft, i, 430. The Ligulf, Uhtred's son, whose death is entered in the Durham obituary (147) under 21st November is probably the Ligulf mentioned in king David's charter, ibid., 67, 1124 × 1135: therefore probably not the man who was murdered in 1079.

[6] This is derived from S.D., i, 118. Cf. F.W., ii, 16.

[1] *Eaglesuret.*

[2] This paragraph is derived from S.D., ii, 211; cf. E.C., 103-104. S.D. says that the invasion took place in the autumn time.

Cf. the curious account given by Langtoft, i, 430-432.

C.M. borrows from S.D., ii, 211-212, notes of the hostilities between pope Gregory VII [† 1085] and the emperor Henry IV, s.aa. 1081-1084.

[3] With f.n. and e. of 1085.

[4] All the others whose deaths are entered with his were ecclesiastics. Maelsnechtai is named among the benefactors of Deer, in the Additions to the Book of Deer, no. 2. See below, before 1131.

. . . Donald, Malcolm's son, king of Scotland, . . . ended his life unhappily.[1]

1087

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 58-59, s.a. 1087

Ealdwine, the prior of Durham, died.

. . . When [king William] felt, because his illness increased, that the day of his death was approaching, he released his brother Odo, the bishop of Bayeux; and the earls Morkere, and Roger, and Siward, surnamed Barn; and Wulfnoth, king Harold's brother, whom he had kept in custody from his childhood; and all those whom he had placed in custody, either in England or in Normandy. Then he gave up the kingdom of England to his son, William; and to Robert, his eldest son, who was at that time in exile in France, he granted the county of Normandy. And so . . . on the fifth day[2] before the Ides of September he lost both the kingdom and life. . . .

And William, his son, went in haste to England, taking with him Morkere and Wulfnoth; but as soon as he came to Winchester, he placed them in custody, as they had been before.

After this, on the sixth day before the Kalends of October, a Sunday,[3] he was consecrated king by archbishop Lanfranc. He divided his father's treasures, as he had commanded, to churches throughout England, and to the poor.

He released from custody Ulf, the former king Harold's son, and Duncan, king Malcolm's son; and honouring them with the arms of knighthood, he allowed them to go away.[4]

[1] *infeliciter*; i.e., unshriven. Therefore he probably died by violence, or as a result of accident.

Copying from A.U., A.L.C. read (i, 74, s.a. 1085; with e. of 1085, but f.n. 1, for which read 4): "Donald, Malcolm's son, king of Scotland, died."

A.C., MS. C, 28, Ab Ithel's year 1083 (which should = 1085), read: "The king of the Scots died"; but this means Toirdelbach, king of Ireland [† 1086]. See B.T., MS. C, 52, Ab Ithel's year 1084.

This Donald seems to have been a son of king Malcolm III, perhaps by Ingibiorg. Cf. year 1070, note; and see year 1116.

[2] 9th September.

[3] Sunday, 26th September, 1087.

[4] This entire passage is derived from S.D., ii, 213-214; S.D. takes it (excepting † Ealdwine) from F.W., ii, 20-21. Cf. E.C., 104.

1087

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 42, s.a. 1087[1]

A fleet [was brought] to Man by the sons of Ronald's son,[2] and by the son of the king of Ulster[3]; and there the sons of Ronald's son fell.

1091

Continuator of Tigernach, Revue Celtique, vol. xviii, p. 13; s.a. [1091][4]

Godfrey, the son of Harold's son, [became] king of Dublin.[5]

1091

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 60, s.a. 1091[6]

King William met with king Malcolm's army, which was already laying waste Northumbria in the region of Loidis. Count Robert made peace between them on these terms, that the king of the Scots should obey king William; and king William should restore to the aforesaid king twelve towns,[7] which [Malcolm] had had under [William's] father; and [Malcolm] should give him every year twelve[8] marks of gold.

[1] With f.n. and e. of 1087.

[2] These were probably brothers of Sigtrygg, who fell in Man in 1073; and sons of Olaf, the son of Ronald, and father of the Godfrey, king of Dublin, who died in 1075 (A.U., ii, 26; cf. above, years 1073, 1075, note).

[3] The king of Ulster at this time was Duncan Ua-Eochada. See A.U., s.aa. 1081, 1084, 1113.

[4] With f.n. and e. of 1091.

[5] This seems to have been Godfrey Crovan, the king of Man, called Harold's son in the Chronicle of Man. See years 1075, 1094, 1095.

[6] Also copied on inserted folio 53; p. 233. The passage is derived from F.W., ii, 28 (E.C., 107, 108).

[7] *villas.*

[8] In Stevenson's text, $\overline{xij}$ [=12,000]. In MS. *xij;* so also in Gale.

Edward I's letter to Boniface (Foedera, i, 2, 932): "Also, the aforesaid Malcolm, king of the Scots, was subject by oath of fealty to William Rufus, the king of England."

The submission of 1091 is mentioned in the 1291 chronicles of Bridlington, Gloucester, London, Tewkesbury, and Worcester (Palgrave, 62-63, 77, 105, 108, 126, 129, 131-132).

1091

Continuator of William of Jumièges, Historia Normannorum, book VIII, c. 8; Duchesne's H.N.S., pp. 295-296

We might insert in the pages of these annals with regard to William [II] that once and again he led an army into the territories of the Welsh, who were rebelling against him, and subdued them; and that he met with his army the king of the Scots, Malcolm, who had brought an army into England: and inclined him to such terms as he wished.[1]

1092

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 60, s.a. 1092

King William came to Carlisle,[2] and restored it.[3]

1093

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 50, s.a. 1093 [4]

. . . Fothad, the chief bishop of Scotland,[5] reposed in Christ.

1093

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 60, s.a. 1093

A new church was begun at Durham, on the third day

[1] Benoît de Sainte-Maure (Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie, iii, 317-318) says that king Malcolm ". . . immediately came against [king William Rufus] with his Scots. He intended to ravage England, to seize, assail, and rob; because he had brought there many people, from many distant countries. But king Rufus without fear went with his army to meet him. By force and compulsion he constrained him to his will. [Malcolm] came to his feet humbly, submissively. . . ."

[2] *Carel.*

[3] This is derived from A.S.C. (E.C., 108-109), through F.W., ii, 30, or S.D., ii, 220.

[4] With f.n. and e. of 1093.

[5] *Fothud ardepscop Alban.* Fothad was bishop of St Andrews. He is called *Modach filius Malmykel* in St Andrews, 117; L.C., no. 11: and *Fodanus episcopus* in king Duncan II's charter to Durham (L.C., no. 12), which shows that he was not alive in 1094. He is the ? *Fodhoch* of the York chronicles (E.C., 131).

The last previous bishop of St Andrews whose death is recorded was Maelduin, † 1055 (cf. L.C., no. 6). An intermediate bishop appears to have been Tuathal (L.C., no. 7). After Fothad, Turgot was elected in 1107, and consecrated in 1109.

Cf. Bower, VI, 24; i, 339-340. See years 1055, 1109.

before the Ides of August[1]; William, the bishop, and Malcolm, king of the Scots, and prior Turgot, placing the first stones in its foundation.[2]

Malcolm, the king of the Scots, with his eldest son Edward, was slain by the Northumbrians.

Margaret, the queen of Scotland, died.[3]

1093

Tigernach's Continuator, Revue Celtique, vol. xviii, p. 15; s.a. [1093][4]

Malcolm, Duncan's son, the king of Scotland, was slain by Frenchmen, along with Edward his son; and Margaret, Malcolm's wife, died of grief for him.[5]

[1] I.e., on 11th August; a Thursday. This was the date of the foundation ceremony. Building operations had begun on Friday, 29th July (S.D.).

[2] This is derived from S.D., ii, 220 (cf. i, 128-129). Cf. Fordun, V, 20, quoting Turgot.

This was the beginning of the present cathedral church of Durham. Like many new churches of the period, it was occupied by monks.

For a description of Durham, written rather more than 50 years later, see the Dialogues of Laurence, 8-13.

[3] These last two paragraphs are derived from F.W. or S.D.; E.C., 110. They are the source of the Chronicle of Man, i, 54, s.a. 1073=1093: "Malcolm, the king of Scotland, was slain by the English; and Duncan succeeded him. In the same year Margaret, of pious memory, the queen of Scotland, died."

The deaths of Malcolm and Margaret are noted also by C.H., 30, s.a. 1094.

The Chronicles of Carlisle, of Evesham, and other chronicles of 1291, notice the deaths of Malcolm, Edward, and Margaret, mostly deriving from F.W. (Palgrave, 70-71, 87-88, 90-91; 97, 105, 109-110, 121, 126, 129-130, 132-133; Bain, ii, 114).

[4] With f.n. and e. of 1093.

[5] A.I., 86, O'Conor's year 1076=1093 (with f.n. and e. of 1093): "Malcolm, Duncan's son, the king of Scotland, and his son, were killed by Frenchmen in peril of battle; and Margaret his wife died of grief for him."

A.U., ii, 50-52, s.a. 1093 (with f.n. and e. of 1093): "Malcolm, Duncan's son, the sovereign of Scotland, and Edward, his son, were killed by Frenchmen (in Alnmouth [*inber Alda*], in England [original marginal note]). Also his queen, Margaret, died of grief for them [for him, A.L.C.; so read in A.U. also] before the end of an ennead" (*ria cenn nomaidhe*). The word *nomaide* was translated by Hennessy "probably twenty-four hours" (A.L.C., i, 80); by MacCarthy, "novena" (A.U., ii, 53); by Stokes, in

1093

Geoffrey Gaimar, Estorie des Engles, ll. 6111-6128; vol. i, pp. 260-261

When the king [William II] had held his court, the news reached him that Malcolm, the king who was his enemy, had been slain. Robert de Mowbray had killed this king, whether it was right or wrong. The battle was at Alnwick. Three thousand men in all, in number, were slain there with Malcolm; and many a good baron on both sides. It was Geoffrey en Gulevent, along with Morel, a relative of his, who took Malcolm's life.

When the news was heard, the king summoned the earl [Robert de Mowbray], bidding him come to court, and saying that he would hear his words; and according to what he should hear, [Robert] would be well rewarded for doing right.

1897, "space of nine days" (R.C., xviii, 77). Stokes had explained it in 1890 (deducing the meaning from F.W.) as 9 times 9 hours = 72 hours (Transactions of the Philological Society, 1890, p. 373); so also K. Meyer, in 1892 (Vision of MacConglinne, 27, 190; cf. 107, where the word appears to have an indefinite meaning:—*ré nómaide anocht*, translated by Meyer "before long to-night": but possibly "within nine days of to-night"?). The word is derived from *nómad* "ninth." On the analogy of *dechmad* "tithe" or "ten days," it might mean "a ninth part" or "nine days"; more probably here the latter: i.e., "within eight days," since the day counted from is included in the number. The Welsh chroniclers seem to have interpreted it as "seven days."

T. is copied by C.S., 300, Hennessy's year 1089 = 1093; A.U., by A.L.C., i, 80. Malcolm's death is noted by the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 185, s.a. 1092; by the Annals of Multifernan, 6, s.a. 1094; by A.C., 29, Ab Ithel's year 1091.

Brut y Tywyssogion, 271, s.a. 1090 (MSS. CD of Ab Ithel's edition, s.a. 1091), after an event of ca. 1st July: "And then Malcolm, Duncan's son, the king of the Picts and Scots, was slain by the French; and [with him] Edward, his son. And then queen Margaret, Malcolm's wife, prayed to God, trusting in him, after hearing of the slaying of her husband and her son, that she might not live in this mortal state. And God hearkened to her prayer; for on the seventh day she died."

Brut y Saesson, in M.A., 666, s.a. 1091: "And after Margaret, Malcolm's wife, heard that he was killed, she prayed to God that she might not live longer than the end of the week. And God heard her prayer: before the seventh day, she died."

A.S.C. I notes Malcolm's death s.a. 1094 (A.N.G., 4). There is a curious account in Langtoft, i, 438-440 (C.A.N, i, 149).

1093

Continuator of William of Jumièges, Historia Normannorum, VIII, 8; Duchesne's H.N.S., p. 296[1]

And while the same William [II] ruled the kingdom of England, Morel, the nephew of Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, in English territory slaughtered the aforesaid Malcolm, the king of Scotland, who was making incursions in England; and his eldest son, and the greater part of his army.

But when this Robert had attempted to occupy certain royal fortresses on the borders of his county, contrary to the wishes of his lord, he was taken prisoner by knights of king William, and by that king's command remained very long in this captivity; and at last, in the reign of king Henry, he died, perishing in his dungeon.[2]

It was said by many that this penalty was inflicted upon him because he had guilefully killed the king of Scotland, the father of the most noble Matilda, afterwards the queen of the English.

And the land that he used to have in Normandy was given by Henry (when he became king) to Nigel de Aubigny, an illustrious and true man.[3] The same Nigel married afterwards Gundreda, the daughter of Gerald of Gournay[-en-Bray]; and by her he had a son, named Roger de Mowbray. . . .

1093

Inserted folio 13 in the Chronicle of Melrose, p. 52

In the thirty-seventh year of his reign, [king Malcolm] was killed in England, on the Ides of November.[4] And in the same place his eldest son, Edward, was pierced through with a lance;

[1] Also in B.R., xii, 572. The passage is rendered by Benoît de Sainte-Maure, in iii, 322-325.

[2] I.e., in 1100. Cf. E.C., 111-112, notes; and see the account given by Gaimar, i, 261-263 (cf. ii, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii). C.M., s.a. 1095: "Robert de Mowbray, the earl of Northumbria, was taken prisoner at Tynemouth; and was placed in custody at Windsor." See F.W., ii, 38.

[3] This Nigel appears to have led an English invasion of Scotland, 1087 × 1091. See the Life of Oswine, S.S. 8, 21-22; E.C., 107, note. Gundreda's mother was Edith, sister of earl William de Varenne.

[4] I.e., 13th November.

and he yielded to fate on the seventeenth day before the Kalends of December.[1]

When the blessed queen Margaret heard this, or rather (to speak more truly) foreknew it by the holy spirit, she received absolution and the sacrament[2]; and commending herself with prayers to God rendered her holy soul to heaven, on the sixteenth day before the Kalends of December.[3]

1058-1093

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version E; Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 131-132

Malcolm, Duncan's son, [reigned] for thirty-seven [years] and a half, and four months.[4]

[1] I.e., 15th November.

Folio 13 differs from the earlier chronicles (and Wyntoun, ii, 164), which imply that Edward died at the same time and place as his father. Folio 13's statement is accepted by Fordun, V, 20, i, 219, who says that Edward died on 15th November, "at Edwardisle in the forest of Jedburgh; and he was buried in the church of Holy Trinity at Dunfermline, beside his father, before the altar of the Holy Cross" (i.e., in the church built by his mother, upon the site of the church in which she had been married. See under Turgot, below). If Edward was placed beside his father, his body must have lain elsewhere until his father's had been brought from Tynemouth to Dunfermline (1107 × 1124). But Malcolm's body had again been moved, in 1250, before this folio was written; and in the account of the removal no mention is made of Edward's remains. There is therefore doubt both regarding the day of his death, and the place of his burial.

Fordun's account stands in a chapter that purports to have been derived from Turgot; before the concluding sentence, which is borrowed from W.M.

Cf. below, under Turgot.

[2] Literally "confession and communion."

[3] I.e., 16th November. This agrees with F.W., and Fordun (V, 21). Cf. Turgot, below.

[4] The words "4 months" appear to have been a gloss, copied into the text. Other versions give other reign-lengths. Malcolm was king of Scotland for 35 years and nearly 8 months.

Version G (302; cf. FIK, 175, 289, 206): "Malcolm [Cendmor K] Duncan's son, reigned for 37 years, and 8 months [6 months, K]; and he was killed beside [at, K] Alnwick [in Inber-aldan, FI], and buried at Tynemouth [in Iona, F; in Dunfermline, I]."

Fordun (V, 20), apparently quoting from Turgot, says that Inber-aldan (*Murealdene;* read *Inver-*) was the same place as Alnwick. Possibly the battle was fought between Alnwick and Alnmouth.

He was the husband of queen Margaret,[1] the daughter of the most noble [Edward, son of king Edmund; and to her were born six sons and two daughters,][2] Matilda and Mary. By their marriages, by the ingenuousness of their customs, by the greatness of their knowledge, by their generous distribution of temporal things to the poor and to the churches, they fittingly adorned the dignity of their race. For Matilda was united in marriage to the most vigorous king of the English, Henry, who took his origin from the most noble blood of the kings of the French; and their eminence, that is to say the aforesaid king and queen's, was raised by this so high that their children held the rank of the Roman empire. For their daughter, [Matilda],[3] worthy of empire in her prudence, her beauty, and her riches, married the Roman emperor.

And Mary was given by law of marriage to Eustace, the count of Boulogne, and was not inferior to her sister in virtue, although she lacked her royal[4] power. Moreover her daughter received as spouse the vigorous man count Stephen, sprung from royal as well as consular stock.[5]

I pass over the daughters, who are still alive; I hold up their mothers deceased as an example to the living, because amid worldly pomp they were (what is seldom found) also rich in holy virtues. They cherished the poor, of either sex and every condition, as if they had been Christ's limbs, and they loved the religious, priests and monks, with unfeigned love, as patrons and their future judges with Christ.

"Cendmor" meant "large-headed"; corruptly "Canmore." Malcolm is called "Cendremor" (*Kenremor*) in the Chronicon Rhythmicum (P. & S., 336); i.e. "fat-headed." The sagas call him "long-necked."

[1] Versions FGKLMN (175, 302, 206, 296, 300, 306) say that Malcolm "was the husband of [the queen GN] St Margaret [of Dunfermline K]." LM erroneously include Duncan among Margaret's "four sons." M adds to these: "and one daughter, Matilda, who was the wife of king Henry of England, the first after the conquest."

[2] Something like the passage conjecturally supplied here has fallen out of the text.

[3] In text .*N*.

[4] For *regina* in the text read *regia*.

[5] See year 1102. Stephen was king of England 1135-1154; he was the son of Stephen, count of Blois, and Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror.

Queen Matilda departed from this life on the Kalends of May,[1] in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1118; and she was buried with honour in the church of St Peter, the prince of the apostles, at Westminster, near London, the most noble city of the English.

And countess Mary reposed in peace on the second day[2] before the Kalends of June, in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1116, at Bermondsey, in the other part[3] of the same city, in the monastery of St Saviour's; and there she was buried with splendour by sir Petreius, a man of wonderful sanctity, at that time prior of that place (a Cluniac [house], but especially devoted to charity). A marble tomb with figures of kings and queens depicted upon it indicates the rank of the sleeper. On the surface of this tomb, an epitaph engraved in golden letters thus briefly describes her name and life and origin: "Here lies buried the noble countess Mary. She shone in her actions; she was generous and kind. She was [of] the blood of kings: she was distinguished for the probity of her customs. Compassionate to the poor, may she live in highest heaven."[4]

And Edmund their brother, a man most vigorous and in God's service, and very devout throughout this present life, rests buried in Montague[5]; that is, in a certain Cluniac church which is situated there.[6]

[1] 1st May.

[2] 31st May.

[3] I.e., the Surrey side.

[4] The epitaph quoted is in four lines of elegiac verse. This passage, from Mary's marriage to her epitaph, is abridged by Fordun, V, 27, 29.

[5] Montague, in Somersetshire.

[6] For the children of Malcolm and Margaret, see D.K., 31-32. Fordun (V, 16), following the inserted folio 13 in C.M. (see above, year 1070), names them in the following order:—Edward, Edmund, Æthelred, Edgar, Alexander, David; Matilda, Mary.

Edward died probably on 13th November, 1093 (see above).

Edmund joined Donald Bán, his uncle, in opposing king Duncan II (see year 1094, note; and E.C., 118-119). After Duncan's death, Edmund was apparently the heir of Malcolm III, according to the then established modern law of succession; while Donald claimed the kingdom in accordance with ancient Scottish custom. Edmund and Donald appear to have shared the kingdom; the southern part, which was later held by David under

1093

Verse Chronicle inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, p. 228; s.a. 1057 [1]

Ruling for thrice ten years and five, and eight months, the said Malcolm [2] was king in Scotland. The hero was laid low in battle by the swords of the English. This king was the first to be buried in Scotland.[3]

Alexander I (1097-1124), was probably held by Edmund under Donald (1094-1097).

Æthelred had become the first earl of Fife, and the abbot of Dunkeld. See St Andrews, 115 (L.C., no. 14, and pp. 243-244); cf. Dunfermline, nos. 1, 2 (L.C., nos. 74, 209); S.P., iv, 2-3. Fordun (V, 24; i, 223; cf. i, 426) thought that Æthelred was buried at St Andrews. The abbacy had been occupied by his great-grandfather: see year 1045. He was succeeded in the earldom of Fife by Constantine (St Andrews, 116; Dunfermline, no. 1), who died ?1128 × 1136 (Dunfermline, no. 29; L.C., no. 94). Constantine was succeeded by Gillemichel (L.C., 245-246), who appears to have been surnamed Mac-Duf (Dunfermline, no. 1; †× 1136, L.C., 318); Gillemichel, by Duncan (L.A., 15-16; † 1204).

The 18th-century abstract of the St Andrews Register (Pinkerton's Enquiry, 468) seems to imply that Æthelred was younger than Alexander and David; but that is a mis-rendering of the Register (see L.C., no. 14).

Edgar, Alexander, and David, reigned successively 1097-1153.

Matilda or Edith, and Mary, (see Liveing's Records of Romsey Abbey (1906), 39-44, 46; 39) had been sent to their aunt Christina or Christiana, in Romsey (see above, year 1070, note; E.C., 116, 120). Matilda was in the nunnery at Wilton before her marriage. In the same nunnery her great-great-grandaunt, St Edith, the sister of king Edward the Martyr, had been educated, and buried (W.M.).

Matilda († 1118) married king Henry I in 1100. Her son William died in 1120, Nov. 25th (v.i.a. W.M., ii, 496-497). Matilda's daughter Matilda in 1114 married the emperor Henry V († 1125); and in 1127, married Geoffrey, count of Anjou, by whom she was the mother of Henry II. (The account of these affairs in C.M., s.aa. 1110, 1114, is derived from F.W. or S.D.; s.aa. 1125, 1127, from S.D.) See below, year 1139.

Mary († 1116) married count Eustace of Boulogne, in 1102. Her son also died young; her daughter, Matilda, married count Stephen of Blois. Cf. i a. Red Book of the Exchequer, ii, 753-754.

[1] Cf. the Bodleian version, P. & S., 180.

[2] *Malcolmus decus*, which does not satisfy the metre: read *dictus*, with B.

[3] I.e., not in Iona. This must have been composed while Iona was in Norwegian territory (1098 × 1263).

1057-1093

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 194-198; Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 102-103

Afterwards[1] . . . the son of a hero . . . will take [Scotland].[2] Men of the world will be of pure colour[3] because of him; . . .[4].

The fair-skinned, the brown-haired one,[5] who will distribute horses[6]; the best king who will take Scotland. He will have the favour of the King of kings; he will be the destruction of broken enemies.[7]

Woman has not born, and will not bear, in the east, a king of greater power in Scotland[8]; and none will be born, until the impetuous Judgement[-day],[9] who will have greater battle, or more violent death.[10]

[1] After the Red king, who seems to be Macbeth.

[2] *Iarsin nos geaba tairbidh | mac laith as aédidh.* O'Connell (MS. *b*) and Skene have taken *tairbidh* to be a name given to the king. Skene translates it "Misfortune" (from O'Reilly, s.v. *tarbhaidh*); but this is incorrect. The accent should fall upon *bidh*. In the second line, two syllables are missing. The *t* of *laith* appears to have been written over *d*. The meaning of these lines is extremely doubtful. Perhaps the most reasonable emendation would be: *tairbech | mac la ith as la etach;* i.e., "the Violent; a youth with corn and with clothing"—meaning that in his reign agriculture and industry would flourish. For *tairbech*, see Irische Texte, iii, **1**, 245, 246, 273. But this emendation involves a flaw in the verse, and requires the rejection of the rhyming syllables of the text.

[3] For *lan* reading *dathghlain*. Cf. stanza 180 (year 1005). Further doubt is thrown upon this reading by the next line.

[4] *sco loch débhrú a líbrine*, rhyming with *de*. The copyist seems to have understood these words to mean: "and to Loch Débrú from Líbrine." *Loch-dé brú* might possibly stand for "bank of the Lochy." Skene translated *a líbrine* "his habitation" (cf. O'Reilly, s.v. *libhearn*). Professor Watson has pointed out to me a similar phrase, in Caithréim Conghail Cláiringhnig (I.T.S. **7**, 10): *robsat ile a líbherna;* but the rhyme seems to preclude the reading *líberna* in the present instance. But perhaps the corruption of the text extends to the rhyming syllable of the previous line.

Emendations that involve alteration of the rhyming syllables when the rhyme is perfect are hardly permissible for historical purposes.

[5] *an fionn, an donn;* both apparently epithets of one man.

[6] *dháilfes graíg.* Cf. stanzas 175 (year 1005), and 203 (year 1097).

[7] *bidh he an brath brúite bíobhdha*[*dh*], rhyming with *rath*.

[8] *rígh bhús mo reacht for Albain.*

[9] *go mbráth mbrais;* read *co bráth mbrass.* Cf. year 1097. The epithet is originally alliterative.

[10] *bá mo agh agus érn*[*bh*]*as;* rhyming with *brass* (above). Perhaps the meaning is "battles . . . deaths." Cf. stanza 198, below.

Thirty years, seven years (so the Lord has indicated to me) [he will be] in the sovereignty[1] of the pure Gaels: joy be to the men of Scotland.

Spear or sword[2] will not touch him; he will not fall by weapon-point, or bloody death. In Rome of Latium he will die. This is his high history.[3]

[1] For *airdrí* reading *ardrige*, as the verse requires.

[2] Originally *sciaith* ("shields") was written, and glossed *no cláoidheamh* ("or, sword"). The latter seems to be the correct reading.

[3] Cf. stanza 190 (year 1040).

This stanza (198) appears to contradict stanza 196. Perhaps 198 is misplaced, or is an interpolation. The erroneous account of Malcolm's death suggests that this stanza was composed either during Malcolm's reign, or else long afterwards. The errors in the account of Macbeth's reign seem to prove the latter alternative to be the true one. For the remainder of the Prophecy see below, years 1093-1094, 1094, 1094-1097.

PART II

Life of Queen Margaret

1093

Turgot, Life of queen Margaret; in Surtees Society Publications, no. 51, pp. 234-254

For the excellently honourable and honourably excellent queen of the English, Maltilda, T.,[1] servant of the servants of St Cuthbert, [implores] the benefit of peace and health in the present [life]; and in the future [life] the benefit of all benefits.

Requesting, you have commanded, and in commanding have requested, me to give you in writing an account of the God-pleasing life of your mother, of venerable memory; since you have heard it very often proclaimed, with the concordant praises of many speakers. You said, indeed, that I was especially to be trusted in this, because you had heard that, by reason of my great friendship with her, I was in great part familiar with her secret thoughts.

I gladly embrace these commands and these wishes; in embracing them I revere them much; in revering them, I congratulate you, in that, being appointed queen of the Angles by the king of the angels, you desire not only to hear of the

[1] I.e., the prior of the monastery of Durham, Turgot. But Papebroch's text reads Theodericus, which is a name totally distinct from Turgot. Turgot or (more correctly) Thurgot was a Danish name (runic *Thurgutr*; Icelandic *Thorgautr*).

If Turgot was the writer, the Life must have been written 1100 × 1107; when, in fact, it was written. (See below.)

S.D.'s account of the wrongs inflicted on Turgot by Malcolm at Melrose in 1074 (E.C., 97-98) is perhaps exaggerated. Turgot was then on friendly terms with Gospatric (see year 1072, note); and Melrose was probably then under Gospatric's rule. The writer of the Life appears to have been on friendly terms with queen Margaret, not long after 1070. (See below.) If any ill-feeling arose between Turgot and king Malcolm over the affairs of 1073 × 1074, it had passed away before 1093, when they were associated in laying the foundation stones of Durham cathedral. There seems to be little reason for doubting that Turgot was the author of the Life.

life of the queen your mother, who ever aspired to the realm of angels, but also to have it constantly before you in writing: so that, although you knew but little your mother's face, you may have more fully the knowledge of her virtues.

But although my will is ready to perform the commands laid upon me, yet, I confess, I have no fitness for it; for this subject is greater than is my ability [to describe it] in writing or in speech. And thus my feelings are twofold, and I am drawn by them in contrary directions. I dread to obey, because of the magnitude of the affair; but because of the authority of her who commands, and for the sake of the memory of her who is the theme, I dare not refuse. But although I am unable to describe so great a matter in a manner worthy of it, yet I ought to relate as much as I can; because this is required both by love for her, and by your command. The Holy Spirit's favour, which gave to her the faculty of her virtues, will afford me aid, I hope, in relating them. "The Lord will give words to those that preach the gospel"[1]; and again, "Open thy mouth, and I will fill it."[2] Nor indeed can he lack words who believes in the Word: for "the word was in the beginning, and the word was God."[3]

To begin with, then, I desire both you and others through you to know that if I attempt to tell all that I know should be proclaimed of her, I shall be thought in praising your mother to flatter you, because of the loftiness of your royal rank: but far be it from my grey hairs to involve the virtues of so great a woman in a charge of falsehood; in expounding them, God be witness and judge, I profess that I add nothing to that which is; but in order that they appear not incredible, I pass over in silence many things: lest, in the words of the orator, I be said to adorn the crow in colours of the swan.

[CHAPTERS]

[1] How Margaret, becoming a queen, preserved in her works the beauty of her name.

[2] From how noble ancestry she drew her pedigree.

[1] Psalms, LXVII, 12 (Vulgate).
[2] Psalms, LXXXI, 10 (in Vulgate, LXXX, 11).
[3] John I, 1.

[3] How she began in her earliest youth; and, when raised up to honour, did not delight in honour.

[4] How in the place of her marriage she erected a church, and with what zeal she caused decorations of churches to be prepared; and with how great temperance she governed herself and her [servants].

[5] [How] her sons were honourably [brought up].

[6] [How] zealous she was in reading; [seek]ing in this not her own salvation only, but others' also.

[7] How much honour and glory she conferred upon the kingdom of the Scots.

[8] How she [corrected] the things that they did contrary to the faith and the custom of the holy Church, and [induced them to observe] the rules.

[9] How greatly she was given to compunction and to prayer, also the works of fasting and of mercy.

[10] How she used to act before the Lord's Nativity, and in Lent.

[11] How the Lord showed something in witness of her holy life.

[12] How she foreknew her death, and foretold certain things in the future.

[13] How she departed from this life.[1]

[c. 1][2] Many, as we have read, have had the origin of their name in some quality of mind; so that the word showed some fitness with such grace as they had received. So Peter [was named] from the rock, Christ, because of the firmness of his faith[3]; so John, which means "grace of God," for contemplation of the Godhead and the privilege of God's love; and the sons of Zebedee were called Boanerges, that is "sons of thunder," because of the thunder of their proclamation of the gospel.[4] This happened also in the case of this woman of virtue; for she

[1] Gaps in these capitula are supplied conjecturally from the text. The capitula are not in Papebroch's text.

[2] In Papebroch's text, this chapter is headed thus: "The nobility of her race; her virtues as a queen and as a mother."

[3] Matthew, XVI, 18.

[4] Mark, III, 17.

excelled in the greater beauty of her soul the prettiness that she bore in her name.[1] She was called Margaret, and in her faith and works she was held as a precious pearl in God's sight. And so the pearl—yours, mine; ours; nay, Christ's; and because Christ's, so much the more ours—has now left us, being taken to the Lord. The pearl, I repeat, has been taken from the dungheap of this world; and glows now, set in the diadem of the eternal king. No one will doubt this, when he has heard, a little further on, of her life and her life's end.

When I recollect her conversations with me, seasoned with the salt of wisdom; when I think of the tears that her heart's remorse had caused; when I review her soberness, and the well-ordered nature of her life; when I remember her affability and prudence; in my grief I rejoice; and, rejoicing, grieve. I rejoice because she has passed to the God whom she had longed for; I grieve because I do not rejoice with her in heaven. For her, I repeat, I rejoice, because she now sees what she had believed in, the good things of the Lord in the land of the living; but for myself, I grieve, since I am impelled (while I suffer the miseries of mortal life in this land of the dead) to cry daily, "Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"[2]

[c. 2] Since, then, I am to speak of the nobility of mind which she had in Christ, it seems that something should be prefixed of the other nobility also, in which she was distinguished according to the world. Her grandfather had been king Edmund, who, because he was vigorous in fighting and invincible against his foes, had earned the distinction of a name from the excellence of his valour; for he was named in the English tongue what in Latin is called Ferreum-latus,[3] and his brother (by his father; not by his mother) had been that most pious and gentle [Edward],[4] who had shown himself the father of his country; and as in some sense a second Solomon, that is, a peaceful man, he had protected the kingdom rather with peace than with arms. He bore a mind triumphant over anger, contemptuous of greed, and wholly free from pride. Nor was

[1] For *homine* in the text reading *nomine*, with A.S. (June, ii, 324).

[2] Paul to Romans, VII, 24.

[3] Iron-side.

[4] MS. *Edmundus;* read *Eadwardus.* Papebroch.

this strange; because just as from his ancestors he acquired the glory of his rank, so he acquired also honourable life, as by a certain hereditary right; he being descended from grandfathers not only most noble, but also very religious:—Edgar, king of the English, and Richard, count of the Normans. Of these, to tell briefly how great Edgar was in the world, and of what merit in Christ, it was foreshown that he was to be both a king and a lover of peace and justice. For at his birth, the blessed Dunstan heard holy angels rejoicing in the sky, and singing with great rejoicing: "Let there be peace, let there be gladness in the church of the English, so long as the boy now born holds the kingdom, and Dunstan runs with [him] the way of mortal life."[1] Also Richard, the father of Emma, Edward's mother, had lustre worthy of so great a nephew, being a man vigorous in all things, and to be praised by every crier. None of his ancestors was either more fortunate in the honour of the country, or more zealous in the love of religion. He was surrounded with the greatest wealth; but, another David in spirit, he was as the poorest. He was appointed lord over the peoples; yet he was the humblest servant of the servants of Christ.[2] Among the other things that he had done as a memorial of his religious devotion, the devout worshipper of Christ had built the noble monastery of Fécamp; in which he had often been accustomed to dwell with the monks—a secular in costume, but a monk in action—, and in silence to place food before them at meal-times, and to serve them with drink; in order that, according to the Scripture, the greater he was the more he should humble himself in all things.[3] He that wishes to know more fully of the works of [Richard's] magnificence and virtues, let him read the Gesta Normannorum, which contains his acts also.[4]

The grandson Edward was in no way degenerate from these ancestors, of so great glory and excellence: as has been said

[1] This is quoted from Osbern's Life of St Dunstan, c. 19 (R.S. 63, 93; cf. the lives by Adelard, Eadmer, and W.M., ibid., 56, 183, 289).

[2] Luke, XXII, 26; etc.

[3] Ecclesiasticus, III, 20.

[4] This seems to refer to the work of William of Jumièges, book IV; H.N.S., 239-249. According to William, duke Richard I died in 996 (249). For the foundation of Fécamp by him, see ibid., IV, 19; p. 248. His son, duke Richard II, was equally devout; see W.M., i, 210-211.

before, he was brother[1] (by his father only) of king Edmund, whose son's daughter, Margaret, with the glory of her merits greatly adorns the glorious line of her ancestors.

[c. 3] While she still flourished in early youth she began to lead a life of soberness, and to love God above all things; to occupy herself in the study of divine readings, and to employ her mind upon them with delight. She was endowed with keen acuteness of intellect, to understand any matter; with much tenacity of memory, to retain it; with gracious facility of words, to express it.

While thus she meditated day and night upon the law of the Lord,[2] and like another Mary sitting at the Lord's feet delighted to hear his word,[3] she was united in marriage with the most powerful king of the Scots, Malcolm, king Duncan's son, by the will of her relatives more than by her own; or rather, by God's disposition. But although she was compelled to have to do with the things that belong to this world, yet she scorned to adhere in desire to the world's affairs. She delighted more in good works than in the possession of riches. Out of temporal goods she prepared for herself eternal rewards, because she had placed her heart in heaven, where her treasure was.[4] And because she sought chiefly the kingdom of God and his justice, the Omnipotent's bountiful favour gave her in abundance honours and riches.[5]

Everything that was fitting [for her to do] was done under the prudent queen's rule: the laws of the realm were adjusted by her counsel; divine religion was furthered by her industry; the people rejoiced in the prosperity of commerce. Nothing was firmer than her faith, more constant than her countenance, more enduring than her patience, more important than her advice, juster than her opinion, pleasanter than her conversation.

[c. 4] After she had risen to the summit of honour, she presently erected an eternal monument to her name and religiousness, in the place where her wedding had been celebrated. She built a noble church there in honour of the

[1] In Pinkerton's text erroneously *fratre;* in the other editions *frater.*

[2] Psalms, I, 2.

[3] Luke, X, 39.

[4] 2 Corinthians, IV, 18; Matthew, VI, 20-21.

[5] Matthew, VI, 33.

holy Trinity, with threefold purpose of salvation; that is to say, for the redemption of the king's soul and of her own, and in order to obtain for her children prosperity in this life and the life to come. This church she decorated with various kinds of adornments; among them are known to have been several vessels of pure and solid gold, for the sacred ministry of the altar. This I might know with the greater certainty, because for a long time I myself there received charge of them all, at the queen's command. She placed there also a cross of incomparable value, bearing the Saviour's image; she had had it all overlaid with purest gold and silver, with jewels set here and there between: even to-day it proves clearly to beholders the devoutness of her faith.[1]

Similarly also she has left signs of her faith and holy devotion in all the other churches; for instance, the church of St Andrews, as may be seen to-day, preserves a most elegant image of a crucifix, which she herself erected there. Her chamber was never empty of these things (that is, of the things that pertained to the adornment of divine service); it seemed to be a kind of workshop, so to speak, of celestial art. There were always seen copes for the cantors, chasubles, stoles, altar-cloths, and other priestly vestments, and decorations for the church. Some were being prepared by the artist's hand; others, finished, were kept as being worthy of admiration.

For these labours women were appointed who, being noble by birth and approved for sober manners, were adjudged worthy to enter the queen's service. There was no access of men-folk to these women, except when [the queen] herself permitted them to enter with her, upon her occasional visits to them. They had no unseemly intimacy with men, never any impudent levity. For the queen possessed so great pleasant-

[1] This was a church in Dunfermline. See Turgot, below. Cf. Fordun, V, 20.

The church was apparently founded by king Malcolm III; grants were made to it afterwards by queen Margaret. See Dunfermline, nos. 35, 50, 74, 81, 600 (595 is spurious); see L.C., 237-238.

I do not know when Turgot could have been placed in charge of the treasures of Dunfermline. Possibly he was called in to assist at the establishment of monks in the new church (? 1073 × 1074).

The monastery was re-founded by king David, as a Benedictine abbey. Cf. E.C., 166, s.a. 1128. Its church was dedicated in 1150.

ness with severity, that all who were in her service, men and women, both loved her with fear, and feared her with love: so that in her presence none of them would have dared even to use a low word, let alone to do anything detestable. For she repressed in herself every vice, and was very serious in rejoicing, very upright in anger. She never broke into loud laughter with immoderate mirth, never fell into fury when she was enraged. At times she was wroth with others' sins, but with her own sins always, with that praiseworthy, ever justice-loving anger which the psalmist taught we should have, when he said, "Be ye angry, and sin not."[1]

Her whole life, ordered by extreme control of discretion, was a pattern of virtue. Her speech was seasoned with the salt of wisdom; her silence was full of good meditations. Her character so agreed with the soberness of her manners, that one might have believed her born for nobility of life alone. To express much in few words, in everything that she said, in everything that she did, she showed that her mind was set upon heavenly things.

[c. 5] She gave no less care to her sons than to herself, so that they should be brought up with every attention, and instructed as far as possible in honourable ways. And because she knew that it is written, "he who spares the rod hates his son,"[2] she had directed the steward of the household to restrain them himself with threats and whippings whenever they erred in infantile naughtiness, as is young children's way. Through this scrupulous care of their mother, as children they excelled in uprightness of manners many who were more advanced in age: they were ever kind and peaceful among themselves, and the younger everywhere showed honour to the elder. Thus even at the celebration of mass, when they went forward after their parents to the offering, the younger by no means ventured to go before the elder; but in the order of age the elder used to precede the younger.

She took great pains, bringing [her sons] very often before her, to teach them, as far as their age could understand, of Christ and of Christ's faith, and to exhort them always to fear him. "Fear the Lord, my sons," she said, "since those that

[1] Psalms, IV, 5.
[2] Proverbs, XIII, 24.

fear him shall have no lack.[1] And if you love him, O my children, he gives you in return both prosperity in this life, and eternal felicity with all the saints."

This was their mother's desire, this her exhortation, this her prayer with tears, by day and night, for her children, that they should acknowledge their creator in faith which works by love; acknowledging, should worship him; and worshipping, should love him in everything and above everything; and by loving him should reach the glory of the heavenly kingdom.

[c. 6][2] It is not to be marvelled at that a queen who was always governed by the wisest instruction of holy scripture should rule herself and her people with wise government. For (what I used to admire much in her) among the discords of law-suits, among manifold cares of state, she applied herself with wonderful zeal to divine reading; concerning which she very often discussed even minute points with the most learned men who were present. But just as none present among them was of deeper intelligence than she, so none was clearer in eloquence. And so it very often occurred that the teachers themselves went away from her much wiser than they had been when they came.

She had in fact a great religious greed for holy volumes, and her intimate friendship and friendly intimacy with me compelled me to exert myself very much in procuring them for her.

In all this she sought not her own salvation only, but also that of others; and first of all, God helping her, she had made the king himself very readily inclined to works of justice, mercy, alms, and other virtues. He learned from her also to prolong vigils of the night frequently, with prayer; he learned by her exhortation and example to pray to God with groaning of heart, and shedding of tears. I confess I marvelled at this great miracle of God's mercy, when sometimes I saw so great application of the king to prayer; and during prayer so great remorse, in a layman's breast. He was fearful of offending her in any way, a queen of such venerable life, since he perceived that Christ truly dwelt in her heart; but rather hastened in all

[1] Psalms, XXXIV, 10 (Vulgate XXXIII, 10).

[2] Papebroch begins here his c. 2, with the title: "The care bestowed by Margaret upon the honour of the kingdom, and upon church discipline: abuses corrected."

things to obey very quickly her wishes and prudent counsellings; he too to reject the same things that she had rejected, and for love of her love to love the things that she had loved. Thus, although ignorant of letters, he used often to handle and gaze on the books in which she had been accustomed either to pray or to read; and when he had heard from her which of them was dearest to her, to hold it dearer too, to kiss it and fondle it often. Sometimes also he called in a goldsmith, and gave orders that the book should be adorned with gold and jewels; and the king himself used to bring it back, decorated, to the queen, as a mark of his devotion.

[c. 7] Also this noblest jewel of royal race made the magnificence of royal honour much more magnificent for the king; and she conferred very great glory and honour[1] upon all the nobles of the kingdom, and their attendants. For she had caused merchants to come by land and sea from various regions, and to bring very many precious wares that were still unknown there. As an instance of this, the natives compelled by the queen bought[2] clothing of different colours, and various ornaments of dress. Arrayed at her instigation in different refinements of dress, they bore themselves so that they seemed to have been in some sense reformed by this elegance.

She instituted also more ceremonious service of the king, so that when he walked or rode he was surrounded with great honour by many troops; and this with such discipline that, wherever they went, none of them was permitted to despoil anyone, nor did any of them dare to oppress or to injure countrymen or poor men in any way. She multiplied also the adornments of the royal palace, so that not only was it resplendent with various adornment of silken cloths[3]; but even the whole house glittered with gold and silver. The vessels in which food and drink were brought to the king and the nobles of the realm were either made of gold or silver, or overlaid with gold or silver.

All this she had done not because she delighted in the honour of the world, but because she was compelled to perform what kingly dignity demanded of her. For while she went clad

[1] *plurimum gloriae ac decoris.*
[2] In text *emerent;* read *emerunt.*
[3] *palliorum.*

in costly elegance, as befitted a queen, like another Esther she spurned in her mind all ornaments, and regarded herself but as dust and ashes underneath her jewels and gold; and indeed always took greatest pains to preserve humility amid so great exaltation of rank. She checked all the more easily every swelling of pride that arises from worldly honours, because consciousness of the transient nature of frail life had never left her. She had ever in her thoughts that saying which thus describes the hazardous state of human life: "Man, of woman born, lives for a short time, and is sated with many miseries; as a flower he comes forth, and is crushed, and like a shadow he flies, and never continues in the same state."[1] And she constantly revolved in her mind the words of blessed James the apostle, saying, "What is our life? It is smoke, appearing for a little while; and afterwards it will be quenched."[2] And because, as the scripture says, "Blessed is the man who is ever fearful,"[3] the venerable queen avoided sin so much the more easily, because trembling and in fear she always held up before the mind's eyes the appointed day of judgement. And therefore she frequently asked me not to hesitate to rebuke her in private, and point out to her whatever I perceived to be blameworthy either in her words or her deeds. When I did this more rarely and less warmly than she wished, she was harsh with me; she told me that I was sleeping, and as it were neglecting her. "Let the just man reprove me" she said, "in mercy, and chide me; and let not the oil of the sinner" (that is, flattery) "anoint my head.[4] For wounds inflicted by a friend are better than a flattering enemy's kisses."[5] Thus speaking, for the advancement of virtue she courted the rebuke that any other might have considered an insult.

[c. 8] While the queen, religious and worthy of God, was with mind, and words, and deeds, advancing to the heavenly country, she invited others also to go with her upon the perfect way, so that they might be able to attain to true bliss. When she saw a bad man, she exhorted him to become good: a good

[1] Job, XIV, 1-2.
[2] James, IV, 15.
[3] Proverbs, XXVIII, 14.
[4] Vulgate, Psalms, CXL, 5.
[5] Proverbs, XXVII, 6.

man, to be better; better, to endeavour to be best: since zeal for the house of God, which is the church, consumed her, glowing with apostolic faith. Hence also she laboured to eradicate wholly the illegalities that had sprung up in [the church]. For when she saw that many things were done in that nation contrary to the rule of the true faith and the holy custom of the universal church, she appointed many councils, in order by Christ's gift to bring back the wanderers, in whatever way she could, to the path of truth. Of these councils the principal is well known to have been that in which she alone, with very few of her supporters, fought for three days with "the sword of the spirit, that is to say the word of God,"[1] against the defenders of perverted custom. You would have thought that another Helen sat there; because as [Helen] had formerly confuted the Jews with verdicts from the scriptures, so now did this queen also confute the erring.[2] But in this conflict the king himself continued as her[3] chief helper, most ready to say and to do whatever she bade in this affair. And since he knew the tongue of the Angles perfectly, as well as his own, he was in this council a most careful interpreter for both sides.

Thus the queen, after making the introductory statement that those who served one God in one faith with the catholic church ought not to differ from that church in any new or foreign institutions, made her first proposition, that they did not legally keep the fast of Lent; because they were accustomed to begin it, not (with the holy church universally) [upon the fourth day of the week][4] on the beginning of the fast,[5] but on the second day of the [following][6] week. They

[1] Paul to Ephesians, VI, 17.

[2] This seems to refer to St Helena, the mother of emperor Constantine I, who succeeded his father Constantius Chlorus in 306, and reigned till 337. Cf. the Origo Constantini Imperatoris, M.G.H., Auctores, ix, 7; Jerome, P.L. **27**, 665; Orosius, 492-493, VII, 25-26 (and Prosper, Cassiodorus, and Bede). She was said to have embraced Judaism, and afterwards rejected it (A.S., August, iii, 587-588). For her alleged discovery of the cross of Christ, see Rufinus P.L. **21**, 476-477; cf. M.G.H., Auctores, ix, 292, and Isidore, ibid., xi, 466; P.L. **27**, 671; cf. **22**, 581. V.i.a. the Catholic Encyclopædia, s.v. Helena.

[3] In text *et;* read *ejus.*

[4] These words within square brackets are left out in Hinde's edition. They appear in Papebroch's text.

[5] Ash Wednesday (beginning on the evening of Shrove Tuesday).

[6] Left blank in Hinde's edition.

said in reply: "The fast that we hold, we keep for six weeks, according to the authority of the gospel, which describes the fast of Christ." She replied: "You differ in this widely from the gospel: for we read there that the Lord fasted for forty days, and it is obvious that you do not. Since six Sundays are deducted during the six weeks, it is clear that only thirty-six days remain for the fast. Therefore it is clear that you do not keep the fast by authority of the gospel, for forty days; but for thirty-six. It remains for you therefore to begin to fast with us four days before the beginning of Lent, if you wish to preserve abstinence for the number of forty days, according to the Lord's example: otherwise you alone resist the authority of the Lord himself, and the tradition of the entire holy church."[1]

They were overcome by this clear statement of the truth, and thenceforth began to commence the celebration of the sacred fast according to the custom everywhere of holy church.

The queen made another proposal, and commanded them to show on what principle they neglected to take the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ on the holy day of Easter, according to the custom of the holy and apostolic church. They replied, saying: "The apostle, speaking of this, says: 'He that eats and drinks unworthily, eats and drinks judgement upon himself.'[2] Therefore because we recognize that we are sinners, we dread to approach that mystery, lest we eat and drink judgement upon ourselves."

The queen said to them: "Why then, shall all who are sinners not taste the sacred mystery? In that case, none ought to take it; because none is without stain of sin, not even the babe whose life is but of one day upon the earth. And if none ought to partake of it, why does the gospel proclaim in the Lord's words: 'Unless you eat the flesh of the son of man, and drink his blood, you shall not have life within you'?[3] But it is clearly necessary that you should otherwise

[1] Papebroch notes that this statement was not quite accurate, since the older custom continued in Milan.

[2] 1 Corinthians, XI, 29. The célidé were not permitted to communicate during the first year of their training; and not without restriction, until their seventh year. But this is not the practice that Margaret condemned. She seems to have approved of the regular célidé.

[3] John, VI, 53 (Vulgate, 54).

understand the sentence that you quote from the apostle, in accordance with the understanding of the fathers; for he does not judge that all sinners take the sacraments of salvation unworthily: when he had said, 'eats and drinks judgement upon himself,' he added, 'eats and drinks judgement on himself, if he discern not the Lord's body'[1]: that is, if he does not distinguish it in faith from physical foods. He also who presumes to approach the sacred mysteries without confession and repentance, in the filth of his crimes, he, I say, eats and drinks judgement upon himself. But we, who many days before have made confession of sins, and are scourged with penitence, and made lean with fasting; and are cleansed from the pollution of sin by alms and tears: we approach the Lord's table in catholic faith on the day of the Lord's resurrection, and we take the flesh and blood of the spotless lamb, Jesus Christ, not for judgement, but for remission of sins; and in salutary preparation for participation in eternal bliss."

Hearing these things from her, they could answer nothing; and they recognized thenceforth the church's statutes, and kept them in participating in the salutary mystery.

Moreover there were some, in certain districts of the Scots,[2] who were wont to celebrate mass contrary to the custom of the whole church; with I know not what barbarous rite. This the queen, fired with the zeal for God, so sought to destroy and uproot, that thenceforward none appeared in the whole Scottish nation who dared do such a thing.

They were accustomed also to neglect reverence for the Lord's days; and thus to continue upon them as upon other days all the labours of earthly work. But she showed, both by reason and by authority, that this was not permitted. She said: "Let us hold the Lord's day in veneration because of the Lord's resurrection, which took place upon it; and let us not do servile labours upon [the day] in which we know that we were redeemed from the devil's servitude. This too the blessed pope Gregory affirms, saying: 'On Sundays we must cease earthly labour, and apply ourselves only to prayers; so that whatever negligence has occurred during the six days may be expiated with prayers during the day of the Lord's

[1] 1 Corinthians, XI, 29.

[2] I.e., to the north of the Forth.

resurrection.'[1] The same father Gregory also punished a certain man with severe rebuke, because of earthly labour that he had done on the Lord's day; and passed decree of excommunication for two months upon those by whose counsels he had done it."[2]

They were unable to oppose these arguments of the wise queen: and at her instigation so preserved reverence for the Lord's days thereafter, that none dared on those days to carry any burdens, or to compel another to do so.

Illegal wedlock with step-mothers, as also a surviving brother's marriage with the wife of a brother who had died, (unions that used to take place there previously) she showed to be exceedingly execrable, and to be avoided by the faithful like death itself. Many other things too, which had sprung up contrary to the rule of faith and the statutes of ecclesiastical observances, she took pains to condemn in the same council, and to cast out from within the boundaries of her kingdom. All the measures that she had proposed she so supported by the testimony of scripture, and by declarations of the holy fathers, that [the Scots] were unable to reply with anything

[1] This is a quotation from pope Gregory I, Epistolae, XIII, 3; M.G.H., Epistolae, ii, 368.

In November, 1078, it was decreed by pope Gregory VII that Sundays should be kept as a fast, by abstention from meat. P.L. **148**, 799, 801; Mansi, Concilia, xx, 508, 510. This had been expressly forbidden in the Irish church.

[2] I have not traced this quotation. In the Irish church, Saturday and Sunday were equally celebrated, but labour was forbidden on Sundays. The practices that, according to Turgot, queen Margaret abolished, were all deviations from the theory of the Irish church.

It may be remarked that while queen Margaret, like Lanfranc, sought to suppress monastic houses that had no rule, she nevertheless favoured and endowed certain monasteries of the Irish tradition. These monasteries appear as the homes of *Kelidei* or célidé; and we may therefore assume that the célidé were in Margaret's time regarded as monks who lived according to a rule (see the Tallaght Rule of the célidé, based upon the teaching of their founder, Maelruain, in L.B., 9-12, and in Reeves's Culdees, 84-97; and see the Tallaght Discourse). King Malcolm, queen Margaret, and their sons, Edgar, and Æthelred (abbot of Dunkeld and earl of Fife), made grants to the célidé of St Serfs, Loch Leven (St Andrews, 115-116); and the houses of Dunfermline, Dunkeld, and Iona, do not appear to have been Benedictine in Margaret's time. Lanfranc and Turgot were Benedictines.

at all in opposition to them; but on the contrary they laid aside their obstinacy and agreed to reason, and gladly received them all for fulfilment.[1]

[c. 9][2] The venerable queen who had exerted herself to cleanse the house of God, God helping her, from pollutions and errors, merited herself to become from day to day a worthy temple of God, the holy Spirit illumining her heart. That she

[1] Pope Gregory VII endeavoured to enforce celibacy of the clergy, and to prevent the sale of benefices. See S.D., ii, 200-201, 206-207, s.aa. 1074, 1075; thus abridged in C.M., 56, 57: "In the year 1074, Hildebrand, a Roman, who is also called Gregory [VII], was elected and consecrated pope. This pope interdicted clerics from having wives. . . . In the year 1075, . . . pope Gregory commanded that none should hear the mass of a married priest." Gregory VII was elected on 22nd April, and consecrated on 30th June 1073 (Jaffé). The edicts referred to were probably those of the councils of March, 1074 (P.L. **148**, 645-646, 749), and February 1075 (ibid., 787. Cf. the Life of Gregory, ibid., 54-56; his Acta, ibid., 103-104. See W.M.'s account of Gregory; R.S. **90**, ii, 322-326).

These reforms also were no doubt taken up by queen Margaret.

For abuses prevalent in Britain, cf. Gregory VII's letter of 28th August, 1074 (II, 1; P.L. **148**, 359).

In 1073 (July × November), pope Gregory VII complained to Lanfranc that he had heard that the Scoti not only deserted, but even sold, their wives. (Giles's Patres Ecclesiae, Lanfranc, i, 58-59; P.L. **148**, 643-644; H. & S. ii, **1**, 160-161). The name Scoti would at this time naturally have meant the Scots: but the Irish were still sometimes called Scots; e.g. by Adam of Bremen (above, year 1066, note); by St Bernard (Vita S. Malachiae); and by the Welsh. Cf. under years 1000 × 1080, B.T., 264, 265, 269 (R.S. **17**, 32, 36-38, 50); A.C., R.S. **20**, 23. The civilization of the British Islands had deteriorated as a result of the Scandinavian wars. Ireland had suffered from these, and from civil wars, to a greater extent than Scotland. For the laxity of Irish marriage customs see Lanfranc's letters (? 1073 × 1075) to Godfrey, king of Ireland, and (1075 × 1086) to Toirdelbach, king of Ireland (ed. Giles, i, 61, 63). Cf. under years 1151, 1170.

It seems probable that by Scoti Gregory VII here meant the Irish. Abuses in Scotland continued down to a much later date. See, e.g., Moray, nos. 257 (1225) and 260 (1251 A.D.).

[2] Here begins Papebroch's c. 3, with the heading: "Margaret's charity to the poor, especially during the time of double Quadragesima, which she was accustomed to observe; her application to prayer."

Margaret exceeded the requirements of the church in fasting for 40 days before Christmas. She seems to have begun the Advent fast on 15th November, instead of Advent Sunday (Nov. 27 × Dec. 3). The custom of fasting in Advent was practised as early as the 6th century. Pope Gregory VII curtailed the fast from a period of five Sundays to a period of four Sundays.

was this in truth, I know extremely well; because I have both seen her external works, and have known her conscience, by her own revealing. For she deigned to speak to me most intimately, and to expose her secret thoughts; not because there was anything good in me, but because she thought that there was. When she spoke to me of the salvation of the soul, and of the sweetness of eternal life, she uttered words full of all grace, words that truly were spoken with her mouth by the holy Spirit, dwelling in her heart. And in speaking she was so moved that you would have thought her all dissolved in tears; so that by her emotion my mind was moved to weeping. More than all the people I have yet known, she was devoted to the practices of prayer and fasting, and to works of mercy and of alms.

To speak first of her praying, none present in the church was more silent, but none was more intent in prayer. It was her custom never to speak of anything secular in the house of God, to conduct no affair of earth, but only to pray; and praying to shed tears, in her body alone upon earth, but in mind close to God: for her pure prayer sought nothing but God, and the things that were God's. But what shall I say of her fasting; except that by excessive abstinence she brought on the molestation of a very serious disease?

With these two practices, of prayer and abstinence, she united the good works of mercy. What was gentler than her bosom? Who kinder to the needy? She would gladly have given not only her substance, but herself also, if it had been permissible, to a poor person. She was poorer herself than all her poor: for they had not, but desired to have; while she took pains to scatter what she had. When she walked or rode in public, crowds of wretched men, of orphans, of widows, flocked to her as to a kindest mother; and of these none departed from her without consolation. And when she had distributed everything that she had carried about with her for the benefit of the needy, she used to take as gifts for the poor clothing or any other things that those who were with her, whether rich men or attendants, had at the time; so that a poor man should never go sorrowful away. Those with her did not take it ill, but on the contrary competed to offer her their belongings; since they knew certainly that they would all be

restored to them twice over by her. Occasionally also she took something that belonged to the king, no matter what, to give to a destitute man; a pious robbery, which he always took altogether willingly and gladly. Seeing that he was accustomed to offer at [Christ's] Mandate on the Lord's Supper,[1] and at the celebrations of mass, [specially minted] golden coins, from these she used very often to steal some piously, and to bestow them upon a poor man who had importuned her. And indeed often when the king knew of it, he pretended not to know, because he delighted very much in such theft; and sometimes he seized her hand with the coins, and brought her to me for judgement, saying in jest that she was a thief.

With cheerfulness of heart she showed the munificence of her generosity not to the native poor alone, but also to poor of almost all nations, when they hastened to the renown of her compassion. One may say of her indeed: "She has scattered, she has given to the poor: therefore her justice remains for ever and ever."[2]

And who can tell in number how many men, and how great, she restored to liberty, by payment of a price; men whom the ferocity of their enemies had led away captive from the nation of the Angles, and reduced to slavery? She had even sent secret spies everywhere throughout the provinces of the Scots, to find out which of the captives were oppressed with the harshest servitude, and treated most inhumanly; and to report to her minutely the place where and the people by whom they were oppressed: and she had compassion upon such [slaves] from her inmost heart, and hastened quickly to help them; to ransom them, and restore them to liberty.

At that time very many men, shut up in cells apart, in various places in the districts of the Scots, were living in the flesh, but not according to the flesh; for they led the life of angels upon earth. The queen endeavoured to venerate and love Christ in them; and to visit them very often with her presence and conversation, and to commend herself to their prayers. And when she could not persuade them to agree to accept from her anything, she humbly begged them to deign to enjoin upon her some act of charity or mercy.

[1] Maundy Thursday.

[2] Cf. Psalms, CXII, 9 (Vulgate CXI, 9).

And without delay she fulfilled devoutly whatever was their will; either in delivering the poor from penury, or in relieving the afflicted of the miseries by which they were distressed.

And since the church of St Andrews is frequented by the religious devotion of visitors from the peoples round about, she had built dwellings upon either shore of the sea that separates Lothian and Scotland; so that pilgrims and poor might turn aside there to rest, after the labour of the journey; and might find there ready everything that necessity might require for the restoration of the body. She appointed attendants for this purpose alone, to have always ready all that was needed for guests, and to wait upon them with great care. She provided for them also ships, to carry them across, both going and returning, without ever demanding any price for the passage from those who were to be taken over.[1]

[c. 10] I have described the daily life of the venerable queen, and have also said something of her daily works of mercy; now I shall attempt to tell briefly how she was accustomed to pass the forty days before the Lord's Nativity, and the whole time of Lent.

After resting for a short time in the beginning of the night, she entered the church, and she alone completed the matins first of the holy Trinity, then of the holy Cross, afterwards of St Mary; and after finishing these she began the offices for the dead. After this she began the psalter, and ceased not till she had gone through it to the end. At the proper hour priests celebrated morning Lauds; and meanwhile she either concluded the psalter which she had begun, or if she had finished it once

[1] The names of North Queensferry and South Queensferry on the Forth also testify to such an arrangement. Free ferrying "at the queen's ship" was one of the privileges of the canons of St Andrews in 1183 (St Andrews, 57).

"Half of St Margaret the queen's ferry" (*dimidium passagii S. Margarete Regine;* i.e., North Queensferry) was among the possessions confirmed to abbot Archibald and the monastery of Dunfermline by pope Lucius III, on 19th October, 1184 (Dunfermline, no. 239). On 30th December, 1211, pope Innocent III confirmed to the monks: "[North] Queensferry [*passagium Regine*]; and beside Inverkeithing certain land that is called the land of the hostel; and on the southern side of the ferry [*passagii;* i.e., in South Queensferry] certain lands, which Malcolm [IV], king of Scotland, of renowned memory, in consideration of [your] piety, conferred with its liberties upon the hostel of [North] Queensferry [*de passagio Regine*], which pertains to you" (Dunfermline, no. 250).

she began it a second time. And when the service of morning Lauds was ended, she used to return to her chamber; and with the king himself to wash the feet of six poor persons, and to give them something to ease their poverty. It was indeed the chamberlain's chief care to bring in the poor each night before the entrance of the queen, so that when she came in to serve them she should find them ready.

All this concluded, she betook herself to rest and sleep.

After rising from bed in the early morning, she continued long in prayers and psalms; and between the chants she performed a work of mercy. She caused to be brought in to her in the first hour of the day nine baby orphans, destitute of all support: she had ordered the softer foods, in which the age of babyhood delights, to be prepared for them each day; and when they were brought she deigned to place them on her knees; to make their little drinks for them, and to put food into their mouths with the spoons that she used herself. Thus the queen who was honoured by the whole population filled for Christ's sake the part of a servant and a kindest mother. She might very properly have used the words of the blessed Job: "Compassion grew up with me from my infancy, and left with me my mother's womb."[1]

The custom was to bring in meanwhile, into the royal palace, three hundred poor. These were seated around in order; and when the king and queen had entered, the servants closed the doors: because (excepting certain religious chaplains, and other attendants) none was permitted to be present at their works of charity. The king taking the one side, the queen taking the other, they served Christ in the poor; and with great devotion offered them food and drink specially prepared for the purpose.

This done, the queen would enter the church; and there with protracted prayers and tearful groanings would offer herself as a sacrifice to God. On these holy days, within the space of night and day (in addition to the services of holy Trinity, of holy Cross, and of St Mary) she completed two repetitions of the psalter, or three: and before the celebration of public mass she had five or six masses performed before her privately.

[1] Job, XXXI, 18 (Vulgate).

These things completed, when the time of dining approached, she (humbly serving) refreshed twenty-four poor persons before taking her own refection. For in addition to all the charities of which I have told above, she supported, the whole year round, as long as she lived, poor people to that number—that is, of twenty-four. She had arranged that these should stay with her wherever she dwelt, and accompany her wherever she went.

And after she had devoutly served Christ in them, she used to refresh her own little body also. But because she did not (as the apostle says) "make provision for the flesh, in its desires,"[1] she had in this refection barely enough to satisfy the necessities of life. She ate merely in order to preserve life, not to yield to pleasure. The light and moderate repast provoked hunger instead of satisfying it. She seemed to taste food rather than to consume it. Gather from this, I ask you, the extent and manner of her continence in fasting, when such was her abstinence in feasting.

And although she passed her whole life in great continence, yet in these days, the forty before Easter and the forty before Christmas, she used to afflict herself with incredible abstinence. Because of the excessive rigour of her fasting, she suffered acutest pain in her stomach to the end of her days; yet the infirmity of her body did not diminish her virtue in good works: she remained studious in sacred reading, persistent in prayer; never failing in charities, wholly employed with vigilance in all things that were God's. And because she knew that it is written, "Whom the Lord loves he reproves; and he scourges every son whom he receives,"[2] she gladly accepted with patience and rendering of thanks her bodily suffering, as the scourging of her gentlest Father.

[c. 11] Thus given up to these works, and others like them; and labouring under constant infirmities, so that according to the apostle's words "virtue was perfected in infirmity"[3]: she rose from virtue to virtue, and became better from day to day. Abandoning in her mind all earthly things, she burned with full desire in her thirst for heavenly things; and said with the psalmist, crying aloud with heart and mouth, "My heart has

[1] Paul to Romans, XIII, 14.
[2] Cf. Proverbs, III, 11-12.
[3] 2 Corinthians, XII, 9.

thirsted for God, the living spring: when shall I come, and appear before God's face?"[1]

Let others admire in others the signs of miracles;[2] I esteem much more in Margaret the works of mercy. Signs are common to the good and to the bad; but works of true piety and love are peculiar to the good. The former sometimes show sanctity; the latter constitute sanctity. Let us, I repeat, more worthily admire in Margaret the deeds that made her holy, than the miracles, if she had done any; since they could only show her holiness to men. Let us more worthily hold her in awe, because through her devotion to justice, piety, mercy, and love, we contemplate in her, rather than miracles, the deeds of the ancient fathers.

Yet I shall relate an occurrence which I think it pertinent to tell, as regarding the evidence of her religious life.

She had had a book of gospels, adorned with jewels and gold; and in it the figures of the four evangelists were decorated with painting, interspersed with gold: and also every capital letter glowed all in gold. This volume she had always cherished very dearly, beyond the others in which she had been accustomed to read and study. This volume she was carrying, when she chanced to be crossing over a ford; and the book, being not carefully enough wrapped up in cloths, fell into the middle of the water. The carrier, not knowing this, concluded unconcernedly the journey that he had begun: and he first learned what he had lost, when he wished afterwards to produce the book. It was long sought without being found. At last it was found lying open in the bottom of the river, its leaves being constantly kept in motion by the current of the water; and the little sheets of silk that had covered the golden letters to prevent their being dimmed by contact with the leaves, had been torn out by the rapidity of the river. Who would have thought the book worth anything any longer? Who would have believed that even one letter in it would have remained visible? But indeed it was drawn out from the middle of the river entire, undecayed, unhurt, so that it appeared not to have been touched by the water at all. The whiteness of the leaves,

[1] Psalms, XLII, 2 (Vulgate XLI, 3).

[2] This passage appears to have influenced W.N.'s words written of Malcolm IV (E.C., 237).

and the unimpaired beauty of the letters throughout, remained as they had been before it had fallen into the river; except that in parts of the last leaves some mark of moisture could just be seen. The book was brought back and the miracle related to the queen; and she returned thanks to Christ, and cherished the volume much more dearly than before. So let others see what they think of it; I hold that this sign was given by the Lord, because of his love for the venerable queen.[1]

[c. 12][2] Meanwhile, when already almighty God was preparing to render the eternal rewards of her pious labours, she made herself ready for the entrance into the other life much more sedulously than had been her wont. For, as will presently be shown from her own words, she seemed to have long foreknown her departure from this life, and other future events. She therefore spoke to me privately, and began to relate her life to me in order; and to pour out rivers of tears at every word.[3] So great indeed was her remorse in the conversation, so great a torrent of weeping had sprung from her remorse, that there was certainly nothing, so it seemed to me, that she could not at that time have obtained from Christ. While she wept, I wept also; weeping long, we were meanwhile silent; because we could utter no words, for the rising sobs. The flame of remorse which had burned up her heart had touched my mind also through her spiritual words. And while I listened to the words of the holy Spirit spoken with her tongue, and gazed through her words upon her conscience, I counted myself unworthy of so great favour of her friendship.

When she had finished speaking of necessities, she began again to speak to me thus. "Farewell" she said, "I shall not

[1] Adamnan (II, 9) relates that books written by Columba had miraculous powers of resistance against the effects of immersion in water. Cf. Reeves's note; and Fowler, 79. D.K., 342.

[2] Here begins Papebroch's c. 4, with the heading: "The queen's death foreseen, and piously met."

[3] A.R. renders this sentence thus in his Life of Margaret (c. 9; in Pinkerton's Vitae, 382; Metcalfe's Lives, ii, 206):—"She had as confessor Turgot, the second prior of Durham. She called him to her, and began to relate to him her life; and to pour out rivers of tears at every word . . . ." Ailred also says that this took place half a year before her death (ibid.); but this statement is erroneously deduced from the words of Margaret's chaplain, quoted by Turgot below.

continue much longer in this life; and thou wilt live a long time after me. There are two things that I request of thee: one, that thou remember my soul in thy masses and prayers all thy life; the other, that thou take charge of my sons and daughters, and afford them love; and especially teach them, and never cease to teach them, to fear and love God. And when thou seest any one of them elevated to the zenith of earthly dignity, that thou be to him especially a father and instructor; exhorting him, and when circumstances require it reproving him, to the end that he be not inflated with pride by reason of his temporary honour; that he offend not God by avarice; that through prosperity in this world he neglect not the felicity of eternal life. This" she said, "is what I ask thee, before God, who is the third here present with us, to promise me carefully to perform."

Again bursting into tears at these words, I promised diligently to do what she had asked; for I dared not gainsay her, whom I had heard thus unhesitatingly foretell the future. The event proves that things are now as she foretold; because I both live after her death, and see her offspring raised to the rank of honour.

Having ended our conference, returning home I bade the queen farewell for the last time; for I never saw her again.

[c. 13] Not long afterwards she was attacked by more violent illness than she had had before; and before the day of her summons she was wasted by the fire of a long disease.

I shall relate her death, as I have heard it from her priest. She had loved him more intimately than the rest, because of his simplicity, innocence, and chastity; and after the queen's death he gave himself up to the perpetual service of Christ for the sake of her soul, and offered himself as a sacrifice for her at the tomb of the incorrupt body of the most blessed father Cuthbert. He was inseparably present in the last hours of the queen's life, and he had commended her soul to Christ with prayers as it passed from her body. As he had watched her departure throughout, and since I often question him about it, he is accustomed to relate it thus, with tears:

"For half a year" he says, "and somewhat more, she was never able to sit on horseback; and seldom to rise from bed. On the fourth day before her death, while the king was upon

an expedition, and she could not have known from the swiftness of any messenger what was happening to him on that day, at so great a distance away over the land, she became suddenly sadder, and said this to us who sat beside her: 'Perhaps to-day so great an evil has happened to the kingdoms of the Scots, as has not happened for many ages past.'

"When we heard this, we received her words with little attention at the time; but after some days a messenger arrived, and we learned that the king had been killed on the same day upon which the queen had thus spoken. As if foreseeing the future, she had strongly opposed his going with any army; but it happened, I know not for what reason, that on this occasion he did not obey her warnings.

"When the fourth day[1] after the slaying of the king arrived, her infirmity being somewhat lightened, she entered the oratory, to hear mass; and there she took care to prepare for her death, which was already imminent, with the sacred *viaticum* of the body and blood of the Lord. After having been revived by the salutary gust of these, she was presently troubled with a return of her former pains; and was prostrated in bed: and, as the malady increased, she was driven violently on towards her death.

"But [you ask] what I am doing; why I delay? I fear to

[1] This should mean four days, but may mean three days, after 13th November. It is implied that this was the day of her death. F.W. says that Margaret died "after three days of the slaying" of Malcolm; which means on the 16th. Cf. folio 13 of C.M., above.

Margaret lived (according to her chaplain) until her son [Edgar] had returned from the army, bringing news of the deaths of his father and brother. The distance from Alnwick to Edinburgh by road was probably less than 90 miles, and might have been covered in three days. But if Edward had died near Jedburgh on the previous day (as folio 13 of C.M. says), Edgar must have gone from Alnwick to Jedburgh in two days—a distance of about 34 miles in a straight line, across the Cheviots—; and from Jedburgh to Edinburgh in one day. By the Roman road, Melrose, and Stow, this would probably have been a distance of 50 miles, and an arduous journey.

If Edward died near Jedburgh on the 15th, and Edgar brought news of his death, it might seem more probable that Edgar reached Edinburgh on the 17th. But since the evidence tends to show that Margaret died on the 16th, it tends also to discredit the tradition (first recorded in 1263) that Edward died on the 15th. The early accounts imply that he was killed near Alnwick, on the 13th.

come to her decease, just as if I could postpone longer the death of my lady, and prolong her life.[1] But all flesh is grass, and all its glory is as the flower of grass; the grass has withered, and the flower has fallen.[2]

"Her face had already paled in death when she bade me, and the other attendants of the sacred altar along with me, to stand beside her, and to commend her soul to Christ with song. She also commanded to bring her the cross that she used to call the Black Cross,[3] and which she used always to hold in the greatest veneration. And when the shrine in which it had been enclosed could not be opened very quickly, the queen groaned heavily, and said: 'Oh wretch that we are, and guilty! We shall not be judged worthy to see again the holy Rood!' When, however, it was brought out of the case, and taken to her, she received it with reverence; and set to embracing and kissing it, and signing with it very frequently her eyes and face.

"And now her whole body grew cold, although warmth still pulsed in her breast; but none the less she prayed continually. Singing the fiftieth psalm[4] right through, she held the cross before her eyes the while, grasping it with both hands.

"Meanwhile her son, who still at present holds the government after his father,[5] returned from the army, and entered the queen's bedchamber. What distress had he then; what agony of mind! He stood there, harassed by misfortunes on all sides; he knew not whither to turn. For he had come to announce to his mother that his father and his brother had been slain[6]; and he found that his mother, whom he had loved especially, was

[1] This sentence is wrongly punctuated by Pinkerton, Metcalfe, and Hinde.

[2] Isaiah, XL, 6-7.

[3] "The Black Cross of Scotland" A.R., Life.

[4] Psalm LI, in the English version.

[5] *qui post patrem regni gubernacula jam nunc in presenti tenet.* These words imply that he was his father's successor. The first of Margaret's sons to reign over Scotland was Edgar; and this son is named Edgar in A.R.'s Life, c. 10 (Metcalfe, ii, 207). If Turgot was the writer, he wrote 1100×1107; Edgar reigned 1097-1107. This sentence, although ascribed to Margaret's chaplain, implies that the Life was composed 1100×1107, and agrees well with the theory of Turgot's authorship.

[6] For *perempto* in Papebroch's text reading *peremptum*, as in Hinde's. For the bearing of this statement upon the dates, see above.

just on the brink of death: whom first to mourn,[1] he knew not. But the departure of his sweetest mother, whom he saw lying almost dead before his eyes, tore his heart with the sharpest pangs. In addition to all this, anxiety for the state of the kingdom weighed upon him; because he knew with certainty that it would be disturbed by his father's death. On all sides grief, on all sides pain, had entangled him.

"While the queen, lying as in an agony, was thought by those present to be dead, she suddenly rallied her strength and addressed her son. She questioned him about his father and brother; but he would not tell her the truth, lest hearing of their death she too should instantly die: so he answered that they were well. But she sighed deeply, and said, 'I know, my son, I know. I adjure thee by this holy cross, by the nearness of our relationship, to speak out what thou knowest to be true.' He was compelled to disclose the matter as it had occurred.

"What shouldst thou have thought she would have done—who would not have believed that she would have murmured against God, in so many adversities? At the same time she had lost her husband, she had lost a son, disease had tortured her to death: but in all this she sinned not with her lips[2]; she spoke no foolish word against God. Instead, she raised her eyes and her hands to heaven, and broke into praise and thanksgiving, saying: 'I render praises and thanks to thee, almighty God, who hast willed that I should endure such anguish at my death; and to cleanse me, as I hope, by enduring it, from some stains of sin.'

"She had perceived that death was there; and immediately she began a prayer, which is said by the priest after tasting the Lord's body and blood, thus: 'Lord Jesus Christ, who by the Father's will, with the co-operation of the holy Spirit, hast given the world life through thy death, deliver me.' While she was saying 'deliver me,' her soul was released from the chains of the body, and departed to Christ, whom she had always loved, the author of true liberty; becoming a sharer in the felicity of those whose example of virtue she had followed. Her departure

[1] In Pinkerton's edition erroneously *plangerat;* in the other editions, *plangeret.*

[2] Job, II, 10.

took place with so great calm, with so complete tranquillity, that it is not to be doubted that her soul departed to the region of eternal rest and peace. And strangely her face, which had become all pallid in death, as is usual in the dying, was so suffused after her death with red upon white that she might have been believed to be not dead, but sleeping.

"So we enshrouded her body honourably, as befitted a queen; and carried it to the church of Holy Trinity,[1] which she herself had built; and gave her burial in it, as she had commanded, opposite the altar and the venerable symbol of the holy cross, which she herself had erected there. And thus her body now rests in the place where she used to afflict it with vigils and prayers, with shedding of tears and bowing of knees."

[1] In Dunfermline.

Fordun says, (V, 21; cf. i, 422: Bower, V, 26, i, 274) professing to quote from Turgot, that queen Margaret died in Edinburgh castle; and that the castle was besieged by Donald Bán with a large force before her body had been removed. She was carried out by a postern on the western side, under cover of a miraculous mist, and brought safely to Dunfermline. If this had been true, Turgot's Life would surely have mentioned it.

Turgot's account agrees well with the statement that Margaret died in Edinburgh; and proves that she was buried in Dunfermline.

King Malcolm was buried first at Tynemouth (E.C., 112, 113); and afterwards (1107 × 1124) in Dunfermline. Cf. P.S.A.S., ii, 81-89.

Large skeletons were found (1235 × 1260) in the church that had been founded by earl Robert de Mowbray at Tynemouth; and, by reason of their size, were identified as the remains of king Malcolm and Edward. See E.C., 112, note; and cf. Walsingham, Gesta Abbatum, i, 387-388 (R.S. 28). The grounds of identification were evidently insufficient.

Folio 13, added in 1263 to C.M., is the earliest source for the statement that Edward, though fatally wounded, survived the battle; and this statement is the only corroboration of Fordun's account, which says that Edward was conveyed before his death to Jedburgh Forest, and after his death to Dunfermline. This account implies that Edward's burial-place was located by tradition in Dunfermline, beside the tombs of Margaret and Malcolm (1107 × 1250). No mention is made by Bower of Edward's remains being removed in the translation. It is possible that the desire to bring the family together in Dunfermline was the father of folio 13's statement.

An attempt has been made to identify his remains in Dunfermline: see P.S.A.S., ii, 75-77.

In May, 1245, pope Innocent IV raised the monastery of Dunfermline to the status of a mitred abbacy; and granted it freedom from litigious citations beyond the Forth (Dunfermline, nos. 279, 280).

In letters written on 27th July, 1245, and 13th August, 1246, pope Innocent IV caused inquiry to be made regarding the sanctity of queen Margaret (Dunfermline, nos. 281, 285). Sanction to enrol her in the catalogue of saints was implied in his letter of 16th September, 1249 (ibid., no. 290). In his letter of the 21st September she was called *sancta;* and yearly relaxation of 40 days was granted to penitents who visited the greater church of Dunfermline on her day (ibid., no. 291).

In the year 1250, on June 19th, according to Bower (X, 3; ii, 83: cf. Breviary of Aberdeen, ii, 8, 1, under June 19th), king Alexander III with his mother, the queen of Scotland [Mary], raised "the relics of the glorious queen Margaret, his ancestress [literally "great-great-great-grandmother"] from the stone monument in which they had rested for the space of many years; and with the highest devotion placed them in a pinewood shrine, adorned with gold and jewels." They were taken from "the outer church," and placed "in the choir, above the greater altar."

At the same time, Malcolm's remains, which had lain under a vaulted arch in the northern side of the nave of the church, opposite the gate of the chancel, were elevated and placed beside Margaret's shrine in the new sepulchre that had been prepared.

Cf. Papebroch's notes; A.S., June, ii, 332-334; and Metcalfe's Lives, ii, 189-192 (Pinkerton's Vitae, 363-367).

The report of an inquisition of 1316 (Dunfermline, no. 348) mentions that the blessed queen Margaret was translated at Dunfermline, in presence of king Alexander III, and of seven bishops and seven earls of Scotland; and says that upon the same day sir Malcolm, at that time the earl of Fife [1228-†1266], did homage to sir Robert of Keldeleth, then the abbot of Dunfermline [1240-1252], beside the great altar, for the land of Cluny.

This report fixes the date of the translation as 1249×1252. Alexander III was not yet king on 19th June in 1249; queen Mary was not in Scotland on that day in 1251 or 1252 (see year 1251, note). Therefore Bower's date of the translation is correct.

Bower's account of the translation suggests that a new choir had been added to the church, and that the old choir had been added to the nave; so that the graves of Margaret and Malcolm, formerly before the altar, had ceased to be within the chancel.

The church had in fact "been augmented by the building of a loftier structure" (*per nobilioris structure fabricam*); but since "its ancient walls remained for the greater part in their previous state," pope Innocent IV declared that the church should not be compelled to incur the expense of re-consecration. His letter is dated at Lyons, on 18th August, 1249 (Dunfermline, 184, no. 288. Cf. nos. 286, 287).

On 8th October, 1290, pope Nicholas IV granted relaxation of a year and forty days of penance to those penitents who visited the church of St Margaret, in Dunfermline, upon her festival. Bliss, i, 520.

The abbey precincts in 1303 covered 3 carucates of land, according to F.H., iii, 311.

Under Margaret's day (the 16th of November) the Breviary of Aberdeen

declares that her relics were "very often visited by faithful pilgrims, at Dunfermline" (ii, 8, 162), in the beginning of the 16th century.

Her remains were disturbed in the end of the 16th century. Her head came into the possession of queen Mary Stuart; it was ultimately brought to Douai, then in Belgium. See Papebroch's notes, u.s., 334-335; Metcalfe, ii, 192-196 (Pinkerton, 367-370). There it was lost, during the French revolution. Cf. P.S.A.S., ii, 89; Hill Burton's Scotland, i (1873), 381-382.

PART III

Reigns of Donald Bán, Duncan II, and Edgar; First Invasion of Magnus

1093-1097

Inserted folio 13 in the Chronicle of Melrose, p. 52 [1]

Donald, the brother of the aforesaid king Malcolm, usurped the kingdom, sending into exile the lawful heirs, namely Edgar, Alexander, and David.[2] But Duncan, the above-named Malcolm's son (though illegitimate[3]), who was a hostage in the court of the king of England, William Rufus, interposed by that king's aid and counsel[4]; routed his uncle,[5] and was received as king. And he reigned for a year and a half.[6] A certain earl, namely of the Mearns,[7] wickedly murdered him.

Donald again usurped the kingdom, and reigned for three years and a half.

[1] This passage is copied by the Chronicle of Huntingdon; P. & S., 211.

[2] The Huntingdon Chronicle adds: "because they were of youthful age" (*junioris etatis*).

[3] This statement that Duncan was illegitimate is accepted by the Huntingdon Chronicle and by Fordun. But it is not in accordance with the facts. Cf. year 1070, note; 1072; and below.

In his charter given to Durham granting to that church lands in Lothian, Duncan II calls himself: "I, Duncan, son of king Malcolm, being by inheritance the king of Scotland" (National MSS. of Scotland, i, no. 2; Raine's North Durham, 372 × 373, 374-376, and Appendix, no. 1; H. & S., ii, 1, 165; L.C., no. 12).

[4] "interposed . . . counsel," not in Hunt. Chr.

[5] "uncle" not in Hunt. Chr.

[6] Donald Bán's first reign is included in the 1½ years.

[7] The Huntingdon Chronicle reads: "a certain Scottish earl, the earl of Moray, at the instigation of the aforesaid Donald collected his forces, and . . .".

1093-1097

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version F; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 175

Donald, Duncan's son, first reigned for six months, and afterwards [was] expelled; and Duncan, Malcolm's son, reigned for six months.

[Duncan] was killed in Mondynes,[1] by Maelpetair, Malcolm's son,[2] the earl of Mearns; and again Donald, Duncan's son reigned for three years. [Donald] was captured by Edgar, Malcolm's son; was blinded, and died at Rescobie. He was buried in Dunkeld. His bones were removed thence to Iona.[3]

1093

Prose and Verse Chronicles inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, p. 228

Donald usurped the kingdom of Scotland. And of him it is said: "Donald, king Malcolm's brother, reigned over the kingdom for six months, in Scotland. Duncan, Malcolm's son, took the kingdom from him; he also was king in Scotland for as many months. He was slain by the men of the Mearns in

[1] *Monacheden.* This was Mondynes, in the parish of Fordoun.

[2] *Malpeder Mackcolm* (while Duncan and Edgar are called *mac Malcolm*). *Malpedir mac Loren* in G; *filio Lorin*, in I; *mac Loern*, in K.

[3] This passage appears similarly in versions I (289), K (206-207); but I reads "earl of Mar" instead of "Mearns." K says of Duncan that he "lies in the island of Iona"; and of Donald that he "was captured, blinded, and killed, by Edgar": and omits the places of Duncan's and of Donald's deaths.

Version G reads (303): "Donald, Duncan's son, reigned first for 7 months, and afterwards was driven out of the kingdom; and then Duncan, Malcolm's son, reigned for 6 months, and was killed by Maelpetair, Loren's son, earl of Mearns, [in] Mondynes [*tamen Monethefoen*]. And again Donald, Duncan's son, [reigned], for 3 years, the aforesaid time included. And afterwards he was captured by Edgar, Malcolm's son, and was blinded in Rescobie and buried in Dunkeld. And his bones were translated to the island of Iona."

N reads (306): "Donald [reigned] for four years, and was driven out of the kingdom."

For the affairs of 1093-1097, see E.C., 117-119; and below. An account of them is given by Langtoft, i, 440-444. Cf. the confused account in O.V., iii, 400.

Mondynes.[1] Because he lived badly, the whole populace crushed him."[2]

1093-1094

Berchan's Prophecy, stanza 199; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 104

Alas for it! A king[3] will take [Scotland] for four nights and one month. I think it grievous that the Gaels will kill him: woe to him that shall glory in him![4]

1094

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 60

In the year 1094, the Scots killed their king Duncan.[5]

[1] *in monodedhno* (*Monehedne* in B.).

[2] The passage within inverted commas is in verse; cf. the Bodleian version, in P. & S., 181.

[3] For *ríghe* reading *rí*, as the verse requires. The *e* has been struck out by O'Connell.

[4] The previous reign appears to be that of Malcolm III: this should be the first reign of Donald Bán. Donald reigned firstly for 6 months, secondly for nearly 35 months; and he was not killed at the end of his second reign. Berchan's account is valueless.

[5] This is derived from F.W., ii, 35; E.C., 118.

The death of Duncan, and restoration of Donald, are noticed by the Chronicle of Carlisle (s.a. 1095) and other chronicles of 1291 (Palgrave, 71; 62, 88, 91, 97-98, 105-106, 110, 114-115, 126-127, 130, 133).

Edward I's letter to Boniface (Foedera, i, 2, 932): "Also, the aforesaid king William [Rufus] for just reasons removed Donald from the kingdom of Scotland; and put in his place, as king of Scotland, Duncan, the son of Malcolm; and he received from him an oath of fealty."

King Duncan II had been a hostage in the custody of William I; see year 1072. He was released on the accession of William II, in 1087 (E.C., 104). He married (probably 1087 × 1094) a daughter of Gospatric I, Æthelthryth or Octreda (which latter name is probably a feminine form of Uhtred, the name of her great-grandfather). See Bain, ii, no. 64; Wetherhal, 386. Cf. above, year 1072, note. Their son was William, lord of the barony of Allerdale. For him see Bain, ii, no. 64; Hodgson's Northumberland, vii, 29. Cf. i.a. Harleian MS. 2188, fos. 30, 48-49. William succeeded in the barony to his cousin Alan, Waltheof's son. See year 1072, note. William married Alicia, the daughter of Robert de Romeley, lord of Skipton in Craven (cf. E.C., 186, 227; Walbran's Fountains, i, 86; Guisbrough, ii, 319-320); their son was William, the boy

1094

Annals of Innisfallen, Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, part 2, p. 88; O'Conor's year 1077 = 1094[1]

Duncan, Malcolm's son, the king of Scotland, was killed by Donald, Duncan's son[2]; and that Donald took the kingship of Scotland afterwards.

1094

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 200-201; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 104

The king who will redden valour[3] will take[4] [Scotland]; a son of the woman of the Saxons. It will not be short, but will be long: Scotland will be brim-full in his time.[5]

Twenty years, and two years, (I shall relate to you, since it is obscure) Scotland will be full,[6] in the west and in the east. I think it grievous that his brother will kill him.[7]

of Egremont, who died under age. They had also three daughters, Cecilia, Amabilis, and Alicia (cf. Bain, i, no. 554). See Bain, ii, no. 64; Wetherhal, 387-388. Cf. above, year ? 1064. Egremont went with Amabilis, who married Reginald de Lucy. Their son, Richard de Lucy, the grandson of William, Duncan's son, gave a charter of laws to the burgesses of Egremont (Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiq. and Arch. Soc., Transactions, i, 282-286).

William, Duncan's son had (besides William) a son, Gospatric (Raine's North Durham, appendix, p. 25, no. 111).

[1] With f.n. and e. of 1094.

[2] A.U., ii, 52, and A.L.C., i, 80, both s.a. 1094 (with f.n. and e. of 1094): "Duncan, Malcolm's son, the king of Scotland, was killed by his own brothers [*braithrib*], Donald and Edmund, by craft" (*per dolum;* not in A.L.C.). "Duncan . . . by his own [subjects]" C.S., 302, Hennessy's year 1090 = 1094.

[3] *ruaimnes gail.*

[4] For *géabhaidh* reading *géabha*, as the verse requires.

[5] For *occu* reading *occa*, as the rhyme requires.

[6] Reading *lán* instead of *lomlan* (which word is used also in the previous stanza), because the line has a syllable too many.

[7] Duncan's death was caused by his half-brother, Edmund (see E.C., 118-119); and by Donald Bán. These words of Berchan seem to show that he is speaking of the reign of Duncan, notwithstanding his statements that this king was the son of Margaret, and that he reigned for 22 years (he was the son of Ingibiorg, and reigned about six months).

1094-1097

Berchan's Prophecy, stanzas 202-204; Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 104-105

After that, Donald Bán will take [Scotland]; ah! ah! my heart is tortured.[1] In his time, the men of Scotland will come hither, to Ireland.

Twenty-four kings [are] there,[2] from the first king[3] who will take Scotland, to Donald Bán, who distributes horses,[4] [and] who will leave Scotland to the gentiles.

May the men of Scotland still repent,[5] without transgression: of them, four[6] kings, until the impetuous Judgement[-day],[7] [will be] in Ireland, in authority.[8]

1094

Annals of Innisfallen, Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, part 2, pp. 87-88; O'Conor's year 1077 = 1094[9]

[There was] great warfare in this year between [Muirchertach] Ua-Briain,[10] with Cond's Half,[11] and Godfrey, the king of Dublin. And Muirchertach went upon a military

[1] For *rádhadh* reading *chrádh*, with O'Connell (MS. *b*), and Skene.

[2] *Ceithre rí fhichid sin;* for which we should probably read *cethir ríg fichet iat sin.*

[3] I.e., Kenneth Alpin's son.

[4] *dháiles gráig.* Cf. stanzas 175, 195 (years 1005, 1093).

[5] *Conndénaid attighthe sa fhos.* By this, the copyist probably meant: "May they make their houses still"; but for this we should have to read *a dtige seom fós*, which gives a syllable too many; and it is in any case nonsense. Probably the true reading is: *co n-dénat áthrige fós.*

[6] A gloss adds: "or five."

[7] Similarly stanza 96, at the end of the Irish part of the Prophecy, says: "This I leave to the others. Not many days until the Judgement: it is not long for them, until the conflict comes—an arrow of fire in the south-west." Cf. stanza 196, under year 1093.

[8] *for eirinn inn airches* (read *i n-airechas*). This seems to imply that fugitives from Scotland controlled some district in Ireland; but the text is very probably corrupt.

Four kings after Donald Bán reigned in Scotland 1097-1165. The Prophecy was probably written after 1165. See the Bibliographical Notes, under Berchan.

[9] With f. and e. of 1094.

[10] "King of Munster" Contin. T.

[11] Northern Ireland.

expedition to Dublin, and captured Ua-Conchobair of Offaly,[1] and expelled Godfrey from Dublin. And [Donald], Fland Ua-Maelsechlaind's [son],[2] the king of Meath, was slain by him there, in that expedition; and he made [Conchobar] Maelsechlaind's son[3] king [of Meath] after [Donald]; and obtained peace with victory.

1094

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 52, s.a. 1094

A military expedition [was led] by Muirchertach Ua-Briain to Dublin; and he drove out Godfrey Meranach from the kingship of the Foreigners, and killed Donald Ua-Maelsechlaind, the king of Tara.[4]

1095

Annals of Innisfallen; Scriptores u.s., p. 89; O'Conor's year 1078 = 1095[5]

A great pestilence afflicted the inhabitants of Ireland, so that the number of the people whom it killed could not be

[1] Probably the Conchobar Ua-Conchobair, king of Offaly, who was killed at Dublin in 1115 (A.U.).

[2] He is called by Contin. T., "Donald Ua-Maelsechlaind, sovereign of Tara, and also the defender of all Ireland."

[3] Perhaps the Conchobar Ua-Conchobair, Maelsechlaind's son, *rígdamna* of Tara, who died in 1105 (A.U.).

[4] Similarly in A.L.C., i, 80. In his account of this campaign, the Continuator of Tigernach omits mention of Godfrey (R.C., xviii, 16, s.a. [1094]; cf. C.S., 302, Hennessy's year 1090 = 1094).

F.M., ii, 946, s.a. 1094: "The men of Ireland collected to Dublin; namely Muirchertach Ua-Briain and the men of Munster, with the men of Ossory, and of Leinster; [and on the other side] Donald, a son of Lochland's son, the king of Ailech [in Inishowen], with the Cenel-Conaill and the Cenel-Eogain; Donald, Fland's son, the king of Tara, with the men of Meath; Duncan Ua-Eochada, with the Ulstermen; and Godfrey, lord of the Foreigners and of Dublin, with ninety ships. The [latter] army came westwards to the plain of Leinster, and burned Oughterard, and put to flight before them bloodlessly the men of Munster, and of Leinster, and of Ossory. The Ulstermen turned [back] after that, because they had no desire to plunder Leinster.

"Then the men of Munster returned eastwards again, and expelled Godfrey out of Dublin; and they deposed the king of Tara, Donald, and drove him into Oriel, after the men of Meath had turned against him. . . ." (An account is given of Donald's death.) A similar but somewhat garbled account is in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 185, s.a. 1094.

[5] With f. and e. of 1095.

counted. This was the plague that killed . . . Godfrey, the king of Dublin and of the Foreigners. . . .[1]

[1] Many other victims are named. After Godfrey's name, a space of two lines and a third is left blank in the MS.

Cf. Tigernach's Continuator, R.C., xviii, 17, s.a. [1095]: "Godfrey, the king of the Northmen [*rex Dormanorum*], died." C.S., 302, mentions the plague, but not the death of Godfrey.

A.U., ii, 54, s.a. 1095 (with f.n. and e. of 1095): "A great plague [occurred] in Ireland; and it made a slaughter of the people, from the Kalends of August [1st August] to May-day following. . . . Godfrey Meranach, the king of the Foreigners, died." Similarly A.L.C., ii, 80-82.

F.M., ii, 950, s.a. 1095: "Of the same pestilence died Godfrey Meranach, the lord of the Foreigners of Dublin and of the islands. . . ."

This Godfrey appears to have been the Godfrey Crovan who was king in Man. See above, years 1066, note; ? 1070, note; ca. 1075; 1091; and below. The identity is not certain. The origin of the epithet *meranach* is obscure.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 186-187, s.a. 1094: "There was a great mortality and plague all over Europe this year, and so much that it depopulated great provinces and countries. There was not such a pestilence in this kingdom since the death of the sons of king Aed Slane (that died of the disease called *buide Chonnaill*) until this present year: Of which disease the ensuing noblemen with infinite numbers of meaner sort died, *videlicet*:—Godfrey, king of the Danes of Dublin, and the islands. . . . [6 other men are named].

"The king and subjects seeing the plague continue with such heat with them, were stricken with great terror; for appeasing of which plague the clergy of Ireland thought good to cause all the inhabitants of the kingdom in general to fast from Wednesday to Sunday once every month for the space of one year, except solemn and great festival days. They also appointed certain prayers to be daily said. The king, the noblemen and all the subjects of the kingdom were very beneficial towards the church and poor men this year; whereby God's wrath was assuaged. The king of his great bounty gave great immunities and freedom to churches that were then before charged with cess and other extraordinary country-charges; with many other large and bountiful gifts."

List of Bishops, appended to the Chronicle of Man, i, 112-114: "*These were the bishops who received the episcopal chair in Man, from the time of Godfrey Crovan, and some time before.*

"The first, before Godfrey Crovan began to reign, was bishop Roolwer, who lies at the church of St Machutus. . . . [Kirk Maughold, near Ramsey]

"After Roolwer, was bishop William.

"After William, in the days of Godfrey Crovan, Hamondus, Iole's son, a Manxman by race, received the episcopal chair.

"He was succeeded in the episcopate by Gamaliel, by race an Englishman. He lies at Peterborough, in England."

The next bishop in the List is Reginald, who succeeded 1154 × ca. 1170. See year 1154, note.

Roolwer's name is a form of the Icelandic *Hrólfr* (Munch). He may conceivably have been the Ralph (*Radulfus*), bishop of Orkney, who was consecrated about 1073. See year 1154, note.

Canon Quine has suggested that bishop William may have been "the great bishop of Orkney [† 1168]—viz., in the early years of Olaf's reign, while the marriage with Ingibiorg lasted: [see years ?1103, 1106-1136, ?1152-?1154, notes] William being the bishop of the Orkney Family." For William the Old, see year 1154, note; and year 1168.

Two chronicles of York say that a bishop of the islands, called Wimund, was consecrated by Thomas II, archbishop of York; i.e., 1109 × 1114. See below.

A letter of king Olaf to Thurstan, archbishop of York, requests him to consecrate a bishop, unnamed, apparently nominated at the time when Olaf's dominions were created a diocese; i.e., 1127 × 1140. See year 1154, note.

Hamond is called "the son of Iole" (*filius Iole*). His father may have been the "Iol, son of Macmars," who witnessed Olaf's foundation charter of the bishopric of the islands (see Oliver's Monumenta de Insula Manniae, ii, 3). Macmars was probably the Macmaras, for whose death see year 1098. The grandson of Macmaras could not have been made bishop before 1095, as the List implies.

There was another man who bore a similar name, and whose son might have been bishop at the time spoken of in the List. The Annals of Innisfallen record that "Ris, son of Teudubr, the king of Wales; and Thorkel, son of Eola, were killed by Frenchmen" in [1093] (O'Conor's year 1076, with f. and e. of 1093). The death of Ris is recorded by A.C. (MSS. BC) and B.T., Ab Ithel's years 1091 = 1093.

Canon Quine (partly basing his argument upon place-names, which he believes to contain the names of donors to the abbey of Rushen) contends that Hamond, being of noble birth, was king Olaf's nominee when the new diocese was formed. In this case, Hamond would have been the bishop appointed 1127 × 1140; and the List of Bishops would have made two errors in regard to him:—he was not appointed during the reign of Godfrey Crovan († 1095); and his successor was not Gamaliel (see below).

It is perhaps equally possible that Hamond was not the grandson of Macmaras; and that he was consecrated before 1094. In that case he would have died before the consecration of 1109 × 1114.

A bishop John was consecrated to the see in 1152 or 1151 (E.C., 224). A Metrical Chronicle of York says that bishop John (spoken of as bishop of Whithorn) was consecrated by Henry Murdac, archbishop of York (1147 × 1153). R.S. **71**, ii, 462.

The same Metrical Chronicle (u.s.) says that a bishop Gamelinus (spoken of as bishop of Whithorn, probably the same person as Gamaliel) was consecrated by Roger, archbishop of York (1154 × 1181).

On the strength of the similarity of their names, Hamond has generally been identified with Wimund, the pretender to the Scottish crown. The

names are in reality distinct; although Hamondus (Icelandic *Hámundr*) might conceivably have been a textual error for Wimondus (Icelandic *Vígmundr*). But the evidence does not justify this identification.

The authorities for Wimund are:—William of Newburgh; Robert de Torigni; Ailred of Rievaulx; the Chronicle of the Archbishops of York; and a Metrical Chronicle of York. See E.C., 223-226; 230.

According to W.N., Wimund was an Englishman, and became a monk at Furness [∴ after 1127]; and afterwards in Man [at Rushen; founded 1134]. R.T. calls him a monk of Savigny [founded ca. 1112. Cf. the Chronicle of Man, i, 60; B.R., xii, 781; xiii, 729]. The Furness monks were monks of Savigny, first established at Tulket, Amunderness, in 1124. Savignian monks did not come to England before 1123 (S.D.).

He became bishop of the islands (of Man, W.N.; 1st bishop of Man, R.T.; of the islands, the York chronicles; designated "of the holy church of Skye" in Chr. Abps., quoting from his letter, in which he professed subjection to York). The York chronicles say that he was consecrated 1109 × 1114, which would preclude the possibility of his having been a monk in Furness or in Rushen.

W.N. calls him "a pseudo-monk and bishop"; A.R., "a pseudo-bishop"; "a monk." He was deprived of the bishopric not later than 1152 (R.T.).

He declared falsely that he was a son of the earl of Moray (W.N., A.R.): i.e., of Angus, king Lulach's grandson († 1130. The chronological argument by which, in a paper contributed to S.H.R., vii, 29-36, I sought to establish a theory that Wimund might have been a grandson of Angus, is vitiated by my having accepted for Manx affairs the dates given by the Chronicle of Man).

Wimund invaded Scotland after 1130, and by implication after 1138 (A.R.; W.N.). While still bishop, he attempted to exact tribute from a bishop in David's dominions [possibly Gilla-aldan, bishop of Whithorn; ∴ after 1125?], but was wounded by him (W.N.). A province, including Furness, was given to him by king David; he was captured there, and emasculated (W.N.), and blinded (W.N., R.T.); fittingly punished, before king David's death (A.R.). He lived for many years at Byland [after 1143], where W.N. often saw him. W.N. was born in 1136. Byland abbey was a daughter house of Furness, and subject to Savigny; see Beck's Annales Furnesienses, pp. xlvi-xlvii.

These accounts of Wimund disagree with regard to the date of his consecration. It is difficult to adjudicate between the simple statement of the York chronicles, and the more circumstantial story given by William of Newburgh. The York chronicles profess to have documentary evidence. Possibly Wimund was bishop in the islands before 1114; and the Manxmen accepted his jurisdiction. In that case, he must have been deprived of authority over Man before 1140; since Olaf, establishing a diocese in his dominions, nominated a bishop of the islands, 1127 × 1140.

If we follow William of Newburgh, however, and reject the chronicles of York, it must have been Wimund who was appointed to the bishopric 1127 × 1140.

No positive conclusions can be drawn. But perhaps the probabilities

? 1095

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, pp. 52-54, s.a. 1056 = 1075 × 1076

[Godfrey Crovan] reigned for sixteen years; and he died in the island that is called Islay.[1]

He left three sons: Logmann, Harold, and Olaf. Logmann, being the oldest, took the kingdom; and he reigned for seven years. His brother Harold rebelled against him for a long time; but he was at last taken by Logmann, emasculated, and deprived of his eyes. Afterwards Logmann repented that he had put out his brother's eyes, and resigned his kingdom voluntarily: and, marked with the sign of the Lord's cross, took the road to Jerusalem; where also he died.[2]

are that Wimund held a bishopric in the islands from 1109 × 1114 to 1138 × 1140; and that, after his expulsion, the see was reconstituted, and given to another bishop; who held it from 1138 × 1140 to 1151 or 1152.

Wimund's invasions of Scotland may safely be placed 1130 × 1152; and with considerable probability, 1138 × 1140.

Wimund has also been rashly identified with Malcolm Macheth or Macbeth. The evidence of Ailred alone would disprove this (E.C., 193-194; 230, note). Cf. below, year 1157.

A "Reginald, Wimund's son," (perhaps, from his name, a Scandinavian from the islands) held land to the extent of half a knight's scutage in Northumberland, in 1166 (Red Book of the Exchequer, i, 437).

[1] *Vle.* Cf. above, ca. 1075, note.

The Chronicle of Man's numbers are not trustworthy. This chronicle places the reigns of Godfrey and Logmann, the regency of Donald Tadc's son, and the jurisdiction of Magnus, (16, 7, 3, and 6 years respectively; a total of 28-32 years) between 1056 = 1075 and the time of Magnus's death († 1103). This might be interpreted to mean that Godfrey reigned 1075-1090; Logmann, 1090-1096; Donald, 1096-1098; Magnus, 1098-1103. It appears, however, that Godfrey died in 1095, and Logmann still reigned in 1098.

No reliance must be placed upon dates deduced from the Manx chronicle. But these tend to suggest that Logmann began to reign in Man before Godfrey's death, while Godfrey reigned elsewhere. Godfrey seems to have become king of Dublin in 1091 (q.v.).

For Godfrey's predecessors, cf. year ? 1070. For Donald, see ? 1096-? 1098.

[2] This places Logmann's death 1096 ×. He was still alive in 1098. See years ? 1096-? 1098, and 1098.

The Scots who shared in the crusade in 1096 appear to have been Irish. See Guibertus, I, 1; P.L. **156**, 686. Cf. M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 367, 213, 729; xx, 249; xxv, 408; and B.R., xii, 427, 218, 222, 466.

C.M., 61, reads: "In the year 1096, the Christians started their journey towards Jerusalem"; and gives other notes of the crusade, s.aa. 1095-1101.

1096

Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii, p. 952, s.a. 1096

Olaf, son of Tadc Ua-Briain, was killed in Man.[1]

1097

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 61

In the year 1097, king William sent Edgar Ætheling into Scotland with an army, to drive out Donald, and establish king Malcolm's son Edgar as king[2]; and this also he did.

1097

Inserted folio 13 in the Chronicle of Melrose, p. 52

In the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1096, Edgar, the son of king Malcolm and the glorious queen Margaret, received by inheritance the kingdom of Scotland; having captured Donald, and condemned him to perpetual imprisonment.[3]

[1] Tadc was perhaps Toirdelbach's son († 1086; A.U., T., A.I., D.A.I). A Donald, son of Tadc Ua-Briain, and *ríg-damna* of Munster, was killed in 1115 (A.U., A.I., F.M.). Cf. F.M.'s note of Donald's capture at Dublin, in 1107. This was probably the Donald who had ruled over Man. See the second-last note; and below.

[2] This is derived from F.W. or S.D.; cf. E.C., 119. Cf. the chronicles of 1291, in Palgrave, 62, 88, 91, 98, 114-115, 127, 130, 133; and the Commissioners' abridgement, 134. Edward's letter to Boniface, Foedera, i, **2**, 932: "And when the said Duncan had been guilefully slain, the said king William removed from the kingship of Scotland the aforesaid Donald, who had again usurped it; and appointed Edgar, the aforesaid Malcolm's son, king of Scotland; and granted to him that kingdom."

Cf. the 14th-century Chronicle of Peterborough, (Caxton Society, **2**, 67) s.a. 1097.

See Fordun, V, 25, 26; A.R., in E.C., 193.

Donald Bán's daughter, Bethoc, was ancestress of the 9th claimant of 1291, John Comyn, lord of Badenoch. Foedera, i, **2**, 776.

[3] Cf. the Chronicle of Huntingdon, P. & S., 211-212: "And so after Malcolm's death these two reigned for five years: Duncan, [Malcolm's] son, and Donald, the usurper of the kingdom, [Malcolm's] brother, though a disloyal one; the lawful heirs being meanwhile in exile. But at last Donald was captured, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and Edgar, the lawful heir, the aforesaid Malcolm's son, received the kingdom of Scotland by hereditary right, and reigned for nine years."

1097

Verse Chronicle inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, p. 228[1]

Donald again king, after king Duncan was slain, held royal authority for three years. And he, captured by Edgar, and deprived of his life,[2] died at Rescobie; and Iona[3] holds his bones.[4]

1098

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 60, s.a. 1098[5]

. . . Donald, Robartach's son, for a time the successor of Columcille, slept in peace.[6]

? 1096 - ? 1098

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 54, s.a. 1075 = 1095

All the nobles of the islands, hearing of the death of Logmann, sent messengers to Muirchertach Ua-Briain, the king of Ireland, requesting him to send them some energetic man of the royal family, as their king, until Olaf, Godfrey's son, should grow up. The king gave them his consent most gladly, and sent to them one Donald, Tadc's son[7]; advising

[1] Cf. the Bodleian version ; P. & S., 181.

[2] "of his sight" B. (correctly). See year 1099.

[3] *Ioua.*

[4] See the Chronicles of the Kings ; above, 1093-1097.

[5] With f.n. and e. of 1098.

[6] Cf. F.M., ii, 956-958, s.a. 1098 ; where Donald is called "Robartach's grandson." He is called "Donald, Robartach's son, successor of Kells" in an inscription on the case of the Psalter called the Cathach : see Reeves, Adamnan, 319 ; and cf. 400-401. Donald seems to have succeeded Gillacrist Ua-Maeldoraid in the abbacy of Kells in 1062. See years 1062, 1070.

He is named "Donald, Robartach's son," in the Book of Kells, charter no. 2 ; Irish Archaeological Society's Miscellany, p. 130.

For later successors of Columba see Reeves, Adamnan, 402-410.

[7] Cf. the notes under years 1095 and 1096.

The Manx chronicle's account is confused. It places the regency of Donald after the death of Logmann (∴ 1098 ×), but before the expedition of king Magnus (∴ × 1098).

Donald (? † 1115) was probably the nephew of king Muirchertach († 1119). Muirchertach and Tadc († 1086) were sons of Toirdelbach († 1086), the son of Tadc († 1023), son of Brian Boroime

It may be conjectured that Donald ruled over Man after Logmann had gone upon the crusade (1096 ×) ; and that he was ejected at or before the time when Logmann returned, before the arrival of king Magnus (× 1098).

and commanding him to govern in all benignity and moderation a kingdom that was not his by right.

But when he had come to the kingdom, he made light of his lord's commands, and abused the kingly office with great tyranny; and reigned oppressively for three years, committing many crimes. Then all the chieftains of the islands rose in one conspiracy, and assembled against him, and drove him out of their territories. He fled to Ireland, and returned to them no more.[1]

? 1098

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 56, s.a. 1077 = 1097

One Ingemund was sent by the king of Norway, to seize the kingdom of the islands. And when he had arrived in the island of Lewis, he sent messengers to all the chieftains[2] of the islands; ordering them to assemble together, and appoint him their king.

But meanwhile he with his associates abandoned himself to robbery and banquetting; violated the chastity of women and girls; and devoted his attention to the other pleasures and allurements of the flesh. And when this had been reported to the chieftains of the islands, when they had already assembled together to appoint him king, they were fired with excessive rage, and hastened towards him; and coming upon him by night, they burned down the house in which he was; and annihilated him and all his men, some with the sword, and some in the flames.

1098

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, pp. 56-58, s.a. 1098

In the same year,[3] a battle was fought between Manxmen at Santwat; and the northern obtained the victory. In this

[1] If the time of Donald's regency was 1096-1098, he did later make himself king of the islands. See year 1111.

[2] *principes*.

[3] The preceding notes in this year-section refer to the foundation of Cîteaux [in 1098] and the appearance of a comet [Oct., 1097]; they are based upon C.M., year 1098.

battle were slain earl Other and Macmaras,[1] the chiefs[2] of the two sides.

In the same year Magnus, the king of Norway, son of Olaf, son of Harold [Hardrádi],[3] wishing to investigate the incorrupt state of St Olaf, the king and martyr, ordered his tomb to be opened. And although the bishop [of Nidaróss] and the clergy opposed it, the king himself audaciously approached, and by royal authority caused the shrine to be opened for him. And when he had both seen with his eyes and felt with his hands the uncorrupted body, great fear suddenly fell upon him, and he departed in great haste.

In the following night, Olaf, king and martyr, appeared to him in a vision, and said: "Choose for thyself, I say, one of two things:—either to lose life and kingdom within thirty days; or to depart from Norway, and never see it more."

When the king awoke from sleep, he called to him the chiefs and nobles, and expounded the vision to them. And they were alarmed, and gave him this advice, to depart from Norway with all speed.[4]

He caused a fleet of a hundred and sixty ships to be collected without delay; and sailed over to the Orkney islands, which he immediately subdued to himself. And visiting all the islands on his way, and subduing them to himself, he came as far as Man.

And when he had landed at the island of St Patrick, he came to see the place of the battle[5] that the Manxmen had shortly before fought between themselves; because many bodies of the slain were still unburied. And when he saw the very beautiful island, it was pleasing in his eyes; and he chose it

[1] Cf. year 1095, note.

[2] *principes.*

[3] In text: "Fairhair."

[4] This story seems to have some relation to the account of Harold Hardrádi's visit to St Olaf's shrine, before he left Norway in 1066 on his fatal expedition to England; but is contradicted by Snorri's account of that visit, because it is there said that no one had since then opened the shrine (H., Hardrádi, c. 80; Unger's c. 83).

The Manx chronicle implies that Magnus did not return to Norway after his expedition of 1098; but he did in fact return in 1099. The castles that he built, and which still existed when the chronicle was written, seem to have given the islanders a false idea of the length of Magnus's visit to Man.

[5] Apparently the battle of Santwat, above.

for his abode, and built in it castles which even to-day are called by his name.

He so held the Galwegians under restraint[1] that he compelled them to cut timbers of wood and carry them to the shore, for the building of the castles.

He sailed to Mona, an island of Wales, and found two earls Hugh in it: the one he slew, the other he put to flight; and he reduced the island to himself. The Welsh offered him many gifts. And he bade them farewell, and returned to Man.

1098

Magnus Bareleg's Saga, c. 14; Fornmanna Sögur, vol. vii, pp. 27-29[2]

After the killing of Steig-Thori and Egil,[3] it is said that Hakon, son of earl Paul, Thorfinn's son, came west from Sweden to Norway, to king Magnus, his relative. Hakon had then long been away from the Orkneys, because he thought that he could not be there, by reason of injustice.

King Magnus received him well. There Hakon heard these tidings from the Orkneys, that earl Erlend, his father's brother, and [Erlend's] sons, ruled there for the most part, and were very popular: but earl Paul, Hakon's father, cared little about the dominion. This he thought also to have learned from the men who came east, and who especially professed their loyalty to him, that the Orkneymen would little long for his coming west thither; they had there good peace and quietness, but they had apprehensions that if Hakon came west disturbance and dispeace would arise from him.

But when Hakon had considered within himself this state of affairs, he thought it not unlikely that his kinsmen would hold the dominion against him, and not allow him to go safely, if he went west thither with few men. Then he asked his kinsman king Magnus to give him strength to obtain the dominions to which he was born, in the Orkneys. But the king was slow to take this up.

[1] *ita constrinxit.* Cf. above, ca. 1075.

[2] Cf. the account in Fl., ii, 427; O.S., c. 43.

[3] This event is placed in the year after the death of king Olaf, the father of Magnus; i.e. in 1094 (cf. Theoderic, cc. 30, 31; ed. Storm, 59, 60-61: and Icelandic Annals CA, s.a. 1094). See H., Magnus Bareleg, c. 6.

Hakon was a wise man, and he thought he discerned this from the king's words, when they talked together, that the king would be ambitious, and covetous of the dominions of other chiefs. Hakon laid this argument before the king, that it would be a lordly deed to have out a levy, and plunder in the west beyond the sea, and lay under him the Hebrides, as Harold the Fairhaired had done; and if he should get dominion in the Hebrides, that thence it would be easy to plunder in Ireland and Scotland; and if he brought these lands under himself, then it would be good to strengthen himself there with a force of Norwegians, against the English, and there to avenge king Harold, his father's father.

But when they spoke of this, it was at once apparent that these counsels fell in well with the king's mood; and he answered thus: "This is spoken both manfully and lordlily, and after my own mind. But this shalt thou consider, Hakon, that if I do this according to thy word, it shall not surprise thee if I lay vigorous claim to those dominions that lie west beyond the sea, and make in this no distinction of persons."

And when Hakon heard this decision, he disliked it somewhat, and thought he discerned the purport of the speech. He ceased then to urge the king to any warfaring expeditions; moreover, there was then little need [of urging], because after this conversation the king sent messages throughout all his kingdom, [to say] that there must be a levy out the following summer. He divulged to the whole people that he intended to proceed with that army west beyond the sea, whatever might afterwards be the news on his expeditions.

Then men made ready [to go] from the whole land to this expedition with the king.[1]

1098

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 61, s.a. 1098

The king of the Norwegians, Magnus, son of king Olaf, son of Harold [Hardrádi],[2] added to his kingdom the Orkneys and the Mevanian islands.[3]

[1] Fl. says (ii, 427; O.S., i, 68): "King Magnus had with him upon this expedition his son, who was called Sigurd, eight winters old. He was well brought-up."

[2] In text: "Fairhair." Magnus was the son of king Olaf the Quiet.

[3] I.e., Man, and Anglesey.

1098

Icelandic Annals, version C (Storm's Islandske Annaler, p. 111), s.a. 1098[1]

Sigurd, the son of king Magnus Bareleg, had dominion in the Orkneys for seven years.[2]

1098

Fagrskinna, Magnus Bareleg's Saga, c. 69; p. 316

Some winters later[3] king Magnus prepared his expedition from the land, and took with him many landed men, and a great host. And he went west beyond the sea, and took there the earls, Magnus and Erling, sons of earl Erlend, and had them with him. Then he went with the host to the Hebrides, and arrived at Lewis. He plundered there, and took the island, and all authority over it. He went thence to Skye, and took there a strand-slaying, and much treasure. And he had from

This passage is derived from F.W. or S.D.; E.C., 120. Cf. O.V., X, 6, iv, 29; E.C., 120, note; and O.V., iv, 26: "In the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1098, Magnus, son of Olaf, king of the Norwegians, made war against the Irish; and prepared a fleet of 60 ships, in order to sail against them.

"For king Magnus was strong in body, and handsome; bold, and generous; agile, and trusty; and notable for great honour.

"He had great power over the islands in the Ocean, and was sufficiently well provided with great riches, and wealth of many kinds."

O.V. says (iv, 29) that Magnus "had married the daughter of the king of Ireland; but because the Irish king did not adhere to the agreements that they had made, king Magnus was annoyed, and had sent back to him his daughter. Therefore war arose between them." But Muirchertach's daughter married Magnus's son, probably in 1102, and was repudiated in 1103. Broken agreements might have been the cause of war in 1103; hardly in 1098.

Cf. Fordun (V, 24, i, 223-224), who says that Magnus invaded Scotland while "Donald, and Duncan, and Edgar also, were striving for the kingdom."

[1] With dominical and paschal letters of 1098.

[2] So also in version A; Fl., iii, 510.

Version E notes under 1099; "Sigurd became earl in the Orkneys."

This was Sigurd the Crusader, who became king in Norway in 1103 (see below).

[3] After the deaths of Steig-Thori and Egil, in [1094].

the land everything to which he laid claim. Then he went about the outer islands, Tiree and Uist, before he came to the holy island.

1098

Heimskringla, Magnus Bareleg's Saga, c. 8[1]

The warfare of king Magnus in the Hebrides.

King Magnus began his journey from the land, and had with him a great and fair host, and good choice of ships. He proceeded with that host west beyond the sea, and first to the Orkneys. He captured the earls, Paul and Erlend, [and] sent them both east to Norway; and he put in their place Sigurd, his son, as lord over the islands: and he gave him councillors.

King Magnus proceeded with his host to the Hebrides. And when he came there, he began at once to plunder and burn the inhabited lands; and he slew the men-folk. And they robbed everything, wherever they came. But the people of the land fled far and wide; some into Scotland's Firths, some south to Kintyre, or out to Ireland. Some received quarter, and did homage. So says Biorn Cripple-hand[2]:

"The branch-scorcher played greedily up into the sky, in Lewis; there was far and wide an eager going into flight. Flame spouted from the houses. The active king ravaged Uist[3] with fire. The king made red the ray of battle.[4] The farmers lost life and wealth.

"The diminisher of the battle-gosling's hunger[5] caused Skye to be plundered: the glad wolf reddened tooth in many a mortal wound, within Tiree.[6] The Scots' expeller went mightily; the people of Mull ran to exhaustion. Grenland's king caused maids to weep, south in the islands."[7]

[1] Unger's c. 9. Cf. the account in Fl., ii, 427-428; O.S., c. 44.

[2] Cf. ibid., c. 3 :—"Biorn the Cripple-handed, in Magnús-drápa." (So also in Magnus Bareleg's Saga, F.S., vii, 41.)

[3] *Ívist* (place for "dwelling in"; Zoega).

[4] I.e., "the sword."

[5] I.e., "feeder of ravens"; "warrior."

[6] *Tyrvist innan.*

[7] These verses are not in Fl. See J.S., i, A, 435-436; B, 405.

In Fr., 269-270, and in M., 143: "Somewhat later" (after Magnus's reconciliation with Sveinki, Steinar's son, of Gautelfr, in Fr.; in M., after Magnus's return from an invasion of Halland, in the second summer of his

1098

Heimskringla, Magnus Bareleg's Saga, c. 9[1]

Of Logmann, son of king Godfrey.

King Magnus came with his host to the holy island, and gave there quarter and peace to all men, and to the household of all men. Men say this, that he wished to open the small church of Columcille; and the king did not go in, but closed the door again immediately, and immediately locked it, and

reign [1094]; cf. H., Magnus, c. 3), "king Magnus prepared his journey from the land. And he had with him many landed men, and a great host. He went west beyond the sea, first to the Orkneys: and he took with him Magnus and Erling, sons of earl Erlend"; ("and they went with him" adds M.). "This says Thorkel Hammer-poet . . . " (here follow four lines of verse. See J.S., i, A, 438; B, 408; stanza 2). "After that, king Magnus came to the Hebrides, and to Lewis; and he plundered there, and got complete control over that place. Then he went to Skye; and took there a strand-slaughtering [of cattle], and much treasure besides. So says Thorkel" ("And he got all from that land that he claimed, as is here said" M.):

"'The diminisher of the battle-gosling's hunger caused Skye to be plundered; the battle-quickener then planned the Manxmen's fall.'

"Then he went to the islands of Tiree and Uist, and conducted there great warfare, as Thorkel says: 'The active . . . wealth'" (2nd half of 1st double stanza translated above).

Magnus Bareleg's Saga, c. 20 (F.S., vii, 40-42): "Now we must return to that of which we have spoken before, that king Magnus prepared his expedition from the land.

"He had with him his son, who was called Sigurd. Gisl Illugi's son went with the king, and many other famous men. [Magnus] had both a large and fair host, and a good choice of ships. King Magnus proceeded with that army west beyond the sea, first to the Orkneys. He captured the earls . . . councillors" (as in H., above). "This says Thorkel Hammer-poet . . . " (4 lines of verse, as in Fr. and M.). "King Magnus brought with him from the Orkneys earl Erlend's sons, Magnus and Erling, and Hakon, Paul's son, and a great host besides. He proceeded with all his host to the Hebrides. And when . . . far and wide" (as in H., above), "some up into Scotland, some into the firths, some south to Kintyre or to Ireland. Some did homage to king Magnus, and obtained quarter.

"He won Lewis first, and burned there the inhabited land; next he plundered in Uist, and burned there, and robbed all the treasure. So says Biorn the Cripple-handed . . . " (1st double stanza translated above from H.). "Then he plundered in Skye, and after that he won the islands of Tiree and Mull; as Biorn says . . . " (2nd double stanza u.s.).

[1] Unger's c. 10. The same passage is in Magnus Bareleg's Saga, cc. 20-21 (F.S., vii, 42-43). Cf. Fl., ii, 428; O.S., c. 44 (briefer than H.).

said that none should be so daring thenceforward as to go into that church; and thenceforward it has been so done.[1]

Then king Magnus proceeded with his army south to Islay, [and] plundered there, and burned. And when he had won that land, he set out upon his journey south by Kintyre, [and] plundered there on both boards,[2] in Ireland and in Scotland. He went everywhere with plundering south as far as Man; and he plundered there as in other places. So says Biorn Cripple-hand:

"Wide bore the active king the shields, upon the level sand-island[3]; there was smoke from Islay, when the king's men stirred up the burnings. The sons of men south in Kintyre bowed[4] beneath swords' edges. The valiant battle-quickener then planned the Manxmen's fall."[5]

Logmann was the name of a son of Godfrey, the king of the Hebrides. Logmann was set to defend the land in the northern islands.[6] But when king Magnus came to the southern islands[7] with his army, Logmann fled away, with his army, and remained among the islands.[8] But in the end king Magnus's men took him with his ship's company, when he wished to flee to Ireland. The king had him put in irons, and kept under guard. So says Biorn Cripple-hand:

"Unsafe was every hiding-place that Godfrey's heir possessed; the men of Trondhjem's king had him banned there from the land. The able young king of Agdir has

[1] "And that church has never been opened since then" Magnus Bareleg's Saga (F.S., vii, 42).

This incident is not in Fl.

The alleged locking of Columba's church is a parallel instance to the alleged locking of St Olaf's shrine by Harold Hardrádi.

[2] "in both lands" Magnus Bareleg's Saga.

[3] Perhaps Sanday, to the south of Kintyre.

[4] "The men of Kintyre fell" Magnus Bareleg's Saga.

[5] See J.S., i, A, 436; B, 406.

[6] Here the northern Hebrides are meant; although "the northern islands" usually mean Shetland and the Orkneys.

Logmann had, according to the Manx chronicle, become king in the Hebrides after the death of Godfrey († ? 1095).

[7] *til Suðreyia.* The usual meaning would be "to the Hebrides"; but here the southern Hebrides are meant.

[8] "fled hither and thither among the islands" Magnus Bareleg's Saga (F.S., vii, 43).

taken the despoiler of the snake's-bed,[1] beyond the headlands; there, where the swords'-blades whined."[2]

[1] I.e., "gold-robber": warrior.

[2] See J.S., u.s.

Here Magnus Bareleg's Saga continues (c. 23; F.S., vii, 43-44): "This says also Gisl, Illugi's son, that king Magnus carried warfare about the islands, and captured Logmann, and kept him in his power. He said:—

"'The terrifier of princes took, off Skye, the lord of Uist; but the Scots fled. The king, who achieved success [*sa er framm tæði*] brought king Logmann into his host.'"

The verses are not in Fl. See J.S., i, A, 441; B, 411.

The passage appears somewhat differently in F., 316-317: "[Magnus] went ashore there in the market-town [of Iona], [and] gave there peace to every man's goods. Men say this, that he caused Columcille's little church to be opened, and went in; and said that no man should be so daring as to go into that church. Then that church was so locked that its door came never open again.

"Then he proceeded with his army out among the districts, and burned widely. And when king Magnus had won all the northern islands, he proceeded with his host out to Islay. He burned there much, and devastated it, before he was given authority over it.

"Logmann, king Godfrey's son, who had before this held the northern islands, fled, and escaped to the south, and out to sea; and he could make no resistance. And before he desisted, king Magnus took [Logmann], along with his ship's company.

"After this, [Magnus] proceeded with his fleet south along Kintyre, and plundered on both boards—up in Scotland, and out in Ireland. He accomplished there many great deeds in both kingdoms.

"Then he sailed south to Man with a force. He took [Man], and made himself master of all the islands that were there."

Frisbók, 270, and Morkinskinna, 143-144: "Then he came to the holy island, and went there ashore, in the market-town, and gave there peace to Columba" (in M.: "to the town"), "and all his possessions. And men say that he caused the little church of Columba to be opened; and he did not go in. And he said that no one should be so daring as to go into that church" ("after that" adds M.). "Then that church was so locked, that its door has never since then been opened.

"Then king Magnus set out with the army to Mull: he plundered there and burned widely, as Thorkel says" ("as is here said" M.): "'Wide bore . . . burnings. The Scots' expeller . . . south in the islands'" (as in H., above).

"And when king Magnus had won all the northern islands, he proceeded with his host south to Islay, and burned there, and plundered, and devastated widely" (in M.: "burned there, as was said before. He plundered there very long, and devastated very widely") "before they yielded themselves into his power. So says Gisl" (in M.: "This says Gisl also, that king

1098

Theoderic, Historia de Antiquitate regum Norwagiensium, cc. 31-32; in Storm's Monumenta, pp. 62-63

Then[1] Magnus set out to the Orkneys, islands of his kingdom. Being an unpeaceful man, who thirsted after others' possessions, and thought little of his own, he infested with plundering Scotia and Cornubia, which we call Bretland,[2] practising piracy; and there slew Hugh, earl of Cornubia, surnamed the Fat, who was opposing him.[3]

Then was with him Erlend, earl of the Orkneys, along with his excellent son Magnus, a youth of good parts, eighteen years old: of what merit he is in God's sight, frequent miracles attest. There were also many others:—Dag, the father of Gregory; Vídkunn, John's son; Ulf, Hrani's son, and brother of Sigurd, the father of Nicholas, whom Eystein, the unhappy tyrant, slew in the metropolis of Nidaróss[4]; and many others.

[c. 32] And so king Magnus returned to Norway, his ships laden with very great booty.[5]

Magnus carried warfare about the islands"): "'The terrifier of princes . . . Scots fled'" (as in Magnus Bareleg's Saga).

"Logmann, son of king Godfrey, set out from the northern islands, and fled ever away to the south" ("from king Magnus's army, and out" adds M.) "to sea; and he could offer no resistance. And before he desisted, king Magnus took him captive off Scarba; as it is said" (in M.: "took him captive with his ship's company, and gave him quarter. And he was with the king for some time, as Gisl says: 'The king, who . . . into his host'" —as in Magnus Bareleg's Saga, above. But Fr.'s version differs somewhat). "This says Biorn: 'Unsafe was . . . whined'" (as in H., in text above). "After that, king Magnus proceeded with his fleet south along Kintyre and plundered" ("in both lands" adds M.), "up in Scotland, and [out in (M.)] Ireland. And he accomplished there many great deeds, in both the kingdoms.

"Thence he sailed south to Man, with all his host. And he took it, and [made himself master of all (Fr.)] the islands that were there [in the neighbourhood (M.)]."

[1] After Magnus's expedition to Gautland, and his peace with king Inge.

[2] I.e., Wales.

[3] This is incorrect. See H., below.

[4] Nicholas was killed by the Birchlegs, on the 8th September, [1176]; H., Magnus Erling's son, cc. 38-40. F., 376-378. Cf. Icelandic Annals CA, s.a. 1176.

[5] Ágrip, c. 43; F.S., x, 414: "And after this" (his expedition to Gautland) "the king Magnus set out for the Orkneys with a host. Then were

1098

Heimskringla, Magnus Bareleg's Saga, c. 10[1]

Fall of earl Hugh.

Then king Magnus proceeded with his host to Wales. But when he came to Anglesey sound, an army from Wales came there against him; and two earls commanded it, Hugh the Noble and Hugh the Fat: and they proceeded at once to battle.[2] There was a hard fight. King Magnus shot from a bow: but Hugh the Noble was covered with armour, so that nothing in him was exposed, except the eyes only. King Magnus shot at him with an arrow, and another man, a Halogalander, who stood beside the king—they shot both together—: one of the arrows struck the visor of the helmet, and was turned aside; but the other shot struck the earl in the eye, and flew back through his head; and that shot was attributed to the king.

There fell earl Hugh; and then the Welsh fled; and they had lost a great host. So says Biorn Cripple-hand:

"Laufi's grove[3] planned the death of Hugh the Noble in Angle's-sound, where weapons flew: the shaft flew swiftly."

with him these lords: Dag, father of Gregory; Vídkunn, John's son; Ulf, Hrani's son, and brother of Sigurd, the father of Nicholas; and many other great lords.

"After that, he took with him from the Orkneys the earl, Erlend, and Magnus, [Erlend's] son, eighteen years old, who now is holy. Then he put out on warfare along Scotland and along Wales; and slew on that [expedition] the earl who is called Hugh the Fat. He was shot in the eye, and went thereby to hell. But he who had shot threw the bow to the king, according to what some say, and spoke thus: 'Shot with luck, sir!' [and] attributed that shot to the king.

"[Magnus] returned home from this warfare with ships laden with gold and silver and jewels."

[1] Unger's c. 11. Cf. Fl., ii, 428-429; and O.S., cc. 44-45.

[2] It was a sea-fight: "they laid their ships together" Fr., M.

The earl who was killed in the battle was Hugh of Montgomery, 2nd earl of Shrewsbury and of Arundel. The other earl was Hugh of Avranches, 2nd earl of Chester (1071-† 1101), son of Richard le Goz, vicomte d'Avranches, and of Emma, king William I's half-sister.

See the accounts of the battle given s.a. 1098 by A.S.C. E; F.W., ii, 41-42; W.M., ii, 318, 376; O.V., X, 6, iv, 28-32; A.C., MS. B, 31. Cf. B.T., 273 (275), Ab Ithel's 1096=1098 (and 1099=1101); and Giraldus Cambrensis, vi, 129.

[3] I.e., "the sword-wielder": king Magnus.

And also this was said:

"Weapon crashed upon armour; the king shot with might; the sovereign of Agdir bent the elm[-bow]. Blood splashed upon helmet; [bow-]string's hail flew into rings' land.[1] But the king of the Hordalanders caused the killing of the earl in the hard attack. The army fell away."[2]

King Magnus obtained the victory in that battle. Then he took possession of Anglesey, the most southerly place where former kings of Norway had owned dominion.[3]

After this battle, king Magnus turned back with his army, [and] proceeded first to Scotland. Then men went between him and Malcolm, king of the Scots; and [the kings] made peace between them, to the effect that king Magnus should possess all the islands that lie to the west of Scotland,[4] all

[1] I.e., "swords' land": shield (Jónsson).

[2] This is quoted from Thorkel's Magnús-drápa. See F., below.

[3] Fagrskinna, 317-318: "After that, he proceeded with his host south under Wales, and lay to in Anglesey sound. He plundered there in both lands, up in Wales and out in Anglesey. There came against him a great army; and two earls were over the host: the one was called Hugh the Fat; the other, Hugh the Noble [*prúði*]. There was a hard battle, and long: and it ended when the tidings came that Hugh the Noble had been shot in the eye with an arrow, so that it came out at his neck. And that has been called a happy shot for him who shot it, because no other part of [Hugh] was exposed [but the eyes]; and most men attribute this shot to king Magnus. A man from Halogaland stood near the king, and they both shot together, and each had an arrow. But [Thorkel] Hammer-poet shows that the king had it, as is here said: 'Weapon crashed . . . fell away'" (as in H., with little difference). "The other arrow came upon the visor of [Hugh's] helmet, and stuck there. For this reason, men are somewhat divided with regard to which the king shot, since they stood near to each other; and which shot followed the other.

"After the fall of Hugh the Noble, Hugh the Fat and all the Welsh fled."

The same passage (with some variations) is in Fr., 270-271; and M., 144-145: but these add 8 lines of Biorn (4 of them as in H., above), and 32 lines of Gisl (as in Magnus Bareleg's Saga; whose account, in F.S., vii, 44-47, is longer than the account in H.). Gisl claimed to have been present in the battle.

[4] Frisbók, 272: "Then came messages of peace from the king of the Scots, [to the effect] that he should not win his kingdom, but the king would share with him [*miðla honom*] all the islands off Scotland . . ."

Morkinskinna, 146: "And then came messages from the king of the Scots for peace, [to the effect] that he should not plunder his

between which and the mainland he could go, in a ship with the rudder in place.[1]

But when king Magnus came north to Kintyre, he caused [his men] to draw a skiff across the isthmus of Kintyre, and to set the rudder in place: the king himself sat in the after-deck, and held the helm. And thus he took possession of the land that then lay to the larboard. Kintyre is a great land, and better than the best island in the Hebrides,[2] excepting Man. A narrow isthmus is between it and the mainland of Scotland; there long-ships are often drawn across.[3]

kingdom. He declared that he would share with him all the islands off Scotland . . ."

At the time of Magnus Bareleg's expeditions, the Scottish king was Edgar; but the sagas name him Malcolm. It is not impossible that the agreement was made with a pretender to the throne.

[1] "And this became their agreement" adds M.

Here Fr. says: "Now king Magnus set his men over here, and took taxes from these dominions" (in M.: "Now king Magnus set his men over everything there, and made all these dominions tributary to himself").

[2] Literally "southern islands," as above.

[3] This was the isthmus at Tarbert, one mile wide.

Frisbók, 272: "And when he turned northward, he lay off the isthmus of the Mull of Kintyre [*Satirismula eiδ*]; and there he caused [his men] to draw across a skiff: and the king sat in the after-deck. And then the ship was drawn over the isthmus, to the north of the Mull, from sea to sea. Then he claimed for himself all Kintyre, and declared that he had then gone between it and Scotland in a ship with the rudder in place. And that is a great land; but the isthmus is so narrow above it, that men draw ships across there constantly."

The last two paragraphs quoted from H. are also (with small variations) in Magnus Bareleg's Saga, c. 23 (F.S., vii, 45).

Morkinskinna, 146: "And when he came north again, he lay off the Mull of Kintyre, or the isthmus. And he caused [his men] to draw over the isthmus a skiff with the rudder in place: and he himself sat in the after-deck. And when the ship was drawn to the northern sea, he claimed Kintyre for himself. And that is a great land. He said that he had then gone, in a ship with rudder in place, between it and Scotland. And he caused his whole fleet to hold out around the Mull of Kintyre. And so he took possession of Kintyre. But the isthmus is so narrow above it that men draw ships across there constantly."

The whole passage stands thus in Fagrskinna, 318-319: "After this battle, king Magnus took possession of Anglesey, which is called a third part of the kingdom of Wales.

"Then he turned back, by the southern and the eastern road [*hit syδra oc hit æystra*]. Then messages came from the king of the Scots for peace,

1098

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 58, s.a. 1098 [1]

Three ships of the fleet of the Foreigners of the islands were captured by Ulstermen, and their crews were killed: a hundred and twenty, or a few more.[2]

1098-1099

Heimskringla, Magnus Bareleg's Saga, c. 11 [3]

Death of the earls of Orkney.

King Magnus remained in the Hebrides for the winter. Then his men went about all Scotland's firths, within all the islands, both inhabited and uninhabited, and annexed all the islands in the name of the king of Norway.[4]

[to the effect] that [Magnus] should not plunder his kingdom, but that the king would share with him all the islands off Scotland that he could go between and the mainland, in a ship with its rudder in place.

"Then king Magnus set his men over these dominions, and made them tributary to himself. And when he turned north again, he proceeded to the isthmus of Kintyre, and caused a skiff to be drawn across there, while he himself sat on the after-deck: and when the ship had been drawn to the northern sea, he claimed for himself all Kintyre, and declared that he had then gone in a ship with the rudder in place between it and Scotland.

"Then he caused his fleet to hold out by the Mull of Kintyre, and so he took possession of Kintyre. And that is a great land; but one isthmus is so narrow above it, that men often draw ships across there. Kintyre is thought a better dominion than the best island in the Hebrides."

The same passage as in F. is, with some variations, in Fr. (271-272) and M. (146).

[1] With f.n. and e. of 1098.

[2] Similarly in A.L.C., i, 84. Cf. F.M., ii, 958.

[3] Unger's c. 12.

[4] Fagrskinna, 319-320: "After this, king Magnus went north into the islands, and he took the inner way between them and Scotland [*venndi et iðra með Skotlande*], and so took possession of all the outer islands. His men went into every firth, and all the islands that lay in the firths: and they laid everything under king Magnus, in such manner that they went with their ships between the mainland and the islands, whether they were inhabited or uninhabited.

"He remained for the winter in the Hebrides [*i Suðræy*]."

Morkinskinna, 146: "After this, king Magnus went northward into the islands. And he went the inner way, between them and Scotland [*ferr it iðra með Scotlandi*]; and he took possession so of all the outer islands. And his men went into every firth, and explored every island in which there

Magnus got for his son in marriage Bláthmín, the daughter of king Muirchertach, son of Thiálbi, the king of the Irish; [Muirchertach] ruled over Connaught.[1]

In the following summer, king Magnus went with his host east to Norway. Earl Erlend [had] died of disease in Nidaróss, and is there buried; and Paul, in Bergen.

1098-1099

Magnus Bareleg's Saga, cc. 23-25; Fornmanna Sögur, vol. vii, pp. 47-50

Then were with king Magnus there many barons from Norway, who had accompanied him from the east in the summer: Vídkunn John's son; Sigurd Hrani's son; Serk from Sogn; Dag Eilif's son; Skopti from Gizki [in South Mærr], and his sons, Ogmund, and Finn, and Thórd[2]; Eyvind Elbow, the king's marshal; Kali of Agdir, son of Sæbiorn, son of Thorleif the Wise, whom Hallfrod maimed; and Koll, [Kali's] son. Kali was a very wise man, and a good poet: he was dear to the king. Kali had taken many wounds, but not very deadly ones, in the battle of Anglesey sound.

was habitation of men: and the king took possession of them all; and also of those that were uninhabited. And he remained for the winter in the Hebrides."

Frisbók, 272: "After this, king Magnus went northward into the islands, and went the inner way by Scotland, and took possession so of all the islands. His men went through every firth, wherever there were inhabited lands.

"And he remained for the winter in the Hebrides."

Magnus Bareleg's Saga, c. 23 (F.S., vii, 47): "King Magnus went from there [from Kintyre] to the Hebrides; and he sent his men into Scotland's firths, and caused them to row in along the one side of the land, and out along the other. And he took possession so of all the islands [to the west of Scotland], both inhabited and uninhabited." Cf. Fl., ii, 429; and O.S., i, 71-72.

[1] Heimskringla here places this marriage in the year of the beginning of Magnus's invasion: so also Magnus Bareleg's Saga (below), which adds that Sigurd was 9 years old at the time; F. says that he was 14 years old when he became king [in 1103]; Heimskringla's Magnus' sons, and Sigurd Crusader's Saga, say that he was 13 or 14. These data would place the marriage between 1097 and 1100.

F. says erroneously that Bláthmín's father was Malcolm, king of the Scots.

[2] Cf. ibid., c. 25; F.S., vii, 51-52.

[c. 24][1] But when king Magnus came to the Hebrides in the autumn, then he made it plain [to the army] that he would remain there for the winter. But he permitted those men to go home, of whom he thought there was the greatest need.

But when the men of the army knew that, they murmured greatly over their absence, and longed to go home. The king had then a conference with his councillors, and examined the men's wounds. Then he found Kali, and inquired after his wounds. He said they healed but little, and he did not know to what they would come. The king asked his advice. Kali said: "Is it not so, now, sir, that your friends start away, more than you have given permission to?" The king said that he supposed that would not be. Kali asked him to hold a muster, and so inspect his army. The king did so. Then he missed many men.

And Kali then said a verse: "How do thy chiefs, powerful in the assembly, recompense thee for costly gifts? Timbers tremble in the narrows in the west; prove us, king!"[2]

Then the king replied: "I have ill bestowed my wealth that I gave to merry men. I let a yielding[3] hull ride the billows."[4]

After this, king Magnus kept watch that his men did not start from him.

This says Gisl, that those men sailed east to Norway in autumn, to whom king Magnus gave permission to go home. . . .[5]

King Magnus got in marriage for his son, Sigurd, Bláthmín, daughter of Muirchertach, Thialfi's son, king of Connaught in Ireland. Sigurd was then nine winters old, and the maid five winters.[6]

[1] Cf. Fl., ii, 429; and O.S., i, 72.

[2] The verse is also in Fl.; and with some difference in M., 152, under Magnus's second expedition. See J.S., i, A, 434; B, 404.

[3] *klökkvan:* perhaps "rotten."

[4] Also in Fl. See J.S., i, A, 432; B, 402.

[5] Here follow 8 lines of verse (also in M., 146; not in Fl.). See J.S., i, A, 442; B, 412, stanza 14.

[6] Similarly in Fl. Cf. Ágrip, c. 44 (F.S., x, 415): "Muirchertach, Condialfi's son, was at that time [1103] over-king of Ireland. Sigurd, Magnus' son, had his daughter for some time [as wife]: she was called Bláthmín." Muirchertach was the son of Toirdelbach. Sigurd seems to have married Bláthmín in 1102 (see 1102, note; cf. 1098); and to have

The same winter that king Magnus was in the Hebrides, died Kali, Sæbiorn's son, of wounds.[1]

[c. 25] Early in the spring, the king went from the Hebrides to the Orkneys first. There he got news from the east, from Norway, of the death of the earls: earl Erlend had died in Nidaróss, and was there buried; and Paul in Bergen. Then king Magnus gave Gunnhild, daughter of earl Erlend, in marriage to Koll, Kali's son, in compensation for his father; and possessions in the Orkneys, and a dwelling in Papey, went with her as dower. At their wedding, Koll was made a baron of king Magnus, as his father had been. Then he went east to Norway with the king, and home to Agdir, with his wife; and settled down on his estates.[2]

King Magnus set up his son as chief over all the dominions that he had subdued to himself to the west of the sea. And he gave him the title of king.

And king Magnus went east to Norway with his host, in the summer. . . .

1099

Fagrskinna, cc. 234-235, p. 320[3]

And in the following summer, [Magnus] went back to Norway. And he left[4] behind in the Orkneys Erling, son of earl Erlend. But Magnus, Erling's brother, had escaped to the king of the Scots the summer before.[5]

When king Magnus was in the Orkneys, Malcolm, king of the Scots, sent his daughter out to the Orkneys[6]: king Magnus gave her in marriage to Sigurd, his son. And he was then nine winters old; and the maid, five winters.

repudiated her in 1103 (see 1103). This marriage and repudiation have probably been mistaken by O.V.; see 1098, note under C.M.

[1] Fl. adds that Kali's relative, Sigurd Snæis, a baron of Agdir, had fallen in Anglesey strait.

[2] Cf. Fl., ii, 429-430; and O.S., i, 73.

[3] The same passage is in Fr., 272; and M., 147.

[4] "placed" Fr.

[5] Fr. and M.: "And bloodhounds were loosed in the wood [after him Fr.]; and [immediately M.] they lost the way."

[6] Instead of "out to the Orkneys," Fr. reads: "for peace"; M., "for peace with him." "Malcolm, king of the Scots" is an error for "Muirchertach, king of the Irish."

Then king Magnus set Sigurd as ruler over all the islands, both the Hebrides and the Orkneys[1]; and he gave him the title of king. And he gave him into the guardianship of Hakon, Paul's son, his kinsman,[2] and Erling,[3] with military support from the Scottish king.[4] Thereby was contracted peace and friendship between king Magnus and[5] the Scottish king. King Malcolm was the father of David, who afterwards was king in Scotland.

[c. 235] Then king Magnus went to Norway, and was for the winter in easter Vik.

1099

Heimskringla, Magnus Bareleg's Saga, c. 16[6]

So men say, that when king Magnus came from western piracy, he had much those fashions and manner of dress[7] that were usual in the western lands; and so had many of his men. They went bare-legged in the street, and had short tunics, and also [short] over-cloaks. Then men called him Magnus Bareleg or Barethigh; some called him Magnus the Tall; and some, Warfare-Magnus. He was the tallest[8] of men.

[1] "all the islands to the west beyond the sea" Fr., M.

[2] "to take care of" add M.; Fr. jumps from "kinsman" to "Malcolm was the father . . ."

[3] "Erlend's son" adds M.

[4] Morkinskinna reads instead: "with such military support as king Sigurd had from the dominion over which he was set." Omitted in Fr.

[5] "and king Malcolm, father of David, the king who was in Scotland after his father" M.

[6] Unger's c. 18. The same passage is in Fr., 276; and in Magnus Bareleg's Saga, c. 32 (F.S., vii, 63-64).

[7] "those fashions in costume" Unger's text, and Magnus Bareleg's Saga.

Cf. the account of the clothing of Harold Gilli, in H., Magnus' sons, c. 27 (Unger's c. 35): "[Harold Gilli] had much the Irish costume—a short garment, and lightly clad [*stutt klæði ok létt klæddr*]."

Cf. also Harold Gilli's costume when he raced on foot with Magnus, Sigurd Crusader's son, on horseback: "[Harold] had a shirt, and breeches with sole-straps; a short mantle; an Irish hood on his head; and a spear-shaft in his hand" (H, Magnus' sons, c. 27—Unger's c. 35).

Fr., 307; M., 196; and Sigurd Crusader's Saga, c. 51 (F.S., vii, 170), read: "Harold was [clothed] in linen-breeches of open texture [*? i linbrokom nafar-skeptom*]; and he gave his knees free play in the breeches. He had a short shirt, and a mantle on his shoulders, and a [round] stick in his hand."

[8] "biggest and tallest" Magnus Bareleg's Saga.

1099

Annals of Ulster, vol ii, pp. 60-62, s.a. 1099[1]

Duncan, the son of Maenach's son, and abbot of Iona, . . . rested in peace.[2]

1099

Tigernach's Continuator; Revue Celtique, vol. xviii, p. 20; s.a. [1099][3]

Donald, Duncan's son, the king of Scotland, was blinded by his brother.[4]

1100

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 62, s.a. 1100

King William was slain in New Forest by Walter Tirel, with an arrow.[5]

King Henry was consecrated as king by Maurice, the bishop of London. King Henry recalled archbishop Anselm; and

[1] With f.n. and e. of 1099.

[2] "died," in F.M., ii, 960, s.a. 1099.

[3] With e. of 1099.

[4] *da brathair;* probably king Edgar, Duncan I's grandson; although Maelmuire, Matad's father, is said to have been king Donald's brother. Cf. below, 1131 × 1153; D.K., 14.

Annals of Clonmacnoise, 187, s.a. 1098: "Donald, Duncan's son, king of Scotland, was blinded of both his eyes by his own brother."

Wyntoun says that Donald was imprisoned and blinded; took revenge by killing David's eldest son, a "walking child," in 1130 (cf. year ? 1114, note); and was starved to death. O.V. tells this story in a different form. He says (iii, 402) the murderer was "a certain miserable cleric who had (for an unheard-of crime that he had committed among the Norwegians) been punished by having his eyes put out, and his feet and hands cut off"; and that for the murder of David's child he was torn in pieces by wild horses [1114 × 1124]. See E.C., 156-157. Not long before, (iii, 400) O.V. has stated that Donald Bán was killed by Alexander [in 1107]. See E.C., 128, note.

O.V. says that the murderer and his young daughter had been supported by David in charity. Wyntoun names Donald's daughter "Bethoc." Wyntoun professes to have found the story in writing. His account is perhaps derived from O.V.; and is, in that case, worthless.

[5] Cf. O.V., iv, 86-87; 90-91. A.S.C. E, 1100. See Suger, Life of Louis VII, p. 8. Walter was seigneur of Poix, in Somme. A Walter Tirelde appears in Doomsday Book, ii, 41 (Essex, s. 23), as a tenant of Richard de Clare, Gilbert's son.

placed Randolph, the bishop of Durham, in custody at London. . . .

King Henry married queen Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, the king of the Scots, and of the holy queen Margaret; and sister of kings Edgar, Alexander, and David. And archbishop Anselm consecrated and crowned her.[1]

1100

Continuator of William of Jumièges, Historia Normannorum, VIII, 10; Duchesne, H.N.S., p. 297[2]

. . . On the fourth day after his brother's death, [Henry] received the royal diadem.[3] . . .

And in order that the same king should live according to law, he married in the same year the venerable Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and of Margaret.[4]

And of how great sanctity and knowledge, both secular and spiritual, these two queens, Margaret and Matilda, were, a book

[1] These notes are derived (excepting the words "holy" and "sister . . . David") from F.W. or S.D.; see E.C., 125.

[2] Also in B.R., xii, 572.

[3] Henry was crowned on Sunday, 5th August, 1100.

Brevis Relatio de Origine Willelmi Conquestoris, in Giles, Scriptores Rerum Gestarum Willelmi Conquestoris, p. 12:—"And having been appointed, as we understand, by the will of God, Henry, king of the English, began to uphold great justice through all England; and in order to live lawfully, received as wife the daughter of the king of Scotland. And of her he had first one daughter, whom he afterwards united in wedlock with the emperor of Germany. And he had of his same wife one son, who, as we believe, if he had been able to attain full age, would have been a good man; but he did not live long before ending this life."

[4] O.V., X, 15; iv, 95-97 (B.R., xii, 670):—"In the fourth month after he began to reign, the aforesaid prince [Henry I], refusing to lecher basely like a horse and mule which have no intelligence, wedded to himself in royal fashion a noble maiden, by name Matilda; by whom he had twin children, Matilda and William. [His wife] Matilda was the daughter of Malcolm, king of the Scots, and of queen Margaret, whose origin springs from the line of king Alfred, king Ecgbeorht's son. . . . Thus the wise Henry, recognizing the maiden's nobility, and being long enamoured of the manifold nobility of her ways, chose for himself a consort in Christ; and raised her with himself upon the throne, by consecration of Gerard, the bishop of Hereford." This account is inaccurate in various points.

The marriage was of political importance, since Matilda was a niece of Edward the Confessor's heir, Edgar. Cf. the tract De Origine Comitum

which has been written about their lives describes in plain language.

Nor should this be forgotten, that this Matilda was wedded by Anselm, of holy memory, the archbishop of Canterbury, at Westminster, on the festival of St Martin; and was crowned [by him] on the same day with the royal diadem.[1]

1100

Herimann of Tournai, De Restauratione Abbatiae S. Martini Tornacensis, cc. 15-16; in M.G.H., Scriptores, vol. xiv, pp. 281-282

When [Henry] was established in the kingdom, he wished to have as his wife a certain girl, the daughter of David, king of Scotland. And he bade sir Anselm, at that time venerable archbishop of the city of Canterbury, to bless her for him, and, after blessing her, to unite her to him in solemn nuptials.

The archbishop replied that he would not bless her, nor would the king by his advice unite her to himself in wedlock, since she had worn upon her head, as he had learned for a

Andegavensium, B.R., xii, 536. See A.S.C. E, and W.M. (E.C., 125, 126). The Chronicle of Carlisle says that by his marriage Henry "came down to the root of the tree" (Palgrave, 71. The marriage is spoken of also by other chronicles of 1291; ibid., 85, 98, 114, 127, 130, 133-134; in that of Chester, Bain, ii, 114).

Alberic of Trois-Fontaines says that through queen Matilda "the kingdom returned to the line of the ancient kings of England" (M.G.H., Scriptores, xxiii, 814).

The Chronique de Normandie says that Matilda "was of great beauty, and loved king Henry much" (B.R., xiii, 246-247). She is said to have been "exceedingly literate" (e.g., B.R., xii, 67). Cf. W.M., E.C., 120.

Many continental chronicles mention the marriage (cf. e.g. B.R., xii, 65, 468, 569, 673; Alberic, 814; Wace, Roman de Rou, ed. Andresen, ii, 432; C.A.N., i, 102). It was said to have partially fulfilled a prophecy of Merlin (Suger, 45-46; Geoffrey of Vigeois († after 1184), M.G.H., Scriptores, xxvi, 201. Cf. B.R., xii, 156).

The marriage is noted by A.C., MS. B, 33, s.a. 1101; by B.T., 274, s.a. 1098.

The anecdote in E.C., 126-127, appears very similarly in Ailred's Life of Margaret, c. 12; Pinkerton's Vitae, 383; Metcalfe's Lives, ii, 208-209. Cf. Fordun, i, 229-230; S.S. **51**, 265-266.

For Matilda's death, see year 1118.

[1] A rendering of this passage is given by Benoît de Ste-Maure, iii, 342-346. Cf. R.T., 81.

certainty, the veil of nuns; thereby showing that she should be the bride of the heavenly rather than an earthly king.

The king said on the other hand that he had promised her father, king [Malcolm],[1] and even confirmed it by an oath, that he would wed her as his wife, and therefore to keep his oath he would not give her up, unless it were determined by canonical decision; and he commanded that the archbishop of York should be summoned, and a council assembled of the bishops and abbots and ecclesiastical persons of all England, to decide so important an affair by the judgement of the church.

So the abbess, in whose monastery the girl had been brought up, was asked in the general council whether in truth she had been consecrated by episcopal blessing with the veil placed on her head, after the manner of nuns. The abbess replied publicly in presence of all: "In truth king [Malcolm], her father, commended her to me, not to be made a nun, but solely to be brought up with the rest of our little girls, of her own age, and educated in letters in our church, as a precaution; and after she had grown up, it was announced to me one day that king William, my lord king Henry's brother, who was then alive, had come to see her, and had already dismounted with his knights before the doors of our church, and had commanded that the doors should be opened to him for prayer. Hearing this I was exceedingly perturbed, fearing that he, being a young man and a king unrestrained, who would immediately do anything which had occurred to his mind, should, after seeing the girl's beauty, do her any illicit violence, since he had arrived in so unforeseen and unexpected a manner to see her: and I took her into a private chamber, and explained to her the matter as it stood, and with her consent I placed one veil upon her head, so that the king when he saw her should be restrained from illicit embraces. Nor did my hope deceive me. For the king entered our cloister, as if to view the roses and other flowering plants; and as soon as he had seen her with our other girls wearing the veil upon her head, he left the cloister, and departed from the church; clearly showing that he had only come on her account. But when king [Malcolm], the girl's father, came to our church within the same week and

[1] Here and below, "David." This error is typical of the inexactitude of the narrative.

saw the veil upon his daughter's head, he was wroth, and tore the veil in pieces, and flung it on the ground, and trampled upon it with his feet; and he took away his daughter with him."

When the abbess was questioned as to how many years old the girl was then, she answered that she might have been twelve.

Then when the king urged the archbishop to command that judgement should be given upon this, the bishops and abbots took counsel and read various chapters of the canons, and adjudged in common that because of a fact of this kind marriage should not be forbidden her, since, so long as she was under her father's guardianship, below the legal age, nothing might be done to her without his consent.

Judgement was given; and the king questioned the archbishop, whether he wished to find any fault with it. Sir Anselm replied that he should not attack it, since they had indeed judged rightly, according to the decrees of the canons. Then the king said: "Since, then, you praise the judgement passed, I wish that you wed the girl to me." And sir Anselm said: "I do not blame the judgement; but if your majesty would trust to me, I should advise that you do not wed her, since, however it occurred, yet she has carried the veil upon her head; and you could find plenty of daughters of kings or counts."

And when the king persevered in what he had begun, the most holy man continued: "You, sir king, will neglect my advice, and do what pleases you; but he who lives long, I imagine that he will see that England will not long rejoice in the offspring which she will bear."

This I heard him say when I was young. Now I see that in great part it has already happened.

The king begot of her two sons and one daughter; and of these the sons, already growing up, perished in the sea with many others in shipwreck, while returning from Normandy to England: and the daughter was sent by her father with many treasures, and taken to wife by Henry, emperor of the Romans; and he celebrated nuptials at Liége with great glory. But after having one son by her he was overtaken by swift death, and left her a widow. Widowed, she married again the earl of Anjou; and then, upon her father's sudden death in the city of

Rouen, the English nobles appointed as king over them Stephen, the count of Boulogne, brother of count Theobald of Champagne. Hence Robert, king Henry's son by a concubine, was deeply enraged, and rebelled openly against him; and took him in battle in a certain castle, which his father had given him; bound, and imprisoned him; and sent to his sister, bidding her cross quickly to England with her son, and receive her father's kingdom.[1] She, thinking that she should find everything prospering, quickly crossed over, but found circumstances other than she had believed. For Stephen's wife had collected the nobles to herself, and strongly opposed her. Stephen himself too after a few days made peace with Robert upon certain terms, and was freed from chains; and he again held the kingdom of the English. And so king Henry's daughter bemoaned that she had been deluded with empty hopes.

Of the future we are uncertain; but this one thing we see clearly, that according to sir Anselm's prophecy England did not long rejoice in the offspring of that queen who, after wearing the veil, had married king Henry: but was harassed and oppressed by long dissension, and fell from former affluence into great poverty.[2]

1102

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 62

In the year 1102, king Henry . . . gave Mary, the sister of queen Matilda, in marriage to Eustace, the count of Boulogne.[3]

[1] This is, of course, an inaccurate account.

[2] This was written before the accession of king Henry II.

Cf. the account given by Eadmer (E.C., 121-125). See also below, under 1139, 1141.

[3] This is derived from F.W. (E.C., 127), or S.D., ii, 235.

Eustace III was the brother of Godfrey, duke of Basse-Lorraine, and 1st king of Jerusalem (1099 × 1100 - † 1101; P.L. **201**, 434, 435, 437); cf. O.V.; and i.a. Alberic, M.G.H., Scriptores, xxiii, 814, 812. (For letters of Godfrey, see P.L., **155**.) Godfrey was succeeded in Jerusalem by his brother Baldwin I (king of Jerusalem, 1101 - † 1118; cf. P.L. **201**, 463-522).

"Mary, the countess of Boulogne, died in 1115, on May 31st," according to C.H., 33; but on April 18th, according to the Annals of Bermondsey; R.S. **36**, iii, 432. Her daughter, Matilda, was king Stephen's wife (cf. i.a. B.R., xii, 582, 651, 692; xiii, 254, 585, 699); and died on 3rd May, 1152 (C.H.; R.T., 166). See above, year 1093.

Matilda's eldest son, Eustace, king Stephen's heir, died in 1153

(R.T., 176). His death permitted the agreement by which Stephen accepted Henry of Anjou as heir to the kingdom (J.H., 331 ; R.T., 177). William, the second son of Matilda and Stephen, married Isabella, daughter of William de Varenne, 3rd earl of Surrey († 1148), the brother-in-law of Henry of Scotland ; and became de Varenne, and earl of Surrey ; and in 1154, count of Mortain and of Boulogne (cf. J.H.). He died in 1159 (R.T., 206). His sister and heiress, Mary, abbess of Romsey, married Matthew, brother of count Philip of Flanders, in 1160 (R.T., 207, 246. Cf. the Auctarium Aquicinense to Sigebert, s.a. 1160, M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 397 ; also the Auctarium Affligemense, s.a. 1160, ibid., 404 ; the Chronicon Hanoniense, ibid., xxv, 420 ; and see Liveing's Romsey, 54-57). Matthew, count of Boulogne, married in 1170 the sister of his brother's wife (R.T., 246).

PART IV

Second Invasion of Magnus, and End of Edgar's Reign

1102

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 68, s.a. 1102[1]

Magnus, the king of Scandinavia,[2] came with a large fleet to Man. And a year's peace was made between them and the men of Ireland.[3]

1102

Icelandic Annals, version C (Storm's Islandske Annaler, 111), s.a. 1102[4]

King Magnus Bareleg raided as far as Ireland.[5]

[1] With f.n. and e. of 1102.

[2] *rí Lochlainni.*

[3] Similarly in A.L.C., i, 88.

The Continuator of T. reads (R.C., xviii, 23), s.a. [1102] (with ferial of 1102, but e. 19, for which read 9): "A year's peace [was made] by Muirchertach Ua-Briain and by Magnus, king of the Scandinavians." Cf. C.S., 306, Hennessy's year 1098 (with ferial of 1102). C.S. notes under the previous year: "Magnus came to take Ireland."

F.M., ii, 970, place under 1101: "Magnus, the king of Scandinavia, came to take Ireland, as the verse proves:—'A year over a hundred over a thousand, with no danger of mis-reckoning, from the birth of Christ (of the good religion) to the coming of Magnus to Ireland.'" The same event is placed under 1102, ibid., 972: "A military expedition of the men of Ireland to Dublin, against Magnus and the Foreigners of Scandinavia, who had come to plunder Ireland. And they made a year's peace with the men of Ireland; and Muirchertach gave his daughter to Sigurd, Magnus' son; and gave many jewels and gifts."

The marriage seems to be placed in this year also by A.I. (93, s.a. 1102, with ferial and e. of 1102; O'Conor's year 1086): "In this year Muirchertach Ua-Briain made marriage-alliance with French and Scandinavians."

O.V., iv, 177-178, says that Muirchertach's daughter (whom he calls "Lafracoth") married Arnulf de Montgomery, earl of Pembroke, brother of Roger, earl of Lancaster, and Robert de Bellême; and (iv, 194) that after the overthrow of Magnus she was taken away from Arnulf (× 1103). This may have been the other alliance made in 1102. Cf. years 1103, 1098.

[4] With dominical and paschal letters of 1102.

[5] Similarly in version E.

1102-1103

Heimskringla, Magnus Bareleg's Saga, cc. 23-26[1]

Warfare in Ireland.

King Magnus began his expedition from the land[2]; and he had a great army. He had then been king in Norway for nine winters. Then he went west beyond the sea; and he had the fairest host that could be had in Norway. He was accompanied by all[3] the nobles that were in the land: Sigurd, Hrani's son; Vídkunn, John's son; Dag, Eilif's son; Serk from Sogn; Eyvind Elbow, the king's marshal; Ulf, Hrani's son, Sigurd's brother; and many other nobles.

The king went with all this host west to the Orkneys, and took with him from there earl Erlend's sons, Magnus and Erling. Then he sailed to the Hebrides. And while he lay off Scotland, Magnus, Erlend's son, leapt by night from the king's ship, and made for the land. He then went on shore, into a wood; and found his way to the court of the Scottish king.[4]

King Magnus proceeded with his host to Ireland, and plundered there. Then king Muirchertach came to join him, and they won much of the land—Dublin, and Dublin-shire. And king Magnus passed the winter ashore in Connaught, with king Muirchertach. But he set his men to guard the land, where he had won it.

[1] Unger's cc. 25-28; Fr., 278-280. The parallel passage in Magnus Bareleg's Saga, cc. 34-38 (F.S., vii, 66-73), differs somewhat. See the parallel passages in F., 324-327, cc. 239, 240; and M., 152-154. I do not here note all the divergences. The accounts in F. and M. have some independent value. Verses are quoted in M. and Magnus Bareleg's Saga (from Thorkel Hammer-poet).

[2] "Now it is said that when king Magnus had ruled the land for nine winters, he began the second time his journey to the west beyond the sea" M.; " . . . he began his second journey . . . " F.

[3] "Most of" Magnus Bareleg's Saga. F. omits Ulf, Hrani's son; M. reads "Ulf, son of Nicholas," and prefixes to the list: "Ogmund, Skopti's son; Sigurd, Sigurd's son; Sigurd Wool-cord."

[4] See below, ? 1117, note.

Magnus Erlend's son is not here mentioned by F., M., or Magnus Bareleg's Saga (q.v.). M. reads:—"Now the king went first to the Orkneys, and took with him from there Erling, the son of earl Erlend; and a great force besides. [. . . earl Erling, son of earl Erlend; and some force along with him F.]. He sailed from there to the Hebrides, and then out to Ireland; and he plundered there."

And when spring came, the kings with their army went west to Ulster; and they had there many battles, and won the land: and they had won the greater part of Ulster; then Muirchertach went home to Connaught.[1]

[c. 24] *The landing of king Magnus.*

Then king Magnus prepared his ships, and intended to go east to Norway. He set his men to guard the land in Dublin. He lay off Ulster, with all his host; and they were ready to sail.[2]

They thought they required a strand-slaying. And king Magnus sent his men to king Muirchertach, [requesting him] that he should send a strand-slaying [of cattle] to him; and he named a day when they should come—the next day[3] before Bartholomew's mass—, if the messengers were safe. But on the evening[4] of the mass-day, they had not come. And on the mass-day,[5] when the sun rose, king Magnus went on land with the greater part of his host; and he went inland from the ships, and wished to look for his men, and for the strand-slaying. The weather was without wind, and with shining sun. The way lay over swamps and bogs, but over them were hewn stepping-logs; and thickets on both sides of the way. When they had passed over the bog, there was before them a very high hill: from it they saw widely. They saw a great cloud of dust up in the land. Then they discussed among themselves whether that was likely to be an Irish army; but some said that that would be their men with the strand-slaying.

[1] F. and M. say that Magnus took Dublin, and went to Connaught, where he remained for a long time during the winter (1102-1103), at peace with king Muirchertach.

[2] Cf. M., F.: "and he intended to sail . . . north to the islands."

[3] 23rd August. So also in Magnus Bareleg's Saga.

[4] The evening of 23rd August. Magnus Bareleg's Saga reads "on the Monday evening," i.e. Sunday evening: 23rd August was Sunday in 1103. The same evening is named by M.; and the Ágrip says that the Irish collected an army then.

[5] "on the Monday itself" in Magnus Bareleg's Saga: i.e., Monday, 24th August.

Fl., ii, 430 (O.S., c. 46; i, 73): "When king Magnus had ruled the land for 9 winters, he went from the land to the west beyond the sea, and plundered in Ireland. And he was in Connaught during the winter. And in the following summer, he fell in Ulster, on Bartholomew's mass-day."

They stopped there. Then Eyvind Elbow spoke: "King," said he, "what purpose hast thou in this journey?[1] Thou seemest to go uncautiously; thou knowest that the Irish are treacherous. Think now of some plan for your army."

Then the king said: "Let us now array our host, and be ready, if this be treachery."

They were then arrayed. The king and Eyvind went before the ranks. King Magnus had a helmet[2] on his head; and a red shield, with a lion gilded upon it; he was girded with a sword, which was called Leg-biter, walrus-tusk hilted, and the haft wound round with gold—the best[3] weapon—; he had a halberd in his hand; he had a red silken doublet[4] above his shirt,[5] and cut on the front and back a lion in golden silk. And it was the talk of men that there had not been seen a finer man, or one of better bearing.[6] Eyvind also had a red silken doublet, and of the same pattern as the king; he also was a big man, and handsome, and most soldierly.

[c. 25] *The fall of king Magnus.*

And when the dust-cloud approached, then they recognized their own men; and they were going with a great strand-slaying that the Irish king had sent them: and he had kept all his word with king Magnus. Then they turned sea-wards to their ships. And it was then about noon-tide.

But when they came down upon the swamps, they went slowly over the bog. Then sprang out an army of Irish from every fringe of the wood, and set on at once to battle. But the Norwegians went in scattered order, and quickly many of them fell.

Then Eyvind spoke. "King," said he, "our host goes in an unfortunate manner. Let us now quickly take good counsel." The king said: "Let the battle-blast blow for all the host [to

[1] "What . . . journey" not in Magnus Bareleg's Saga; the conversation is not in F. or M.

[2] "gilded helmet" Magnus Bareleg's Saga; M.; F.

[3] "sharpest" Magnus Bareleg's Saga; "and of all swords it was the sharpest" F.; similarly M. The sword was saved by Vídkunn.

[4] "an armless red silk jerkin" F.; "a red silk doublet" M.

[5] "coat-of-mail" Magnus Bareleg's Saga.

[6] "a more martial-looking man under weapons, or of nobler bearing" Magnus Bareleg's Saga. Cf. F., M.

come] under the standards[1]; and let that force which is here move quickly into close-shield array. And let us then go up for shelter, out over the swamps; then will no harm be done, if we come upon level country."[2]

The Irish shot daringly; and yet they fell very thickly. And always man stepped into man's place.[3]

But when the king came to the next ditch, there was very difficult going, and in few places could it be crossed. There the Norwegians fell fast.[4]

Then the king called Thorgrim Skin-cap, his baron (he was an Uplander), and asked him to go over the ditch with his company: "And we will guard you meanwhile," said he, "so that you shall not suffer. Go then to the hill that is there, and shoot at them, while we go over the ditch: you are good bowmen."

But when Thorgrim and his men had come over the ditch, they flung their shields upon their backs and ran down to the ships. And when the king saw that, he said: "Unmanfully thou partest with thy king: unwise was I, when I made thee my baron, and outlawed Sigurd Hound: never would he have acted so."

King Magnus received a wound. A pike was thrust through both his thighs, above the knee. He grasped the shaft between his legs, and broke the stick, and said: "So break we every spear-leg, boys."[5]

King Magnus was struck on the neck with an Irish axe; and that was his death-wound.[6] Then those fled that survived.

Vídkunn, John's son, bore to the ships the sword Leg-biter,

[1] "standard" Magnus Bareleg's Saga.

[2] Here Magnus Bareleg's Saga says that Eyvind tried to persuade the king to escape.

[3] "Two stepped into the place of one" Fr.: to the same effect in Magnus Bareleg's Saga and in F. The accounts given by F. and M. differ somewhat from H.

[4] "But the king defended himself manfully, as did all his men" adds Magnus Bareleg's Saga, which (after quoting 8 lines from Thorkel Hammer-poet) continues: "There fell many Norwegians, by the ditch."

[5] Here Fr. adds: "'Go well forward. Nought will it harm me.' A little later, king Magnus got a blow . . ." To the same effect in Magnus Bareleg's Saga.

[6] F., M., and Magnus Bareleg's Saga, say that Vídkunn cut in two the slayer of king Magnus.

and the king's standard.[1] These ran last: he, and the second, Sigurd, Hrani's son; and the third, Dag Eilif's son.

There fell with king Magnus Eyvind Elbow, Ulf Hrani's son,[2] and many other nobles. Many Norwegians fell; and yet many more fell of the Irish.

And the Norwegians who escaped went away immediately, in the autumn. Erling, son of earl Erlend, fell in Ireland with king Magnus. And when the host that had fled from Ireland came to the Orkneys,[3] and Sigurd learned the death of king Magnus, his father, then he betook himself at once to the journey with them, and they went in the autumn east to Norway.

[c. 26] *Of king Magnus and Vídkunn, John's son.*

King Magnus was ten winters over Norway.[4] And in his days there was good peace within the land. . . . King Magnus was nearly thirty years of age when he fell.

Vídkunn slew in the battle the man who was the killer of king Magnus. Then Vídkunn fled. And he had received

[1] The standard is not here mentioned in Fr., F., or M. M. and Magnus Bareleg's Saga say that when Magnus found that he was wounded to death, he bade Vídkunn flee, commended his bravery, and gave him a message for king Sigurd. Vídkunn had received three wounds.

[2] Here Magnus Bareleg's Saga adds: "Erling, son of earl Erlend." F. reads: "There fell Erling, son of earl Erlend; and many great men, and a great host besides. But those that reached the ships set out from land, and so proceeded northwards to the islands, to king Sigurd, king Magnus' son. And they took him with them east to Norway in the autumn." M. reads: "There fell Erling, earl Erlend's son, and Eyvind, Finn's son; and many great chiefs fell there with king Magnus.

"Vídkunn escaped to the ships, as did all the fleers to whom escape was fated. And they entered their ships, and went until they came to Norway.

"And the same autumn, they met king Sigurd in the west, in the islands; and they brought him with them to Norway."

[3] " . . . immediately from Ireland; first out to sea, and they sailed quickly to the Orkneys" Magnus Bareleg's Saga.

[4] Ágrip, c. 44 (F.S., x, 415): "Magnus Bareleg was king for 10 winters in all." He reigned 1093-1103.

Konungatal, stanzas 47, 49 (J.S., i, A, 583; B, 585: F.S, x, 428-429): "Magnus ruled over Odin's wife [i.e., the land] for 10 winters, according to the reckoning of men. . . . The eloquent king Magnus went to Ireland, young, to plunder; the famous father of Eystein was felled in that flight of arrows" [i.e., battle].

three wounds. And for these reasons the sons of king Magnus took him into the greatest affection.[1]

1102-1103

Theoderic, Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norwagiensium, c. 32; Storm's Monumenta, pp. 63-64

Of the death of the same Magnus; and his son.

. . . Then, after the interval of a few years,[2] [Magnus] again prepared a fleet, and sought Ireland again, in the accustomed disquietude of his mind; in the hope of reducing the whole island to himself.

And when he had subjugated to himself some considerable part of the island, hoping easily to subdue the remainder he began to lead his army less cautiously, [and was] deceived in the same manner as his grandfather Harold also [was deceived] in England. The Irish collected all their host, and, prepared to die for their country, cut off his return to the ships; attacked the enemy vigorously, and laid king Magnus low. The part of

[1] With this, and with Theoderic in the text below, cf. Agrip, c. 44 (F.S., x, 414-415):—"And a few winters later [after 1098, Magnus] set out westward for Ireland, with a fleet of ships. And he went with a great host, and intended to win the land; and he won some part of it in the first instance. He became daring through this, and acted thenceforward with less caution, because in the first instance things had gone successfully with him, as with Harold, his father's father, when he fell in England: also the same treachery brought him to his death; because the Irish collected against king Magnus an irresistible army, secretly, on the evening [23rd August] before Bartholomew's mass. When [the Norwegians] went up on land from their ships, to make a strand-slaying, they perceived nothing, till the host came between them and their ships. But the king and his followers were scantily provided with armour, because the king had gone ashore with silken jacket, and a helmet on his head; he had a sword girt on, and a spear in his hand; wore riding-stockings, [all] as was often his custom. And king Magnus fell in this battle, and a great host with him. It is called Ulster, where he fell. And Eyvind, Finn's son, fell there with him, and many other great lords. Vídkunn was placed next the king, and got three wounds. But when king Magnus saw that his death was sure, he begged Vídkunn to save himself by flight; and [Vídkunn] and the rest of the host that escaped betook themselves to the ships, and so home again to their land. He got thenceforth great esteem from [Magnus'] sons, because he had borne himself so well there."

[2] After his first western expedition.

the army with him fell; the rest returned somehow to the ships.

Magnus left three sons: Eystein, Sigurd, and Olaf.[1] On his way to Ireland, he had taken his son Sigurd to the Orkneys. On the death of his father, [Sigurd] returned to Norway; and along with his brothers was raised to the kingship.

1102-1103

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, pp. 51-60, s.a. 1098

[King Magnus] sent his shoes to Muirchertach, the king of Ireland, ordering him to bear them on his shoulders through his house on Christmas day, in the sight of [Magnus's] messengers; in order that he might understand that he was made subject to king Magnus. The Irish hearing this were much displeased, and exceedingly angry; but the king followed sounder counsel, and said: "I would not only carry his shoes, but would even eat them, rather than that king Magnus should destroy one province in Ireland."

And so he obeyed the command, and honoured the messengers. He also sent many gifts by them to king Magnus, and made a treaty.[2]

And the messengers returned to their lord, and told him of the situation of Ireland, and its amenity: of its fertility in produce of the soil, and of the wholesomeness of its air: and Magnus, hearing this, thought nothing else than to subdue all Ireland to himself. Therefore he bade them collect a fleet; and [Magnus] himself advancing with sixty ships, in the desire of exploring the land had rashly left his ships, when he was suddenly surrounded by the Irish; and perished, with almost all that were with him.

And he was buried near the church of St Patrick, in Down.

He reigned for six years in the kingdom of the islands.[3]

[1] *Augustinum, Siwardum, et Olavum.*

[2] Goss refers, in confirmation of this story of Muirchertach's humiliation, to Notes and Queries, 4th series, ix, 257-258; where a quotation is made from C. C. Lyskander's Dend Grönlandske Chronica (Copenhagen, 1726, p. 18). But this passage is indubitably derived from the Chronicle of Man. Lyskander was born in 1558.

The story is most probably fabulous.

[3] I.e., 1098-1103. This chronicle's account is inaccurate: see year 1098.

And after his death, the chiefs of the islands sent for Olaf, Godfrey Crovan's son, of whom we have made mention above, and who dwelt at that time in the court of Henry, king of England, William's son; and they fetched him.

1103

Tigernach's Continuator, Revue Celtique, vol. xviii, p. 24; s.a. [1103][1]

Magnus, the king of the Scandinavians[2] and of the islands, a man who had purposed to annex Ireland,[3] was killed in Ulster.[4]

[1] With ferial of 1103.

[2] "of Scandinavia" C.S., F.M.

[3] *fer ro triall forbais for Erinn:* "attempted to beleaguer" Stokes, literally. *forbaisi* in C.S., F.M.

[4] Cf. C.S., 308, Hennessy's year 1099=1103; which reads: "was killed by Ulstermen, upon a plundering expedition." Similarly in F.M., ii, 976, s.a. 1103, which add: "and a slaughter [was made] of his people along with him."

A.I., 95, s.a. 1103 (with ferial and e. of 1103; O'Conor's year 1086): "Magnus, the king of the Foreigners, was killed by Ulstermen, through the risks [of war]" (*tria baegul; e* with *a* subscript).

A.U., ii, 72, s.a. 1103 (with f.n. and e. of 1103): "Magnus, the king of Scandinavia, was killed upon a plundering expedition in Ulster." So also in A.L.C., i, 92.

O.V. gives an account of the affairs of 1102-1103 (XI, 8; iv, 193-194): "At that time, Magnus, the most powerful king of the Norwegians, went round the islands of Britain; and with an immense fleet entered the deserted islands, as far as to Ireland, and wisely placed there colonists, and ordered towns and villages to be built after the manner of other nations. Therefore the Irish bore him an excessive grudge, and attempted with their utmost efforts to molest him; and they plotted to destroy their enemies by trickery. But the noble-minded king rose up against the Irish, and touched with his fleet upon the shores of Ireland. Terrified with the fear of so great a king, the [Irish] called in the Normans; and Arnulf and his supporters [*auxiliarii*] flew to bring them aid. When, however, they had assembled together, they dreaded the formidable Magnus; and they did not venture to fight a battle with him at once. But they endeavoured to plot against him, by wicked treachery.

"At last, certain pleasant and eloquent men came to him guilefully, and with empty promises deceived him, and persuaded him to leave the ships, in order to visit the province; and with few men to reduce it to subjection to himself. And he, unfortunately trusting to the traitors, left his armoured ships upon the beach; and following his misleaders to a distance of two miles, sought for his own destruction. For he found there

1103

Icelandic Annals, version K (Storm's Islandske Annaler, p. 19), s.a. 1104[1]

The fall of king Magnus Bareleg. Beginning of the reign of Eystein, and Sigurd, and Olaf.[2]

1103

Heimskringla, Magnus' sons' Saga, c. 1[3]

After the fall of king Magnus Bareleg, his sons Eystein, Sigurd, and Olaf, took kingship in Norway. Eystein had the northern part of the land; and Sigurd, the southern. King Olaf was then four winters old, or five[4]; but the third part of

immense troops of his enemies, in hiding. When they sprang out of their ambush, the bold Norwegian disdained to flee; and began to fight courageously. His few men were unable to resist innumerable opponents. King Magnus standing turned his back to a tree; and protected by a shield, wounded many with missiles: but overcome by numbers, alas! he perished. . . ." O.V. says that he had left great treasure in Lincoln.

An erroneous account is given by B.P., i, 266; who says that Sigurd and Magnus "obtained by war a great part" of Ireland. W.M., ii, 318, says that Magnus "was recently slain in Ireland, when he had rashly sailed thither."

An inaccurate account is in B.T.; R.S. 17, 74-76.

[1] With dominical letters of 1104.

[2] To the same effect in C, s.a. 1103 (with dominical and paschal letters of 1103). EP place the death of Magnus in 1103; the succession of his sons, in 1104. All these versions record the death of Eric (Sven's son), king of Denmark, in 1103. Version A places it under 1101; Magnus's death, under 1102; the succession of Eystein and Olaf, under 1104 (Fl., iii, 511; with dominical and paschal letters of the years. But instead of *dl.* for 1104, read *di.*).

According to the Icelandic Annals, Olaf died in 1116 (KOCEA); Eystein, in 1122 (KOCA); Sigurd, in 1130 (KOEA). Theoderic (c. 32; p. 64) says that Olaf died in the 3rd year (read 13th?), Eystein 20 years, after † Magnus; and that Sigurd reigned alone for 7 years.

Cf. O.V., X, 6, iv, 27.

[3] In Frisbók, 280. The first paragraph appears similarly in Sigurd Crusader's Saga, c. 1 (F.S., vii, 74); the second, in Magnus Bareleg's Saga, c. 37 (F.S., vii, 73).

Cf. F., 328, c. 241; and Ágrip, c. 45, F.S., x, 415.

[4] "5 winters, or 4" Sigurd Crusader's Saga: "not older than 3 winters" M., 156; F. Sigurd Crusader's Saga (F.S., vii, 109) says that Olaf was 15 winters old at his death; but H., Magnus' sons, says 17 winters. He died on 22nd December, according to F., 334; M., 174; but on 24th

the land that he possessed, they both had for protection. Sigurd was taken for king when he was thirteen winters old, or fourteen; but Eystein was a winter older.[1]

Sigurd left behind in the west beyond the sea the daughter of the Irish king.[2]

December, according to H.; and in 1116, according to Icelandic Annals, KOCEA. H. implies that the battle was fought 13 or 12 winters before the death of Olaf: i.e. (if Olaf died in 1116), in August 1104. Cf. year ?1117, note.

The alternatives given by H. suggest that the date of the battle (like the date of the battle of Clontarf) was found, inaccurately, by counting backwards from some known event. See the next note.

[1] "Then king Sigurd was 14 winters old; and Eystein, 16 winters" F., 328. When Sigurd returned to Norway from Palestine, (in 1112? see below) the brothers' ages were 21, 20, and 12 winters (Ágrip, c. 48; F.S., x, 417. So also H., Magnus' sons, c. 13; and Sigurd Crusader's Saga, c. 15).

Morkinskinna, pp. 155-156: "And then Magnus, Erlend's son, and Hakon, Paul's son, were set as earls over the Orkneys.

"And now, before they went from the Orkneys, king Sigurd also had learnt the tidings of his father's death—and no man could tell more definitely of that than Vídkunn, John's son; because he had followed the king best of all men, and he did not flee before the time I have said, when the king was done to death, and the king himself had begged him to fly; and for this cause Vídkunn got great honour from the sons of king Magnus."

[2] F. says:—"Sigurd let the daughter of the Scottish king remain behind, in the west beyond the sea; and would not then have her as his wife." M., 156:—"And now king Sigurd left behind there in the west the daughter of Malcolm, the king of the Scots, and he would not have her as his wife. And he summoned to himself all the following that came to the rulers there in the west, both in Scotland and in Ireland, as many as he had left there."

See Fl., ii, 430 (O.S., c. 46; i, 73).

Sigurd Crusader is said to have visited king Henry in England, on his way from Norway to Palestine; and to have remained in England during the winter 1107-1108 (Ágrip, c. 46, F.S., x, 416; H., Magnus' sons, c. 3, and Fr., 281; Sigurd Crusader's Saga, c. 3, F.S., vii, 77. But F., 328, and M., 157, place the visit in 1106-1107).

W.M., ii, 319, says that Sigurd had sailed for Jerusalem by way of England.

According to the Icelandic Annals, Sigurd left Norway in 1107 (C; 1106, A), and arrived in Jerusalem in 1109 (CA; for paschal letter *q*. in A, read *.q* : 1108, E, in Jerusalem and Constantinople).

A fleet of Danes and Norwegians assisted Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem, to take Sidon, on 19th December, 1111: the fleet was afterwards disbanded (see William archbishop of Tyre; P.L. 201, 501-502). Probably king Sigurd returned to Norway after this event (in ?1112).

? 1103

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 60, s.a. 1102

Olaf, the son of Godfrey Crovan, began to reign over all the islands; and he reigned for forty years.[1] He was a peaceful man, and had all the kings of Ireland and of Scotland so in alliance with him that none dared to disturb the kingdom of the islands, during all his days.

He received a wife, Affrica by name, the daughter of Fergus of Galloway.[2] By her he begot Godfrey. He had also several concubines, by whom he had three sons, Reginald, Logmann, and Harold; and many daughters, of whom one married Somerled, the regulus of Argyle: and she was the cause of the downfall of the whole kingdom of the islands; for he begot by her four sons, Dugald, Reginald, Angus, and Olaf. Of these we shall speak more fully below.[3]

1104

Florence of Worcester, Chronicon, vol. ii, p. 53, s.a. 1104

The body of St Cuthbert the bishop was exhibited, because of the incredulity of certain abbots, during the pontificate of bishop Randolph [Flambard, of Durham]; and was found, by Ralph, the abbot of Seez, afterwards bishop of Rochester, and by the brethren of the church of Durham, along with the head of St Oswald, king and martyr, and the relics of St Bede, and of many saints, by sure indication[4] incorrupt: earl[5] Alexander, afterwards king, the brother of Edgar, king of the Scots, being present. Because [Alexander] had been permitted to take part in so holy an affair, he gave very many marks of gold and of silver, and caused a shrine to be prepared; in which the holy body, clothed in new vestments, was honourably placed.[6]

[1] The same chronicle places Olaf's death under 1143=1153; therefore the word "forty" seems here to be an error for "fifty."

[2] Affrica, daughter of Fergus († 1161), was probably Olaf's second wife. His marriage with Ingibiorg, daughter of earl Hakon († 1124×), was presumably earlier. See 1106-1136, note.

[3] See below, year ? 1156.

[4] Of the spectators, Ralph, abbot of Seez, alone was permitted to touch the body, according to De Translationibus, S.D., i, 258.

[5] "Earl" also in S.D., ii, 236; but the title is omitted in S.D., i, 258, and in O.V., V, 9, ii, 349, where Alexander's presence at the investigation is mentioned.

[6] This investigation was of importance for the influence of Durham,

1104 or 1105

Heimskringla, Magnus' sons' Saga, c. 2[1]

Of the earls of Orkney.

One winter, or two,[2] after the fall of Magnus Bareleg, Hakon, earl Paul's son, came east from Orkney. And the kings gave him earldom,[3] and the dominion in the Orkneys, as the earls Paul, his father, or Erlend, his father's brother, had had before him.[4] Hakon went west to the Orkneys.[5]

1105

Annals of Innisfallen; Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, part 2, p. 95; O'Conor's year 1088 = 1105[6]

In this year, the elephant[7] (which is a beast of marvellous bigness) was given by the king of Scotland to Muirchertach Ua-Briain.[8]

which had acquired great possessions by reason of the false claim that Cuthbert's body was miraculously preserved from decay. Large estates in Lothian were conceded to Durham by successive Scottish kings.

An independent account of the investigation is given in S.D., i, 258-261; from which, and from F.W., the account given by S.D., ii, 236-237, is derived. From the last-mentioned account, C.M., 63, and C.H., 31, borrow independently, but neither of them mentions the presence of Alexander.

Cf. W.M., 274-276; ii, 517; and the detailed account given by Reginald of Durham, Libellus de S. Cuthberto, cc. 40-43; S.S. **1**, 84-90. See J. Raine (the elder), Saint Cuthbert; i.a. 193-197 (Durham, 1828). Raine's exposure of the fraud appears to be conclusive, and unaffected by the contention of C. Eyre (History of St Cuthbert, 1849; i.a. 205-206).

[1] The same passage is in Fr., 281; and Sigurd Crusader's Saga, c. 1 (F.S., vii, 75). See Fl., ii, 430; O.S., c. 46, i, 73-74.

[2] "One winter" Fr.

[3] "the name of earl" Sigurd Crusader's Saga; Fl.

[4] "as earl Paul, his father, had had" Sigurd Crusader's Saga; "such dominion as was due to his rank" Fl.

[5] Fr. adds "then"; Sigurd Crusader's Saga, "again." Somewhat later (1106 × ? 1111), Magnus Erlend's son obtained his share of the islands; see year ? 1117, note.

[6] With year-number, f.n. and e. of 1105.

[7] Literally "camel." See Meyer, Contributions to Irish Lexicography, s.v. *camall.*

[8] Muirchertach († 1119) was king of Munster, and sovereign of Ireland.

1106-1136

Icelandic Annals, version C (Storm's Islandske Annaler, p. 111), s.a. 1106[1]

Hakon, Paul's son, and after him earl Paul, his son, ruled in the Orkneys, for thirty years.[2]

[1] With dominical and paschal letters of 1106.

[2] Similarly in A (Fl., iii, 511), which omits "after him," and reads: "ruled for 19 years in the Orkneys" (for *xix* read *xxx*; "30 years" also in L, 473). See year 1136.

Cf. the insertion in version B of Fagrskinna, c. 215 (ed. Jónsson, pp. 391-392): "Earl Paul, Thorfinn's son, married a daughter of earl Hakon, Ivar's son. Their son was earl Hakon. His children were earl Paul; and earl Harold, the father of earl Erlend, who fell in Damsay; Ingibiorg; and Margaret. Ingibiorg was married to Olaf, the king of the Hebrides [see ? 1152-1154]. And Margaret was married to earl Matad [*Maddaðr*]: their son was Earl Harold [† 1206], the father of earl John [† 1231] and earl David" [† 1214]. Cf. years ? 1065, 1136, 1164.

Matad was earl of Athole; his father and predecessor, Maelmuire, was earl at least as late as 1131, according to charter no. 7 in the Book of Deer.

Earl Matad witnessed several charters during king David's reign. He appears as *Madeth comes* in Dunfermline, nos. 1 and 29 (1128 × 1136); as *Maddoc comes* in Dunfermline no. 9 (1128 × 1147); as *Maduc consul* in National MSS. of Scotland, i, no. 21 (L.C., nos. 74, 94, 127, 100). He died 1152 × 1161, and was succeeded by Malcolm († 1189 × 1198).

Some of these forms of Matad's name suggest that it might have been derived from an Old-Welsh or Pictish **Matāc* (> *Madawg*). This would have become *Mathach* in Irish. If this was its origin, the name was assimilated to the Irish *Matad*. That the form *Matad* was used in speech is shown by the Icelandic spelling, *Maddadr*.

O.S., c. 56, i, 82-83 (MS. C; cf. Fl., ii, 436): "At the time when earl Hakon had dominion in the Orkneys, there dwelt in Dalr, in Caithness, the man who was called Moddan [*Maddan* Fl.]; a noble man, and wealthy. His daughters were Helga, and Frakokk [*Frakaurk* Fl.], and Thorleif. Helga Moddan's [*Maddadar* "Matad's" Fl.] daughter was the concubine of earl Hakon; and their son was Harold, who was called the Smooth-spoken; and their daughter [was] Ingibiorg, whom Olaf Morsel [*Bitlingr*] the king of the Hebrides married; and their daughter also was Margaret.

"Frakokk Moddan's ["Matad's" Fl.] daughter was married to the man that was called Liót the Worthless [*nídingr*], in Sutherland; and their daughter was Steinvor the Stout, whom Thorliót married in Rekavík [Rackwick, Westray]. Olvi Riot was their son, and Magnus; Orm, and Moddan [*Maddan* Fl.]; Eindridi; and Audhild, [their] daughter. Another daughter of Frakokk was Gudrun, whom the yeoman Thorstein Fiarans-mudr married; their son was Thorbiorn the Clerk.

"Earl Hakon had another son, who was named Paul, and was called the Silent. He was taciturn, and popular. There was constantly trouble between the brothers, when they grew up.

"Earl Hakon, Paul's son, died of disease there in the islands; men thought this great loss, because in the end of his days there was good peace; and the farmers had great doubt of agreement between the brothers Paul and Harold."

Earl Hakon died ? after 1124 (cf. O.S., c. 57). Vigfusson dates his death ca. 1126.

According to O.S., c. 66 (and Fl., ii, 447), Frakokk said to Ronald Kali's messengers, who had come to her in Sutherland [in 1134]: "I have now married Margaret, Hakon's daughter, to Matad [*Moddani*, O.S.; *Moddadi*, Fl.], the earl of Athole; who is the noblest of all the Scottish chiefs in lineage. His father Maelmuire [*Melmari*, O.S.; *Melkólmr*, in Fl.] was the brother of Malcolm, the Scottish king; the father of David, who is now king of the Scots." Cf. year 1136, note.

This part of O.S. has not great historical value. For Maelmuire, cf. Additions to the Book of Deer, no. 7; below, 1131×.

Earl Hakon was succeeded by his sons (c. 57; and Fl., ii, 437): "Earl Harold held Caithness of the Scottish king [David]; he was there for long spells, but sometimes up in Scotland [Sutherland], because he had there many relatives and friends." Earl Paul had the Orkneys. Harold, his mother's relatives and connections, and Sigurd Slembi-diákn, son of Æthelbeorht the Priest, made an expedition to Orkney: both earls collected their followers. Ibid.: "These were the dearest to earl Paul:—Sigurd of Westness, who had married Ingibiorg the Honourable, a relative of the earls; and Thorkel, Sumarlidi's son, who was constantly with earl Paul, and was called Thorkel the Fosterer." Earl Harold and Sigurd killed Thorkel. For this, Sigurd was sent away from the Orkneys; he remained for a time with king Malcolm [1153×1165; but in reality before 1136]; and afterwards went to Palestine. The earls were reconciled.

For Sigurd, see below, before 1136.

Earl Harold was killed by a magic shirt, intended by his mother and aunt for earl Paul (O.S., c. 58; Fl., ii, 438). Paul sent the ladies out of the islands. They went to Caithness; and afterwards to Sutherland (Scotland, in Fl.), "to the dwellings that Frakokk owned there." Ibid.: "Frakokk's brothers were Angus ["Magnus" Fl.] the Generous, and earl Ottar in Thurso. [Ottar] was a noble man."

A list of noblemen in Orkney during the time of earl Paul Hakon's son is given in O.S., c. 59 (Fl., ii, 439). "All these men come into the saga later"; but it is impossible to discuss them here.

The Scottish king named Malcolm may possibly have been not David but Malcolm Macheth, who was about this time in alliance with Somerled of Argyle. See year 1157, note.

1107

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 78, s.a. 1106[1]

Edgar, the king of Scotland, died.[2]

1107

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 63

In the year 1107, Edgar, the king of the Scots, died, on the sixth day before the Ides of January[3]; and his brother Alexander succeeded him.[4]

1107

Verse Chronicle inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, p. 228[5]

After [Donald], Edgar reigned for nine years. The valiant[6] king is said to have died in Edinburgh.

1107

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version F; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 175

Edgar [reigned] for nine years. He died in Edinburgh; and was buried in Dunfermline.[7]

[1] With f.n. and e. of 1106.

[2] The death of Edgar and succession of Alexander are noted in A.C., MS. C, 34, s.a. 1106; and in B.T., 280, s.a. [1104] (reading "Edward" in error for "Edgar").

[3] I.e., 8th January, 1107.

[4] This is derived from S.D., ii, 238.

C.H., 32, s.a. 1107: "Edgar, the king of Scotland, died."

Inserted folio 13 in C.M., 52: "So king Edgar reigned prosperously for 9 years, ending his life in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1107, on the seventh day before the Ides of January" (i.e., 7th January). For his festival (kept at Durham on 8th January) see the Durham obituaries, S.S. **18**, 139 (140).

Alexander succeeded "by concession of king Henry" I, according to R.T., 88; the 1291 chronicles of Tewkesbury and Worcester (Palgrave, 127, 130); and the letter of Edward to Boniface (Foedera, i, **2**, 932). This statement is derived from H.H. (E.C., 128).

According to A.R. (E.C., 193), Edgar bequeathed to his brother David the southern part of Scotland; but David did not obtain it, until his claim was supported by the aid of English barons. See year 1124, note. See Anselm's letter to Alexander on his accession; L.C., no. 25.

[5] Similarly in the Bodleian version; P. & S., 181.

[6] *probus.*

[7] Similarly in versions GIKN (303, 289, 207, 306); but GI read "9 years and 3 months"; K, "9 years and 4 months"; N, "10 years"; see above, vol. i, p. cxli. I reads "in Dundee" instead of "in Edinburgh," and is followed by Fordun, V, 27. KN omit the place of Edgar's death.

PART V

Reign of Alexander I. History of Huntingdon

1109

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 64, s.a. 1109

Thomas was consecrated archbishop of the church of York, by Richard, the bishop of London, on the fifth day before the Kalends of July[1]; and on the Kalends of August,[2] at York, the same Thomas consecrated Turgot, the prior of Durham, as bishop of St Andrews.[3]

. . . A comet appeared.[4]

The church of Tiron was founded.[5]

[1] I.e., 27th June.

[2] 1st August, a Sunday in 1109. S.D. erroneously dates the consecration on Sunday, 30th July.

[3] Turgot had been elected in 1107, ca. June 21st; E.C., 129-130, 135. See D.B., 1-2.

[4] The preceding events are derived from F.W., who says that the comet appeared in December. C.M. and C.H. note also the appearance of the comet in 1110; F.W. says that it shone for three weeks after 8th June.

[5] This last note has been written in blacker ink, perhaps by the same hand.

An added marginal note under 1102 reads: "The Tironian order began, through abbot Bernard, at old Tiron in the Wood." See year 1113.

The monastery of Tiron (now Thiron-Gardais, in Eure-et-Loir) was founded by Bernard, former abbot of St Cyprian of Poitiers, in 1109. See i.a. abbot Ivo of Chartres, letter 283, P.L. **162**, 283; Life of Bernard, abbot of Tiron, B.R., xiv, 170-172 (A.S., Apr. 14); letter of St Bernard of Clairvaux, B.R., xv, 556. See W.M., ii, 512; W.N., I, 15, i, 51-52; R.T., in B.R., xiv, 382; O.V., iii, 448; Alberic, M.G.H., Scriptores, xxiii, 817. Geoffrey's Life of Bernard of Tiron, 238.

The foundation charter of Tiron is dated 3rd February, 1113=1114 (Tiron, no. 1).

1111

Annals of Innisfallen, Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, part 2, p. 98; O'Conor's year 1094 = 1111 [1]

Donald, Tadc's son, went . . .[2] into the north of Ireland; and took kingship of the Hebrides by force.[3]

1113

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 64, s.a. 1113

The monks of Tiron came to this country.[4]

[1] With ferial and epact of 1111.

[2] *do dul fo dunaig* according to O'Conor, who translates: "*ivit belligerans.*" *Fo dúnad* might mean "with an army"; but the MS. appears to read *fo dimaig*, which should mean "in sorrow," but can hardly fit here. Read *dimdaig* "displeasure"? Donald's brother, Murchaid, heir of Munster, had died in the previous year; Donald seems to have succeeded to the heirship. In the same year (1111) Murchaid's son, Brian, "went upon strife" (*do dul for debaid*) into southern Ireland (A.I.). In 1114, Muirchertach fell ill, and was deprived of the kingship by his brother Diarmait Ua-Briain; and "Brian, Murchaid's son, was made prisoner by guile" (A.I.). In 1115, Muirchertach recovered the kingdom; and "A battle [was] gained at Dublin by Donald Ua-Briain; and there the nobles of Leinster fell, including [Duncan] the son of Murchaid [Ua-Maelnambó], and [Conchobar] Ua-Conchobair of Ui-failge, and Donald Ua-Conchobair, the son of the king of Ciarraige-Luachra; and many others of the men of Munster were slain. [Cf. A.U., F.M.].

"Donald, son of Tadc Ua-Briain, was killed by the Connaughtmen" (A.I.).

The Continuation of T., in R.C., xviii, 35, s.a. [1115]: "Toirdelbach Ua-Conchobair took the hostages of [i.e. subdued] Thomond. And he gave the kingship of [Thomond] to [Donald] the son of Tadc Ua-Briain. The same son of Tadc turned against him in the same year; and [Toirdelbach] came into Thomond, and Tadc's son was killed by him."

A.U., ii, 92, s.a. 1115: "Donald, Tadc Ua-Briain's son, the heir to the kingdom of Munster, was killed by the Connaughtmen." Similarly A.L.C., i, 106; F.M., ii, 1000.

[3] See above, ? 1096 - ? 1098.

[4] "to England" S.D.

This note appears to be derived from S.D.; see E.C., 132. The Tironian monastery at Selkirk was founded in this year. See years 1109, 1115, 1128, notes.

An addition in the margin of C.M., s.a. 1109, reads: "And Ralph, sent from Tiron, became the first abbot of Selkirk." Hence Bower, i, 286, places the foundation of Selkirk in 1109.

The foundation charter of Selkirk was given by earl David 1119×1120 (Kelso, no. 1; L.C., no. 35).

Cf. Geoffrey's Life of Bernard, 245: "About the same time [as

1114

Brut y Tywyssogion, 292-293

The next year [1111], king Henry led an army against Gwynedd, and primarily against Powys. . . . And therefore king Henry collected a host from the whole island, from cape Pengwaed in [Cornwall][1] to cape Blathaon in the North, against Gwynedd and Powys. . . . The king sent three armies:—one with Gilbert, [Richard's son,] prince of Cornwall, composed of the Britons of the South, and the French and English from Dyfed and all the South; and another army from the North and Scotland, under two princes, namely Alexander, Malcolm's son, and the son of Hugh, earl of Chester; and the third with himself.

Then the king went with his company as far as the place that is called Mur-Castell; and Alexander and the earl went to Pennaeth-bachwy. . . .

After that, Alexander, Malcolm's son, and the earl, sent messengers to Grufud, Cinan's son, requesting him to come to the king's peace; and promising him much. And they persuaded him to come to terms with them.[2] . . .

Bernard's establishment of a monastery in Wales, beside the Tewy] David, [king] of the men of Lothian and of Northampton, and afterwards king of the Scots, hearing from rumours of the distinguished merits of our most blessed father, while he was still alive, by means of most energetic messengers brought to himself a large congregation of [Bernard's] disciples; and built for them a monastery, which he sufficiently enriched with large possessions and revenues, in a suitable situation beside the river Tweed, in Lothian, which on one side touches Albania of the Scots, and on the other side is joined to the territories of Northumbria." Geoffrey says that David went to Tiron to meet Bernard, but found that he had died.

[1] MS. "in Ireland." MS. D of Ab Ithel's edition has:—"from the farthest point of Cornwall, a place that is called Pengwaed, to the farthest point of Prydein [Pictland], a place that is called Penblathaon."

[2] Cf. the Brut y Saesson in M.A., 672, s.a. 1111: ". . . And then the king put together three hosts:—one with Gilbert the earl, of all the south of England, and Cornwall, to go to the south part of Wales; another with Alexander, Malcolm's son, and the son of Hugh, earl of Chester, and all Scotland [*Prydein*], with them; the third with king [Henry] himself. The king came with the two hosts as far as the place that is called Mur-castell; Alexander and his companions came as far as to Pennant-bachwy. And they sent to Grufud, to demand of him that he should come to the king's peace, and to promise much to him for coming; and nevertheless to

?1114-1185

Life of Waltheof, section De Comitissa; in Michel's Chroniques Anglo-Normandes, vol. ii, pp. 126-131

[Matilda,] the widow of [Simon of Senlis, earl of Northampton and Huntingdon,][1] along with her children and lands and

disappoint him if he came. . . ." (I am indebted to Professor Sir John Morris Jones for the translation of the last phrase.)

The Welsh leaders followed Grufud's example, and made peace with king Henry.

Cf. A.S.C. E, s.a. 1114: "And at midsummer [24th June] [king Henry] went with a levy into Wales; and the Welsh came, and made peace with the king." Cf. F.W., S.D., C.M., A.C.; "at the festival of St John" Annals of Waverley.

For Gilbert de Clare, Richard's son, (the father of Gilbert, earl of Pembroke) see the notes that follow below. For Hugh, earl of Chester, see year 1098.

Grufud, Cinan's son, died in 1137 (A.C.).

[1] After Waltheof's execution (in 1076; see year 1072, note) king William I (according to the biographer) had given the earldom of Northampton and Huntingdon to Simon of Senlis; who married Matilda, the elder daughter of Waltheof and Judith. See year 1071, note. The marriage appears to have taken place 1086×1087, although the latter date is uncertain. It seems doubtful whether Simon obtained Northampton before 1088.

Simon gave his wife's sister, Alice or Adeliza, to Ralph de Toeni, with 100 librates of land of the honour of Huntingdon (Life of Waltheof, De Comitissa; C.A.N., ii, 126; Register of Northampton, fo. 4). See O.V., iv, 198. For Ralph, see Doomsday Book (Ellis, Introd. to D.B., i, 493, 494; ii, 395). His daughter, Godechilde, married Robert, count of Meulan, the first earl of Leicester († 1118) (O.V.); and afterwards, in 1096, Baldwin (king of Jerusalem 1101-†1118).

"And in process of time earl Simon begot children by countess Matilda:—Simon, Waltheof, and Matilda. Waltheof was afterwards the abbot of Melrose [see years 1148, 1159]. And Matilda was given in marriage to Robert, Richard's son; by whom she had a child Walter, named Robert's son" (Life of Waltheof, u.s.).

Cf. the continuation of William of Jumièges, H.N.S., 312; B.R., xii, 583. Jordan, Life of abbot Waltheof, 251, 252.

Richard, Gilbert's son, was the first lord of Clare; and grandfather of Gilbert, Gilbert's son, the first earl of Pembroke. For Richard and his family, see Round's Feudal England, i.a. 472 × 473, 523, 575; and Gorham's Eynesbury and St Neots, ii, pp. xxvi-xxx. See Ellis, Introduction to Domesday Book, i, 477, 494-495; ii, 378. See below, years 1170, 1190, notes.

Robert, Richard's son, died in 1136, and was buried at the church of

St Neots in Huntingdonshire (see his daughter's charter to that church, falsely dated in 1100; Register of St Neots, fo. 79 verso; D.M., iii, 473; cf. her charter in St Neots, fos. 79-80; Gorham, u.s., ii, 300). Charters of Robert, Matilda, and their son Walter, appear in St Neots; v.i.a. fos. 80, 78; Daventry, fos. 5-6. For Robert's brother Gilbert, and nephews Richard and Gilbert, cf. i.a. St Neots, fo. 73.

Robert's daughter, Matilda de Senlis, married William de Aubigny Brito (for whom cf. the Surveys of Leicestershire and Northamptonshire; Round's Feudal England, 201; V.C.H. Northants, i, 385-386; but cf. 360, 373). He had inherited from his father a barony in Leicestershire, of which he sent in returns in 1166: Hearne's Black Book, i, 208; Red Book, i, 328. For charters given by him v. i.a. Register of St Neots, fos. 58, 79. He died, according to Round, in November, 1167 (Feudal England, 476; see Pipe Rolls, for 1167-1168, xii, 21, 57, 59). This Matilda de Senlis was a widow, and "60 years old," in 1185 (∴ born × 1125). See Rotuli de Dominabus, 1. Matilda and William had a son named William de Aubigny, and other children (Pipe Rolls; cf. Register of St Neots, fo. 79; Gorham, u.s., ii, 305; D.M., iii, 474; Nichols, Collectanea, i, 32-33; Dunfermline, no. 153).

Cf. Round's Feudal England, 474-476, 213, 575.

Earl Simon I took the cross, and went to Jerusalem. He returned home; and, setting out a second time, died upon the way, and was buried at the priory of Charté[-sur-Loire] (ibid.; cf. V.C.H. Northants, ii, 102). Here follows the passage translated in the text.

The preface to the Register of Northampton says that he died and was buried at Charté, in returning from the Holy Land (fo. 4; D.M., v, 590). Cf. Jordan, Life of abbot Waltheof, 252.

Simon had founded the priory of St Andrew at Northampton, affiliating it to Charté-sur-Loire, in 1084 (18 William I). In his charter (1100 ×) to this priory, the last witness named is David, brother of the queen. (It appears from the Geld-roll of Northamptonshire that the Scottish king [Malcolm III] held land in Northamptonshire, in the days of king Edward the Confessor; and that the same land was held [by Malcolm] 1066 × 1075: Ellis, Introduction to Domesday Book, i, 187. A David held lands of the king in Casterton [now in Rutland] and Bradden, in Northamptonshire, in 1086 (Doomsday Book, i, 229; Northamptonshire, s. 58): but these lands did not belong later to the Scottish kings.)

A proclamation of earl Simon, announcing to all his barons of Huntingdonshire that had given [advowson of] the church of St Mary of Eynesbury to the monks of St Neots, by the wish and concession of his wife, countess Matilda, appears in the Register of St Neots, fos. 67-68; Gorham, u.s., ii, 303; D.M., iii, 472. Cf. other charters of Simon, in St Neots, fo. 68; St Andrew's of Northampton, fos. 4-6.

Simon appears to have still been alive in 1110, and to have witnessed a charter in that year (R.S. **79**, i, 148: *comes Simundus*. The Danish name Sigemund or Simund was probably considered equivalent to the scriptural Simon). Cf. the charters of which he is a receiver, ibid., 236, 237, dated by the editor 1107 × 1113; but dated ca. 1100 by the editor of R.S. **88**,

possessions, was in the hand of king Henry I (who had previously[1] united to himself, as queen, Matilda, the sister of Alexander, king of the Scots; and of David, his brother). And David asked king Henry to grant to him the countess relict of Simon, in marriage. And the king granted it, being persuaded by the arguments and petitions of the queen. So [David] had possession of the countess and the earldom, and custody of the children.[2]

215-216. He witnesses also a charter dated by Round 1107×1115; Calendar of Documents in France, no. 1383.

According to the preface of the Northampton Register, Simon of Senlis was a son of a Norman baron, Randolph le Riche; and brother of Warner, who was apparently the father of Simon's nephews that witnessed his charters (if those charters are genuine).

[1] In 1100.

[2] Cf. the preface to the Register of Northampton, u.s.

David was already earl in 1113 (i.e. 1113-4), when he signed king Henry I's confirmation of the grant made in 1113 by Rohais, the wife of Richard, son of earl Gilbert [de Clare, of Pembroke], giving the manor of Eynesbury to the monks of [St Neots of] Eynesbury. Gorham's Eynesbury and St Neots, ii, pp. cv-cvi, 299; D.M., iii, 473: cf. Register of St Neots, fo. 45, verso (abstract without witnesses or date). This proves that he was invested before 25th March, 1114.

For Rohais, see Doomsday Book, Huntingdonshire, s. 28; Hertfordshire, s. 42 (i, 207, 142 verso).

A.S.C. H says that king Henry gave the earldom of Northamptonshire to David, the queen's brother, between Christmas [1113] and 17th February [1114] (E.C., 132-133); and says also that the king "was at Thorpe, beside Northampton, at Easter" (Plummer's Saxon Chronicles, i, 245). Easter was 29th March in 1114.

There is no reason to reject this probably contemporary authority. We may safely place David's marriage and investiture between the end of December, 1113, and the beginning of February, 1114.

Cf. O.V., iii, 402; E.C., 156, note. Fordun, V, 31-32. L.C., 266-267.

Earl David is among those addressed by king Henry I in a charter given to the priory of Northampton, 1114×1124 (probably 1114×1116); D.M., v, 191 (cf. king Henry I's general confirmation to the same priory, given 1114×1116; in Register of Northampton, fo. 20).

Earl David confirmed to the church of St Andrew of Northampton its lands, possessions, and revenues, ". . . which they held in the honour of Huntingdon, on the day upon which I was seized of the earldom of Huntingdon . . ." Register of Northampton, fo. 10.

David was distantly related to his wife. His grandfather, king Duncan I, had married a kinswoman of Matilda's grandfather, earl Siward. David's great-great-grandmother, queen Emma, was the sister of Matilda's

great - great - grandfather, duke Richard II of Normandy. See year 1055, note.

David's marriage had very important results for the Scottish crown. It brought to the kings of Scotland hereditary claims to Northumbria, Cumbria, and the extensive lands pertaining to the honour of Huntingdon; claims which superseded the old vague claims to the northern counties; and which, when acknowledged, involved vassalage to the English king.

The honour of Huntingdon had been held by countess Judith after the execution of Waltheof (1076-1086 × ? 1087). See year 1071, note. For the lands held by Judith in 1086 (before the marriage of her daughter Matilda with Simon of Senlis) see the Doomsday Book; especially the following sections:—Lincolnshire, s. 56 (including many places in or near the valley of the Witham, and Ermine Street); Rutland, ss. 2, 4; Leicester, s. 40 (these three counties lie to the east of the Trent. See year 1071, note): Northamptonshire, introduction, and s. 56 (the principal landholder in this shire at that time was Robert, count of Mortain, king William's half-brother. See introduction, and s. 18; and cf. V.C.H. Northants, i, 300 × 301); Huntingdonshire, s. 20; Cambridgeshire, s. 39 (cf. the Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton; London, 1876); Bedfordshire, s. 53; also Oxfordshire, s. 3; Buckinghamshire, s. 53; Middlesex, s. 24; Essex, s. 55.

These lands apparently passed to earl Simon; who held also the town of Northampton, and part of Leicester (cf. O.V., iv, 168-169), which was afterwards acquired by Robert, count of Meulan.

Judith's lands passed afterwards to David. See the Pipe Rolls of 1129-1130, pp. 46, 48, 49, 61, 85, 104, 115, 117, 134, 148, 150-152. Cf. the Surveys of Leicestershire (1124 × 1129), in Round's Feudal England, 197-199, 201, 204 (cf. 214); and of Northamptonshire (originally compiled before 1135), ibid., 215, 216; and in V.C.H. Northants, i, 365-389.

The biographer (above, year 1071, note) says that Simon of Senlis received Northampton and the honour of Huntingdon, with the title of earl, before his marriage with Matilda, Judith's daughter. This statement was perhaps made *ex parte*, with a view to prove that the honour of Huntingdon had not been Matilda's dowry, but ought to have been included in the inheritance of the heirs of Simon I. It was possessed by the heirs of king David, apparently upon the opposite assumption that the honour had been Matilda's dowry in her second marriage also.

Cf. the attestation of Alexander Malfe with regard to the foundation of Sawtry abbey, in Hertfordshire, near Huntingdon. He says (R.S. 79, i, 161; writing × 1153) that earl Simon I "received in marriage, by the gift of king William who acquired England, the daughter of the aforesaid Waltheof and Judith, along with the whole fee." This seems to be conclusively against the biographer's account. Cf. the Register of Northampton; above, year 1071, note.

Jordan, in his Life of abbot Waltheof, 252, says that Matilda "was given in marriage by the same king [Henry] to David, the king of Scotland; the earldom of Huntingdon being given to him, under the name of dowry."

An inaccurate account given by folio 2 inserted in the Register of

Not long afterwards, Alexander, the king of the Scots, died; and earl David succeeded him in the kingdom. He afterwards begot for himself by his queen Matilda a son, named Henry.[1]

Daventry says: "In the year of grace 1066, in the time of William the Conqueror, the kingdom of England was divided into various parts. The county of Northampton and Huntingdon fell into the hands of Simon of Senlis, who was of alien birth."

It is not probable that Simon obtained Northampton castle before the rebellion of count Robert of Mortain in 1088.

Simon II was the legal heir of his father's possessions after the death of his mother. Cf. L.A., 9, 37; Miss Moore's Lands of the Scottish Kings, 3.

According to Fordun (V, 33; i, 233), queen Matilda died in David's 7th year [23rd April 1130 × 22nd April 1131], the year of the battle of Stracathro [1130]. Dunbar and Lawrie accept this date.

In two charters given by David to the church of Holy Trinity at Dunfermline, with the assent of his son Henry, it is stated that the grant was confirmed by queen Matilda and the bishops, earls, barons, and people, of Scotland (Dunfermline, nos. 1 (1128 × 1136) and 2 (1147 × 1152); Acts, i, 359-360; L.C., nos. 74, 209). If the wording of no. 2 has not been copied from no. 1, it would prove that queen Matilda was still alive in 1147 († 1147 × 1152).

This is confirmed by a charter of king David addressed, at Berwick, to Robert, bishop of Lincoln [1147 - † 1168], and the sheriff [of Northampton] Hugh of Leicester, and all [David's] subjects; granting the church of Potton in Bedfordshire to the church of St Andrew at Northampton: *pro salute animae* [*meae*] *et Matildis Reginae uxoris meae et omnium antecessorum meorum* (Register of Northampton, fo. 11; L.C., no. 56). This probably means that Matilda was alive (perhaps ill) at the time when the charter was written (1147 × 1152).

[1] This implies that Henry († 1152) was born after 1124. But he married Ada de Varenne († 1178) in 1139; and Waltheof's biographer says that he had then reached full maturity: a statement hardly reconcilable with the foregoing implication.

His name appears among the witnesses to a charter of 1119 × 1124 (Kelso, no. 1; L.C., no. 35); to one of 1126 (L.C., no. 65), in which Henry gives assent; and to another of 1124 × ? 1128 (Holyrood, no. 3; L.C., no. 72).

Henry's son Malcolm was born in 1142.

David's daughters, Claricia and Hodierna, are named after his son Henry, by O.V.; who tells (iii, 402-403; E.C., 156-157) an apparently fantastic tale of the death of David's eldest child, a son. A still more fantastic version of this story is given by Wyntoun, VII, 7; ii, 193-195. Cf. Dunbar, Kings, 43, 64. Cf. year 1099, note. Wyntoun says that Donald Bán killed Henry's elder brother; that queen Matilda died at sight of the murder; and that in consequence Henry was not naturally born. This story places Henry's birth 1147 ×, or at the earliest 1130 × 1131; which is absurd.

Another version of this story appears in the Bodleian Verse Chronicle, P. & S., 181: "In [David's] reign there was a certain conspirator

The children who had been born to Simon and Matilda, and who were in David's custody, were taken to Normandy, and committed to the keeping of Stephen, the count of Aumale, their mother's uncle. And they were so much educated under his tutelage that Simon, the eldest, received insignia of knighthood along with count William, count Stephen's son. For this reason Henry, the king of the English, was indignant.[1]

Henry, king David's son, the uterine brother of the said Simon II, when he had come to full maturity, was girt with the sword of knighthood, and married the countess Ada, the sister of earl William de Varenne. He had by her Malcolm and William, afterwards king of the Scots[2]; and earl David, their brother; and some daughters. Overtaken by death, [Henry] succumbed, while his father still lived.[3]

But Simon de Senlis the Second many times solicited the king with petitions and interpellations to restore to him his inheritance. While the king[4] lived, however, he was never able to obtain a hearing; but after the king's death,[4] he occupied the castles of Northampton and Huntingdon, and possessed them, along with the adjacent lands and appurtenances, during the whole time of his life.[5] And he married the countess Isabella;

[*insidiator*]; whom [David] deprived of his sight, when he had captured him. Him he supplied with bread. The king's daughter used to run to him, in her play: the savage avenger transfixed her. When the queen, being pregnant, saw her daughter's blood, being alarmed, she bore a son who was like raw flesh [*ut caro nuda*]. This was earl Henry, the leader to arms; the father of Malcolm, William, and David." This appears to be an addition made to the original Verse Chronicle. Cf. year 1165.

[1] Count Stephen's mother was apparently Adelaide, Judith's mother, the aunt of king Henry I. Stephen's father, Odo, 1st count of Aumale, was a son of Stephen II, count of Champagne; whose brother, Theobald II of Blois, was king Stephen's grandfather.

[2] This was probably written during king William's reign.

[3] See years 1139, 1152.

[4] This king cannot have been Stephen, since he out-lived earl Simon II. It is implied that he was king of England, and that Simon lived considerably longer than he; therefore Brompton (in Twysden, 975; see L.C., 352) rightly understood that the king meant here was Henry I. Brompton's account of these affairs is derived from the Life of Waltheof.

Brompton says that, after the death of Henry, king of England, Simon II "peacefully entered and possessed the earldom of Huntingdon." This is misleading, but is a logical inference from the account in the Life.

[5] Some obscurity lies over the time at which Simon II obtained the

castles of Northampton and Huntingdon. He became earl of Northumbria (apparently) 1136×1139; of Northampton, 1136×1141 (?1139×1141); of Huntingdon, 1141×1147. If, as the biographer implies, he received Northampton and Huntingdon at the same time, it must have been in 1141.

Cf. Jordan's Life of abbot Waltheof, 252: " . . . Long after his father's death, Simon at last with much labour obtained his father's earldom; and, having become an energetic knight, in the time of king Stephen he built new castles, acquired others that had been built by others, and added to his earldom counties and cities; and ended his life in secular warfare, although in Christian fashion."

Ordericus Vitalis says that Simon I and David held " both the earldoms, of Northampton and of Huntingdon" (E.C., 156, note); but these two shires seem to have formed one earldom (see year 1055, note). Cf. L.A., 37.

After this earldom had been divided into two (×1057), David's descendants held the earldom of Huntingdon, with the territories that pertained to it (the honour of Huntingdon). Cf. year 1071, note.

For the history of Huntingdon and Northampton, see Miss Moore's Lands of the Scottish Kings in England, c. 1.

David obtained the earldom of Northampton and Huntingdon, and the honour of Huntingdon, in the right, and as the dowry, of his wife, Matilda (E.C., 133, 156, 157); and should have held the whole investiture during her life-time (×1114-1147×). But by supporting the empress Matilda he forfeited his English possessions to king Stephen.

By the compromise that was made before Easter, 1136, Henry, David's son, obtained "his father's earldom of Huntingdon" (R.H.; but "the castle that is called Huntingdon" according to H.H.: see E.C., 172); Carlisle; Doncaster; and a promise that his claim to Northumbria should have preferential consideration (R.H.).

Soon after Easter in the same year, Simon de Senlis, without the title of earl, witnessed Stephen's charter of Oxford (R.H., R.S. 82, iii, 150), and other charters. See Round's Mandeville, 262-264.

Simon may have been one of those who disturbed earl Henry's visit to king Stephen's court, at Easter in 1136 (E.C., 173).

Northumbria appears to have been given to Simon II, who had a prior claim to it (1136×?1137-1139; see below).

Henry's earldom was again forfeited by the warfare of 1137 and 1138. By the compromise of 1139, he obtained, in addition (we are told) to all the lands that he had held before, the earldom of [part of] Northumbria, which he held until his death (1139-1152). He must have lost his other English lands in the warfare of 1141-1142. His son William succeeded him in Northumbria (1152-1157); but the early chroniclers do not tell us what was done with the earldom of Huntingdon in 1152 (E.C., 214, 215; 228, 229). The biographer implies that it was then already in the possession of earl Simon II.

Fordun's account is valueless. He says that Henry did homage to king Stephen in 1139 for the earldom of Huntingdon, but possessed freely the earldom of Northumbria; and implies that Henry was earl of Northumbria and of Huntingdon from 1139 to 1152 (V, 32, 33; c. 1). Fordun says that

king Henry II deprived Malcolm IV of the earldom of Huntingdon, but restored it to him [in 1157] in exchange for Northumbria and Cumbria (c. 2). He says also that during Malcolm's life his brother William obtained the guardianship of the kingdom; and his brother David, the earldom of Huntingdon (c. 4. Cf. V, 34; cc. 1, 2, 30-31, 75).

Alexander Malfe or Maufe, writing in the life-time of earl Simon II (× 1153; ? 1153), does not name earl Henry; and speaks of Simon II as if he had succeeded to David in the earldom of Northampton (R.S. 79, i, 160, 161, 164; cf. 162, 163). Similarly the biographer does not mention the fact that Henry was invested in the earldom of Huntingdon.

Simon II was apparently earl of Northumbria, but not yet earl of Northampton, at the time of his grant to Newminster (1137 × 1139; see below).

Round (Calendar of Documents in France, 292) dates ca. 1140 a charter witnessed by earl Simon and others.

Simon was earl of Northampton, according to H.H., 270, when he supported king Stephen at Lincoln, in 1141 (February 2nd). J. W. calls him earl of Northampton at the siege of Winchester (2nd August, 1141). He witnessed, as earl, a proclamation made by queen Matilda soon afterwards; and king Stephen's charter to Geoffrey de Mandeville, at Christmas, 1141 (Round's Mandeville, 120, 143); also a royal charter of 1142 (ibid., 159).

In 1142, the empress Matilda was uncertain whether her uncle, king David, was earl of Cambridgeshire, or not. See her charter granting that county, or another, to Alberic de Vere, in Round's Mandeville, 181; cf. 190-194. Alberic seems to have obtained Oxfordshire instead; owing probably to the extent of land that king David claimed in Cambridgeshire. This seems to suggest that earl Henry had lost the honour of Huntingdon before 1142.

No agreement is recorded by which Henry recovered the lands that he must have forfeited in 1141. Cf. Henry's charters in the Registers of Northampton, fo. 13; St Neots, fo. 48; Daventry, fo. 5; L.C., nos. 112-115. Of these, nos. 113 and 114 might have been thought to have been given after his mother's death, Henry being still earl of Huntingdon; but they are probably × 1141.

Simon's charter to Sawtry, in Huntingdonshire (D.M., v, 522-523) is ascribed to 1146 or 1147 (cf. Alexander Malfe, R.S. 79, i, 160; D.M., v, 523). This suggests that Simon had before then obtained the honour of Huntingdon.

Simon, earl of Northampton, witnessed a charter dated in 1147, confirming a grant made to the priory of St Andrew of Northampton, founded by his father; and he is named among the receivers of Stephen's confirmation of the foregoing charter (D.M., v, 190; Register of Northampton, fo. 24).

Simon II was the founder of the nunnery of St Mary, Delapre, at Northampton. See king Stephen's confirmation quoted in a charter of king Edward III; D.M., v, 208. Cf. the Register of Northampton, fo. 4. Cf. Jordan, Life of abbot Waltheof, 262.

Under 1148, C.M. speaks of Henry, earl of the Northumbrians, and Simon, earl of Northampton.

Earl Simon is named in another charter of king Stephen in the Register of Northampton, fo. 24; and in a mandate of king Stephen in the Chronicle of Ramsey (R.S. **83**, 321). He witnessed at London a charter of Stephen, dated by Round "Sept., 1152-53" (Calendar of Documents in France, 484).

Simon II died in August, 1153 ("Simon of Senlis" J.H.; "earl of Northampton" J.H., H.H.; "earl of Huntingdon" R.T.; R.S. **75**, ii, 331; **74**, 288; **82**, iv, 172. H.H. says that he died in the same week as Eustace, king Stephen's son; and Eustace died, according to G.C., i, 155, on 10th August, 1153). He may perhaps have been the Simon whose death is placed on 5th August in a 12th century obituary of Lincoln (R.S. **21**, vii, 159).

He was succeeded by his son Simon III (R.T., u.s.; L.A., 9). The biographer's statement implying that Simon III was a minor at the time of his father's death appears to be incorrect. But the king retained the honour of Huntingdon in his own hands.

Earl Simon [III] appears in the accounts of Northamptonshire, rendered by Robert Grimbaud, for the year 1154-1155; and in accounts of Northampton borough, rendered by sheriff William of Boughton, for the same year (Pipe Roll abstracts, in Red Book, ii, 655).

Robert, the earl of Leicester († 1168), the son of count Robert of Meulan († 1118), in his charter to the abbey of Nuneaton confirmed a grant of land in Waltham made to that abbey by his daughter, Isabella, and her son, earl Simon. Earl Simon and Isabella, countess of Northampton, are named among the witnesses (Round's Calendar of Documents in France, i, 376-377; D.M., i (1682 ed.), 518). Round dates this charter 1155 × 1159; its confirmation by Robert, earl Robert's son, Isabella's brother, × 1159, or × 1155; by king Henry II, in 1163 (D.M., u.s., 518-519).

Isabella, wife of Simon II, was (like her grandmother, for whom see year 1139, note) also called Elizabeth (cf. Register of Northampton, fo. 9). Her mother was Amicia, daughter of Ralph, the seigneur of Montfort and of Gael. Cf. O.V., iv, 410, 439.

The countess Isabella married Gervase Paynell, Ralph's son, the baron of Dudley. In his charter to the church of St Mary of Newport [Pagnell], and the greater monastery of St Martin (Marmoutier), Gervase confirmed the donations of his predecessors, with the counsel and consent of his wife, Isabella, the countess of Northampton; and Simon, the earl of Northampton, and Isabella, his mother, are witnesses. This charter is dated in 1187, falsely. (D.M., vi, **2**, 1038; Genealogist, N.S., x, 7.)

After his mother's second marriage, earl Simon III married Alice of Ghent, the daughter of Gilbert of Ghent (who became earl of Lincolnshire about 1147), and of Alice, the daughter of William de Roumare earl of Lincolnshire. (William retained the title after the earldom, or part of it, had been given to his son-in-law.) For William, see Round's Feudal England, 184-187. He was half-brother of Randolph, earl of Chester, the son of Randolph Meschin.

Robert of Torigni (R.S. **82**, iv, 189) says, s.a. 1156: "Gilbert of Ghent also died"; and adds a note in the bottom margin: "And the young Simon, the son of earl Simon, since he lacked land, received by the gift of king Henry [Gilbert's] only daughter, along with his honour" [in Lincolnshire]. This statement shows that Simon did not have the honour of Huntingdon.

Gilbert was a supporter of king Stephen. He was a young man in 1141 (S.D., ii, 308). His father, Walter, who fought against the Scots in 1138 (E.C., 191), appears in the Lindsey survey (1115 × 1118), fos. 1, 6, 8, 16, 18-20, 22, 24, 26. Some of his lands descended to Simon III. For Walter's father, Gilbert of Ghent, see V.C.H. Lincolnshire, ii, 254-255; D.M., i, 628-629. He held land in many counties in 1086; see Ellis, Introduction to Domesday Book, i, 422-423; and Pipe Rolls, 1168-1169, xiii, 111. He was among those who escaped massacre in 1069, at the death of earl Robert of Comines (S.D., ii, 188). He is said to have been a son of count Baldwin [VI] of Flanders [queen Matilda's brother]: D.M., v, 491; cf. Dugdale's Baronage, i, 400; but this is erroneous, according to Le Prevost, in O.V., iii, 360. Gilbert's daughter Emma married Alan de Percy, who appears in the Lindsey survey. Another daughter of Gilbert married Ivo II, the son of Hugh de Grentemesnil; their daughter (perhaps) was Petronilla, who married Robert III, earl of Leicester. See O.V., iii, 360; cf. iv, 167, note; 168-169.

Charters of Simon [III], earl of Northampton, and Alicia, countess of Northampton, confirming a grant made by the countess's brother, Ralph, appear in the Register of Kirkstead (Cottonian MS. Vespasian E XVIII), fos. 99-100; cf. R.S. **91**, ii, p. xiv.

For Alice, see also the Register of Northampton, fos. 7, 12.

In 1157, the honour of Huntingdon was given to king Malcolm IV (E.C., 239). The biographer implies erroneously that Malcolm did not obtain the lands until 1159. See below, year 1157, note. The biographer is our authority for the facts that Malcolm did not receive the castle and borough of Northampton; and that he was succeeded in Huntingdon by king William in 1165.

King Malcolm's notice to his steward of Huntingdon that he had granted Piddington in Oxfordshire to the priory of St Frideswida in Oxford, is dated 1159, in D.M., ii, 135; but the grant was perhaps made 1162 × 1164, when Robert, the prior of Oxford, was in Scotland (at Peebles; Kelso, no. 400).

An earl Simon is mentioned in accounts of Yorkshire, 1164 × 1165; Pipe Rolls, viii, 49.

In the returns of knights fees in 1166, "the knights who held fees of the earldom of Simon after the death of king Henry [I]," and "the knights who held fees of earl Simon from the time of king Henry," are enrolled in the section for Lincolnshire: Hearne's Black Book, i, 269-272; Red Book, i, 381-384. These seem to have been the fees of earl Gilbert's honour in Lincolnshire, which Simon did not obtain until 1156 ×.

Earl Simon [III] was assessed in the scutage returns of Lincolnshire, for 1167-1168: Red Book of the Exchequer, i, 40.

In 1173, the earldom of Huntingdonshire, and all Cambridgeshire, were

the daughter of Robert [de Beaumont], the earl of Leicester, who was afterwards made justiciar of England. By her, [Simon] had Simon de Senlis the Third; and two daughters, whose names were Amicia and Hawisia.

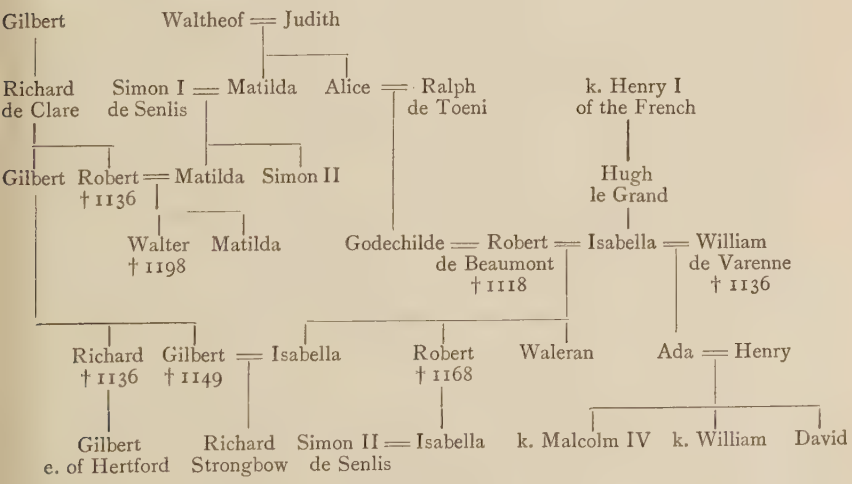
After the decease of Simon II, his son, Simon III, along with his land, was under the tutelage of king Henry II, for five years, or longer[1]; in this manner, that king Henry proposed to go to Toulouse, to storm it: and he took thither with him Malcolm,[2] the king of the Scots, and gave up to him the honour of Huntingdon, but retained for himself the castle and the borough of Northampton: while earl Simon III was still

given by king Henry the Younger to David, king William's brother (B.P. i, 45; E.C., 246-247). David obtained the castle of Huntingdon, but not the castle of Northampton (B.P., i, 48; E.C., 247). At the same time, Northumbria was given to king William. All these territories were lost in 1174.

Simon III called himself "earl of Northampton" on 28th March, 1175 (R.S. **83**, 313; **79**, i, 255-256). He was called "earl Simon of Huntingdon" in 1175, [July] (Foedera, i, **1**, 46; Hardy's Syllabus, i, 6).

Earl Simon III died in 1184 (see that year, below). The Inquisitions of 1185 show that he was no longer alive:—Rotuli de Dominabus, 16, 3. The honour of Huntingdon was restored to king William in 1185, and by him conferred upon his brother David; who held it from 1185 until † 1219.

Only a few of the relationships of the descendants of Matilda can be shown in a table.



[1] See p. 233.

[2] See year 1159.

committed to tutelage, as a minor.[1] The king of the Scots having thus entered the honour of Huntingdon, possessed it as long as he lived; so that although earl Simon very often appealed with regard to this, justice was always denied him. After the death of king Malcolm, his brother William succeeded him in all his possessions; and in his time also the said Simon was unable to obtain the favour of justice: until king Henry the Third (the son of king Henry II of England), and the said William, the king of the Scots, and his brother David, and [Robert de Beaumont] the earl of Leicester, and other nobles and magnates of England, made an insurrection against king Henry [II].[2] And the king, who was at that time dwelling in regions beyond the sea, wrote to the noble men Richard de Lucy (who was at that time justiciar of England), and to earl William [de Varenne, of Surrey], and to other magnates, his loyal subjects, [bidding them] collect the army of England, and proceed to besiege and storm the castle of Huntingdon; and give the whole honour over to earl Simon, and commit the siege to his control. This was done; and the whole honour of Huntingdon was, by the decision of the king's court and the barons of the kingdom, adjudged to earl Simon, as pertaining to him by hereditary right: and from the others who had previously occupied it, it was confiscated; deservedly, because they had made war upon the king from that fief, in which his vassals had been faithful, and ought to have been faithful. These things having been performed in order, the justiciar withdrew, along with very many barons. But earl Simon remained, as the leader, at the siege and in the army; and stayed there until the arrival of the king, to whom the castle was immediately surrendered.[3]

Earl Simon went round among his lands, and enriched his knights with lands and possessions, abundantly remunerating those that had served him; and he restored their full rights to those that had been ejected by the Scots. And so he possessed

[1] This appears to be incorrect. See above.

[2] In 1173.

[3] The castle was besieged from 8th May, 1174, to 21st July, when it surrendered to king Henry II. See E.C., 254-255; cf. L.A., 186-187.

Brompton (975) says that king Henry II destroyed the castle of Huntingdon, and gave the earldom to Simon III.

the honour of Huntingdon peacefully, without dispute or contention, throughout his whole life, in the time of king Henry. Also after his death, those whom he had invested possessed what had been bestowed upon them, while the land was in the hand of the king, for nearly a year[1]; until king Henry rendered the honour of Huntingdon to William, the king of the Scots; who immediately conferred it upon earl David, his brother.[2] This earl, however, without summons or judgement, has ejected all those whom earl Simon the Last had introduced, along with many who had been introduced by Simon, [Simon's] father.[3]

The fact that earl Simon [I] (who shone so much above the rest in knightly valour) never petitioned the king, either in person or through an intermediary, with regard to his capital inheritance, namely Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, which his wife's father and grandfather had obtained; nor afterwards king David, who had married [Simon's] widow; nor afterwards earl Simon the Intermediate, who excelled the others in strength, wisdom, and probity; nor afterwards king Malcolm; nor king William, his brother; nor earl Simon the Last; nor the countess Matilda: shows clearly, and in harmony with justice, that that land had devolved upon the king's disposal and adjudication.[4]

[1] Simon III died therefore nearly a year before Lent, 1185.

[2] In 1185. Cf. E.C., 288, i, 309.

The honour of Huntingdon was confiscated in 1217, and restored shortly before earl David's death in 1219. See years 1217, note; and 1219.

[3] This Life appears to have been written before the death of earl David; probably in the life-time of king William (× 1214; see above): and in the interest of Simon III's heirs and supporters. Earl David's right had been disputed. See E.C., 288.

Brompton adds (Twysden, 975): "Now this David had by Matilda, the sister of Randolph [de Blundeville], earl of Chester, John the Scot, who died without children [† 1237]; and three daughters:—Christina (the wife of Alan of Galloway) [=Margaret; see 1209]; Isabella de Bruce; and Alda [=Ada] de Hastings." See D.K., 66-68, 283.

[4] This is incorrect. The Scottish kings did claim Northumbria and Cumbria through Matilda. Simon II may have had a similar claim acknowledged for a time.

In an undated charter in Newminster Chartulary (S.S. 66, 212), "Simon, earl of Northumbria," granted to the monks of Newminster the nearer salt-works of Warkworth. Afterwards earl Henry repeated the concession made by his "brother Simon," in a charter addressed "to his justices, and

1110×1114—1111×1115

Morkinskinna, p. 175

. . . King [Sigurd Crusader] said: "It is known to all men that my father [Magnus Bareleg] had acquired in Ireland a great dominion, which is called Ulster. And since he died, we have not had any revenues from that dominion, in rents or taxes. And I will send thee [Ivar of Fiódir] west thither, to ask for the payment of these dues. I wish thee to go now at once out to Nídaróss, and to prepare thy journey as quickly as thou canst. And I will give thee both ship and men, and a supply of money according as thou thyself shalt ask."

Ivar replied: "I did not expect that there would be greater hurry [than this]; and yet nothing shall delay me." That same day he went from the king, out to Nídaróss; and he prepared his journey to the west beyond the sea. He had one ship and nearly sixty men, and he had many treasures, and great supply of money, from the king's castle. His journey

the barons, sheriffs, and ministers, and all his good men, of the whole of Northumberland, [both] French and English" (ibid., 212-213. See L.C., 438-439). These are preceded in the Chartulary by two later grants of the same to the same, made by Roger, Richard's son [lord of Warkworth], with the approval of his wife Alice (*Adeliza*), and his heirs; and by Roger's son, Robert (Newminster, 211-212).

Newminster was a Cistercian monastery in Northumberland, affiliated to Fountains Abbey (the parent house also originally bore the name Novum Monasterium: cf. Walbran's Fountains, ii, 70). Newminster was founded in 1137, and established on 5th January, 1138; its first abbot was consecrated about 6th January. See the Narratio de fundatione monasterii de Fontibus, in Walbran's Fountains, i, 58-61; J.H., 299-300; foundation charter in D.M., v, 399, dated 1138. Cf. above, year 1072, note. The foundation is dated 1138 in Cottonian MS. Vespasian A VI, fo. 56 verso. The monastery was destroyed by the Scots before it was six weeks old (E.C., 182).

A forger would hardly have ascribed the charter to so obscure an earl. Henry's confirmation, whether genuine or not, proves that there is no mistake in Simon's name. Probably both charters are genuine. If it is genuine, Simon's charter must have been given between the time of foundation of the monastery, and the time when Henry obtained the earldom of Northumbria; i.e. 1137×1139. The earldom was vacant in 1136 (E.C., 173); therefore Simon's investment in it must have been 1136×1139. Possibly his appointment to Northumbria was a cause or consequence of the Scottish invasion of 1137 (E.C., 174-175).

Simon II was the legal heir to Waltheof's earldom of Northumbria; and he seems to have been invested in it. But he lost it again at the peace made on 9th April, 1139 (E.C., 215).

was quickly ready, and he came to the west beyond the sea; and he remained that same winter in the Orkneys; and early in the spring, he came to Ireland, and had there an assembly, and conferences with men. . . . And he so conducted the case that they submitted to a fine; and it was very great. He received the money, and conveyed it to Norway.[1]

1115

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 65, s.a. 1115

Turgot, returning from Scotland to Durham, died; and was buried where he had long before been prior.[2]

The church of Scone was given over to canons.[3]

[1] According to Sigurd Crusader's Saga, c. 27 (F.S., vii, 124-126), Sigurd sent Ivar of Fiódir to Ireland, "to crave taxes and compensation for the loss and man-scathe" that the Norwegians had suffered there; and threatening to invade Ireland if these were refused. "Ivar took immediately one long-ship; he went out to the town [of Trondhjem], and prepared for his journey from there. He sailed west beyond the sea, to the Orkneys first; and there passed the winter. In the spring, he went to Ireland, and held an assembly with the rulers of the land. . . . Ivar so conducted this suit, that the Irish submitted to a fine; and that was a very great sum of money, which Ivar received, and conveyed east to Norway."

Ivar appears (from the saga) to have returned to Norway in the same summer (c. 32; u.s., p. 137. M., 181). He returned before the death of king Olaf (ibid., c. 33, p. 138; M., 181): therefore he went to Orkney 1110×1114.

[2] This is perhaps derived from S.D., ii, 249, 205.

Turgot died on 31st August; E.C., 135; Obituary of Durham, S.S. **13**, 151, 145. His translation is placed upon 3rd March; ibid., 141; on 7th March, 149.

Hoveden, i, 151, s.a. 1096: "William [of St Carileph], the bishop of Durham, died at Windsor, in the king's court; on the fourth day before the Nones of January, the second day of the week [i.e. Monday, 2nd January; derived from S.D., ii, 226. The true reading is in S.D., i, 134:—Wednesday, 2nd Jan., 1096]. But he was buried at Durham, in the chapter-house, on the northern side; having to the south the body of bishop Walchere [† 1080]: and in the middle rests Turgot, formerly bishop of the Scots, and prior of the church [of Durham]."

Turgot's body was elevated in 1284; Chronicle of Lanercost, 113-114; Maxwell's translation, 36-37.

[3] This note has been added after the following annal was written. Cf. Fordun, V, 28; Bower, V, 37; D.B., 144. A Chronicle in Edinburgh Univ. Lib. reads: "In the 8th year of his reign, [Alexander I] founded the monastery of [Scone] . . . in the year of the Lord 1114; and he built it at

1116

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 94, s.a. 1116[1]

Lodmund,[2] Donald's son, the king of Scotland's grandson, was killed by the men of Moray.[3]

?1117

Icelandic Annals, version K (Storm's Islandske Annaler, p. 19), s.a. 1116[4]

The slaying of earl Magnus the Holy.[5]

his own expense. And he caused its church to be dedicated in honour of the Holy Trinity by Turgot, the bishop of St Andrews" (Miss Borland, Catalogue of MSS., 329-330).

The abbey of Scone had formerly been occupied by céli-dé. It was re-founded by king Alexander I as an Augustinian abbey. His foundation charter (Scone, no. 1; 1131 × 1122) is almost certainly spurious; but Scone, nos. 2 (L.C., no. 47; July 1122 × Apr. 1124) and 3-4 (L.C. nos. 48-49; Dec. 1123 × Apr. 1124) may be genuine. Cf. year 1163, note.

In the margin of C.M. is a later addition, s.a. 1115: "Bernard, the first abbot of Tiron, died. He was succeeded by Ralph, the abbot of Selkirk; and William, a Tironian monk, was made abbot of Selkirk." This note is copied by Bower, i, 286. See year 1119.

According to the Chronicle of Maillezais (B.R., xii, 406), Bernard, the abbot of Tiron, died on 25th April, 1116; and was succeeded by Hugh, a monk of the same monastery. Cf. Tiron, no. 14. The editors of A.S. believe the year of Bernard's death to have been 1117. Geoffrey's Life of Bernard, 247, 248, 250, says that he died not many days after the 5th day of the 11th day of Easter: i.e., some days after the 14th day after Easter. Easter was 2nd April in 1116, 25th March in 1117. This statement does not contradict, and may be thought to confirm, the date given by the Maillezais chronicle.

[1] With f.n. and e. of 1116, and the marginal note "bissextile."

[2] *Ladhmunn.* He seems to have been a son of Donald, son of Malcolm III. See year 1085. Lodmund's name is Scandinavian, and may be considered an indication of his mother's nationality.

[3] Similarly in A.L.C., i, 106.

[4] With dominical letters of 1116.

[5] O adds (59, s.a. 1116): "in the Orkneys." CE read (112, 251, with dominical and paschal letters of 1116): "The passion of St Magnus the earl" (C); "And St Magnus, the earl of Orkney, [died] according to some" (E). A (Fl., iii, 511, s.a. 1115, with d.l. and p.l. of 1115): "The holy Magnus, earl in the Orkneys, was martyred." This was Magnus, Erlend's son.

EA also place "the slaying of earl Magnus" under 1101 (with d.l. and p.l. of 1101).

Magnus was buried at Birsay; and his remains were afterwards removed

to Kirkwall. See year 1168, note. Some of his remains were taken to Skálholt in Iceland, in 1298 (CDA). The appointment of his festival in Iceland in 1326 is noted by CDPA.

For the story of the death of Magnus, cf. Fl., ii, 430-436; O.S., cc. 47-55, i, 74-82 (of an unhistorical character); St Magnus' Saga, and the shorter St Magnus' Saga, in R.S. 88, i, 237-298.

Cf. the Latin Life of St Magnus, in Metcalfe's Lives, ii, 227-244; which says (242): "The death-day of the earl St Magnus fell two nights after the festival of Tiburtius and Valerianus [14th April]: it was the second day of the week when the famous man was killed, three weeks after the festival of Mary in the time of Lent [25th March]. He had then held dominion as earl, along with Hakon, for 12 years [1103×-1114×]. Sigurd Crusader then ruled Norway, along with his brothers, Eystein and Olaf [1103-?1116]; 74 years had passed since the death of St Olaf, Harold's son [† 1030]. It was in the time of pope Paschal, the second of his name [1099-†1118]; and of St John, the bishop of Holar, in Iceland" [1106-†1121]; and quotes from a legend by "Master Robert, who composed a history in the Latin language, in honour of the earl St Magnus" (242), "when 20 years had elapsed after [Magnus's] passion" (244), the following (243): "[Magnus] suffered in the year after the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 1104; on Monday, the sixteenth of the Kalends of the month of May" [16th April; Saturday before Easter in 1104]. Cf. St Magnus' Saga, c. 28. 16th April was not a Monday between 1106 and 1117.

Fl., ii, 435 (O.S., c. 54) says that Magnus and Hakon had been earls in Orkney together for 7 winters; and that Magnus died "two nights after Tiburcius' mass," A.D. 1091. The year-numbers are obviously wrong in both accounts. The divergence between Fl.'s "7 winters" and the Life's "12 years" may be due to a textual error, of confusion between *uii* and *xii*. Neglecting the year-numbers, we should deduce from the synchronisms of the Life that Magnus died 1114×1118.

The Icelandic Annals place St Magnus's death in the year of the death of king Olaf, Magnus Bareleg's son. This probably rests upon tradition, and not merely upon the statement that St Magnus died during the reign of Olaf. But if that statement in the Life is true, and if the Legend correctly places the death of Magnus on a Monday, the death of king Olaf as well as of St Magnus would not have occurred before 1117.

O.S. and the Latin Life fix with some probability the time when Magnus became earl; it was 1106×?1112 (see below). Adding to this the length of his earldom, we should deduce the time of his death, from Fl., to have been 1113×?1119; and from the Latin Life, 1117×1124. Therefore the Latin Life implies that Magnus was earl from 1106 to 1117. But assuming 1117 to have been the year of his death, if Fl.'s "7 winters" are the true extent of his earldom, he would have become earl in 1110. The earlier date is probably more nearly correct, since O.S. implies that Magnus was made earl a winter later than Hakon (∴ in 1106).

According to O.S., c. 45, Magnus Erlend's son had been made cup-bearer to king Magnus. Being accused by the king of cowardliness, he

1118

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 66

Matilda, queen of the English, died.[1]

escaped from the king's fleet, while it lay off Scotland, after the battle at Anglesey, in [1098] (i, 71 ; MS. *b*) : "[Magnus] hid himself for a while in the wood ; and he escaped later to the court of Malcolm, the Scottish king" [the king of Scotland was Edgar]. "And he remained there for a time ; but occasionally he was with a certain bishop in Wales ; occasionally he was in England, or in various places with his friends. And he did not come to the Orkneys while king Magnus lived." Cf. Fl., ii, 428.

Magnus Erlend's son's flight occurred in [1102], according to H., Magnus Bareleg, c. 23. See above, year 1102. Cf. the Latin Life, cc. 8-12 (Metcalfe's Lives, ii, 224-227). The Latin Life says that while he was in Scotland, Magnus heard of the death of his father, earl Erlend ; and went to Caithness.

According to O.S. and the Latin Life (225 ; c. 10), Hakon Paul's son was made earl of part of Orkney by the kings of Norway, 1 or 2 winters after the death of king Magnus ; but he subdued all the Orkneys. Magnus went next spring to Norway, while king Sigurd was absent on the crusade (1106×?1112) ; and king Eystein gave him half of the Orkneys, with the title of earl.

O.S. says that earl Magnus ruled generously, but strictly. He made a nominal marriage with "a maiden of the noblest family of Scotland" (75).

Magnus and Hakon ruled the Orkneys together in amity. They "fought with the chieftain that was called Donald, and was a generation farther off than cousin of the earls ; and he fell before them." This Donald should therefore have been a great-grandson of the earls' grandmother, Ingibiorg ; perhaps a grandson of Donald († 1085), and possibly a son of Lodmund († 1116). But a great-grandson of Ingibiorg and Malcolm III could hardly have been of military age in 1116. It must be borne in mind that this part of O.S. has not great historical value.

Earls Magnus and Hakon killed Thorbiorn, a noble man, in Burra Firth, in Shetland (O.S., c. 49).

Men made trouble between the earls, who prepared for battle in Pomona (cc. 49-50). Friends tried to reconcile the earls ; they met "a little before Palm Sunday," and agreed to make peace in Easter week. They met in Egilsay, after Easter ; but Hakon had brought forces ; he took Magnus captive, and by his nobles' counsel put him to death (cc. 50-53).

Easter was 25th March, in 1117 ; 2nd April, in 1116.

[1] This is perhaps derived from S.D. See E.C., 126, note : D.K., 32.

C.H., 33, s.a. 1118 : " . . . Matilda, the queen of England, died."

A.U., ii, 98, s.a. 1118 (with f.n. and e. of 1118) : "Mary Malcolm's daughter, daughter of the king of Scotland and wife of the king of England, died." So also in A.L.C., i, 108.

O.V., iv, 313, s.a. 1118 ; "Thereafter queen Matilda, who had in baptism been called Edith, died, on the Kalends of May [May 1st], and

1119

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 66, s.a. 1119

Herbert, a monk, was elected to the abbacy of Kelso.[1]

1120×1121

Eadmer's Miracles of St Anselm; in Liebermann's Ungedruckte Anglonormannische Geschichtsquellen, pp. 311-312

Afterwards, when at the request of Alexander, king of the Scots, I had been transferred to Scotland, to the episcopate of St Andrews, and dwelling there for some time had become known and acceptable to the people of that district, it happened

rests buried in the church of St Peter at Westminster." See W.M., ii, 495. For notices of her death, cf., i.a., B.R., xii, 344, 784; xiii, 674; A.C., 36; Annals of Rouen, A.N.G., 47; Continuator of William of Jumièges, H.N.S., 305-306. Cf. year 1093, above; and E.C., 126, note.

She died on 1st May (E.C.).

[1] This is added to the text, perhaps by the text hand, at the foot of fo. 16; in the middle of the word *cardina|les.*

In the margin are the later notes: "1st abbot of Kelso"; and, above and below this, "Ralph, the abbot of Tiron, died. He was succeeded by William, the abbot of Selkirk; and [William] was succeeded afterwards by the first abbot of Kelso." See years 1128, 1115 note.

Bower, i, 286, copying this note, reads; " . . . And Herbert was made the 3rd abbot of Selkirk, and the first of Kelso; since the monastery was transferred thither by king David, in the year of the Lord 1126. And two years after the transference of the convent, he founded the church of Kelso."

William was abbot of Tiron before 1st November, 1119; Tiron, no. 20. Cf. nos. 28, 29, 189, 210, 258, 279, 293, etc. He was still abbot in 1147; nos. 291, 292; cf. 299.

In 1120, abbot William decreed that abbots subject to Tiron in foreign lands should assemble at Tiron every third year, at Pentecost. Tiron, no. 31.

During William's abbacy, king David of Scotland granted to the monks of Tiron immunity from dues upon one ship every year; to land anywhere in his territories, to buy and sell, and to fish. Tiron, no. 60; L.C., no. 136.

On 16th March, 1132 (Tiron, no. 182), pope Innocent II confirmed the possessions of the monastery, naming first among them:—"In the kingdom of England, in the bishopric of St Davids, the church of St Mary of Cathmeis, with its appanages [founded before 1120; Tiron, nos. 25, 26, 31]; in the bishopric of St Andrews of Scotland, the abbey of St Mary of Roxburgh, with its appanages"; and last:—"the church of St Andrew of England, with its appanages" [this was a priory in the diocese of Winchester; cf. nos. 204, 292].

The list of possessions is much longer in the confirmation of 1147 (no. 291).

that a certain matron of noble English birth and everywhere approved in the Christian religion, Eastorhild by name, was troubled with serious bodily weakness, and to so great extent that everyone who came testified that nothing but death remained for her.

She had formerly heard the renown of father Anselm's sanctity ; but being then more fully instructed concerning it by me (since she delighted exceedingly in the good deeds of others), she permitted to be put round her that father's girdle (of which we have related several things above), although she would have chosen rather dissolution, and to be with Christ. When this had been done, she began immediately to improve ; and after a few days was restored to most perfect health, to the astonishment of all.

In this I was present, this I saw ; and not I only, but many with me rejoiced very greatly over these things so done, and rendered praises and thanks to God.

Thereafter when zeal for the fear of God and desire for the safety of my soul compelled me to leave Scotland for the time, and to return to the mother of all England, the church, I mean, of Canterbury, which had nourished me from infancy, to seek counsel in these things, which greatly troubled me, I came there but found there none of the things that had drawn me thither. For the archbishop Ralph was ill, and so long as he continued in this life no health returned to him.

1121

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 66, s.a. 1121

Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, in the previous year elected to the episcopate of St Andrews in Scotland, abandoned his intention of ruling the bishopric, and returned to his own place.[1]

1122

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 67

In the year 1122, John, the bishop of Glasgow, set out for Rome and Jerusalem.[2]

Pope Calixtus and the emperor Henry were reconciled.

[1] This is derived from S.D. (E.C., 145). See E.C., 136-147, 151-154.

[2] Bishop John left his see rather than submit to the pretensions of the archbishop of York, supported by the pope. See E.C., 147-150.

King Henry came to Carlisle.[1]

Ralph, the archbishop of Canterbury, died.[2]

Sibylla, the queen of Scotland, died on the third[3] day before the Ides of July.[4]

1123

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 67

In the year 1123, John, the bishop of Glasgow, was compelled by pope Calixtus to return to his bishopric.[5]

1124

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 110, s.a. 1124[6]

Alexander, Malcolm's son, the king of Scotland, died in good penitence.[7]

[1] S.D., ii, 267, s.a. 1122: "In this year, after the festival of St Michael [29th September], king Henry entered the Northumbrian regions and turned away from York towards the western sea, in order to examine the ancient city that in the language of the Britons is called Cairleil, and now in English Carleol; and in Latin, Lugubalia. And giving money he ordered that it should be fortified with a castle and with towers. Returning thence to York, after serious complaints of the citizens and their fellow-provincials he returned to Southumbria."

[2] On 19th September, S.D.

[3] 13th July. S.D. reads "fourth"; i.e., 12th July. Her death is placed in the Durham obituaries under 12th and 13th July (S.S. **13**, 144, 151). Bower (i, 291, 316) says that she died on the island in Loch Tay (cf. Scone, no. 2; L.C., no. 47), on 13th July.

[4] These notes are probably derived from S.D., ii, 264-267: but they are arranged in different order. Cf. E.C., 147-148, 150.

Alexander's marriage and the death of Sibylla are noted (from W.M.) in the 1291 chronicle of Malmesbury (Palgrave, 115).

In ?1122 (5 Aug. 1122 × 4 Aug. 1123) Ralph, bishop of Orkney (consecrated × 1114), was present at the death of Hugh, the abbot of Selby. Historia monasterii Selebiensis, c. 29; Labbe, Nova Bibliotheca, i, 607-608.

[5] Derived from S.D. (E.C., 154).

John witnessed a charter of 23rd April, 1124 (Kelso, no. 1). For his death, see year 1147.

According to Glasgow, no. 1 (L.C., no. 50), Glasgow was declared, × 1124, to be the pontifical see of Cumbria.

[6] With f.n. and e. of 1124, and the marginal note "bissextile."

[7] So also in A.L C., i, 116.

Alexander's death and David's succession are noticed in the Annals of Multifernan, 7, s.a. 1124.

1124

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. *67-68*

In the year 1124, Alexander, the king of the Scots, died, on the seventh day before the Kalends of May[1]; and his brother David succeeded him.

In the same year, four months before his death, [king Alexander] caused Robert, the prior of Scone, to be elected bishop of St Andrews[2]; but his ordination was for a long time deferred.[3]

[1] 25th April. This day is probably derived from J.W. Similarly C.H. 33: "In 1124, Alexander of good memory, king of the Scots, died on the seventh day before the Kalends of May." But S.D. dates his death on 26th April. Fordun, i, 230 (Bower, i, 291), says that he died and was buried on the 24th.

The best authority is perhaps A.S.C. E, which says that Alexander died on 23rd April, 1124. See D.K., 53-56.

[2] Robert was perhaps appointed after the news of Eadmer's death had reached Scotland († 13 Jan. 1124; D.B., 4). Robert was consecrated, according to J.W., (E.C., 164-165) in 1128; but he was in fact already bishop on 17th July, 1127: L.C., no. 73; National MSS. of Scotland, i, no. 27 (D.B., 5). He died in 1159.

[3] The whole passage is derived (with exception of the date) from S.D. (E.C., 155).

After the death of king Edgar, David had obtained dominion over the southern part of Scotland (1107 × 1124). See E.C., 193. He is called "prince of the region of Cumbria" in Glasgow, no. 1 (L.C., no. 50). David's territory included Scottish Cumbria. English Cumbria was at this time ruled by Richard, viscount of Avranches (1101 - † 25 Nov. 1120), who was the son of Hugh (see 1098) and grandson of Emma, William I's half-sister; and who married Matilda of Blois († 25 Nov. 1120), the same William's granddaughter, the sister of Stephen who was afterwards king: and after Richard's death, by Randolph le Meschin (cf. years 1072, 1190, notes).

David's principality was probably subordinate to Alexander's kingdom. Cf. i.a. Rait's Scotland, 19-20.

Before his accession, Alexander also had been earl of some district in Scotland. See year 1104.

For the extent of David's dominions see his charters; L.C., nos. 29, 30, 32, 35, 1114 × 1120; nos. 34 (cf. 33, 24), 46, 1115 × 1124; nos. 51, 52, 53, 1114 × 1124.

See Glasgow, no. 1; L.C., no. 50. Wetherhal, 384-388 (cf. D.M., iii, 584-585); and Bain, ii, 16. L.C., no. 123. Farren's Lancashire Pipe Rolls, 274-275.

W.M. seems to imply that David did not receive the title of earl until his marriage (ii, 476: "King [Henry I] had made [David] an earl, and had given him a noble woman in marriage." E.C., 157). He bore the title of

1124

Inserted folio 13 in the Chronicle of Melrose; p. 52

And [Edgar's] brother Alexander succeeded him in the kingdom, reigning gloriously for seventeen years: and entering the way of all flesh in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1124, on the sixth day before the Kalends of May.[1]

1124

Verse Chronicle, inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, s.a. 1107; p. 228[2]

King Alexander's reign lasted for seventeen summers, and eight[3] months. After peace flourished firmly in all Scotland, death is said to have taken the king at Stirling.

1124

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version F; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 175

Alexander [reigned] for seventeen years, and three months and a half. He died in Crasleth.[4] He was buried in Dunfermline.[5]

earl (i.e., earl of Huntingdon) from 1114 until his accession to the throne of Scotland in 1124. See year ? 1114.

The earldom, marriage, and succession, of David, are noted from W.M. by the 1291 chronicle of Malmesbury (Palgrave, 115).

King David occupied part of English Cumbria in the wars against Stephen. His son Henry obtained from Stephen Carlisle and Doncaster, in 1136. Carlisle was not given up until 1157.

The Chronicle of Peterborough (Caxton Society, 82) s.a. 1124, says that pope Calixtus II "conceded to English and Scots to go twice to St Davids, instead of one pilgrimage to Rome, because of the danger of the ways." I have not found the source of this statement. Calixtus was pope 1119-† 1124. The bishop of St David's at this time was Bernard, formerly queen Matilda's chancellor (F.W., ii, 68). Bernard arbitrated in a dispute over the church of Kirkham, in Lancashire (L.C., 374-375); and in 1144 spoke to pope Lucius II in the interests of the newly created priory of St Andrews (below, pp. 205-206).

David, king of Scotland, witnessed an agreement made in presence of king Henry at Woodstock in 1126, between Urban, the bishop of Llandaff, and Robert, the earl of Gloucester (Book of Llân Dav, 29).

[1] I.e., on 26th April—S.D.'s date.

[2] Cf. the Bodleian version, P. & S., 181.

[3] *octo*, which does not satisfy the metre. B. reads correctly "three."

[4] *Cruflet*, in G: *Strafleth*, I. He may have died in a religious house

(see A.U., above). He seems to have been in Perth Jan. × Apr. 1124, when he made a grant to the priory of Scone (L.C., no. 48; L.A., 94; cf. E.C., 155). Fordun, i, 230 (Bower, i, 291), says that he died at Stirling.

[5] So also in versions GI (303, 290), and similarly in K (207); but K omits the place of Alexander's death. N (306), which is here confused, omits Alexander's reign. M (300) calls Alexander the third, David the fourth, son of Malcolm. See year 1093, note.

PART VI

Reign of David, and the Wars of Stephen

1125

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 68, s.a. 1125

The legate John of Crema came to England, and to king David at Roxburgh. And on his return, he held a council at London. . . .

There was very great famine throughout England.[1]

?1125

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 34, s.a. 1125

Sheriff G. died.[2]

[1] These events are derived from S.D., ii, 277-278 (E.C., 158-159).

C.H., 34, notes under 1125: "A great famine and a great council" (from S.D. or C.M.).

On 13th April, 1125, pope Honorius II commended his legate John to David, king of Scotland; empowering John to hold a council in Scotland. P.L. **166**, 1232; L.C., no. 55.

John, bishop of Glasgow (*Lothene*), was among those that accompanied John of Crema from London to Rome, after 29th September, 1125: "And they were there received by pope Honorius with great honour; and were there all that winter" (A.S.C. E, s.a. 1125). See E.C., 160 ff.

[2] A sheriff Gospatric witnessed earl David's charter to the monastery of Selkirk (1119×20; Kelso, no. 1; L.C., no. 35). If this was the sheriff who died in 1125, he would appear to have been succeeded by another of the same name; who, as "sheriff Gospatric," witnessed charters in L.C. nos. 65 (23 Apr. 1126×24 Mar. 1127) and 83 (1124×1147; Glasgow, no. 4); cf. 189 (1147×1150) and 190 (1147×1152), from which it appears that the monastery of Jedburgh had acquired the tithes of "Crailing of sheriff Gospatric," with the consent of Gospatric's chaplain of Crailing. This Gospatric seems to have been connected with Roxburghshire, and may have been sheriff of that county.

This may have been a relative of earl Gospatric. See year 1072, note.

Probably G. stands for Gospatric, and C.H. has placed his death at least one year too early.

1125

Ordericus Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica, vol. ii, p. 289

When he had completed fifteen years in the rule [of the monastery of Crowland], the venerable abbot and priest, Geoffrey, died, on the Nones of June[1]; and Waltheof (an Englishman; a monk of the monastery of Crowland; the brother of Gospatric), of the great nobility of the English, succeeded him.[2]

1127

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 68

In the year 1127, David, the king of Scotland, and all the archbishops, abbots, earls, and barons, of the whole of England, at London, on the day of the Lord's Circumcision,[3] swore [to give] the kingdom to the empress.[4]

[1] 5th June, 1125.

[2] To the same effect in O.V., iv, 428-429.

It has been assumed that this Waltheof was the son of Gospatric Maldred's son: this is uncertain, but possible.

Waltheof, Siward's son, (second cousin of Waltheof Gospatric's son) had been buried in Crowland abbey. See year 1072, notes.

An abbot of Crowland was deposed in 1138. J.H., 299.

[3] 1st January, 1127.

[4] This is derived from S.D. (E.C., 162-163).

Ralph Niger, 178, s.a. 1123, notes: "First of the laymen swore David, the king of Scotland"; from W.M. (E.C., 163, note).

Later in the same year, Matilda married Geoffrey, count of Anjou. Her sex, her marriage, her absence, and her character, disinclined the nobles to fulfil their vow. See years 1135, 1139, 1141.

David's oath to support Matilda is mentioned by the 1291 chronicles of Bridlington and of Carlisle (Palgrave, 62, 72); and in Edward's letter to Boniface (Foedera, i, 2, 932).

For evidence of David's visit to England, see the Pipe Rolls of 1129-1130, pp. 7, 9, 24, 31, 35, 36, 128, 131, 133.

A similar oath of fealty had been given to Matilda's brother William at Salisbury, in 1116 (C.M., from F.W. or S.D.), on 19th March, by all the earls and barons of England; among whom was probably earl David. William was drowned on 25th November, 1120, after having done homage to Louis VI, king of the French, and obtaining the dukedom of Normandy.

On 25th January, [1127,] pope Honorius II proclaimed William, archbishop of Canterbury, his legate in England and Scotland (P.L. 166, 1272). Cf. E.C., 163.

In L.C., no. 73, Robert appears as bishop of St Andrews on 17th July, 1127. For his consecration see H. & S., ii, 215; and E.C., 164-166, where the year given ought to be 1127, instead of 1128.

1128

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 68, 69

In the year 1128, the church of the Holy Rood at Edinburgh began to be founded.[1] . . .

The church of Kelso was founded, on the fifth day before the Nones of May.[2]

ca. 1128

Heimskringla, Magnus' sons' Saga, c. 26[3]

Harold Gilli came to Norway.

Hallkel Húkr, son of John Smior-balti, was a baron in Mærr. He went west beyond the sea, and as far as the Hebrides.[4]

[1] Similarly in C.H., 34. For king David's foundation charter, see L.C., no. 153. The church was occupied by Augustinian canons (E.C., 327 ; De Domibus Religiosis, at end of this book ; cf. Bower, i, 296).

Five years later, the Cistercian abbey of Heiligenkreuz-bei-Baden, in Austria, was founded : v. Cistercian Foundations, J.B.A.A., xxvi, 283, 358, s.a. 1133.

Holyrood abbey seems to have obtained the Black Rood, a relic brought by Margaret from Austria, and adored by Margaret and David at their deaths. See Turgot, under year 1093 ; and E.C., 234. It was believed to contain a portion of the cross of Christ.

[2] I.e., on 3rd May. This note is derived from S.D. (E.C., 164).

The Tironian monks were removed to Kelso from Selkirk. See years 1119, 1134. Cf. L.C., no. 194.

In the Cistercian Foundations list to 1234, an *Abbatia Calocerii ;* in the list to 1247, a house *de Colocherio*, is entered, under 1129 (J.B.A.A., xxvi, 283, 357). These may have been mis-readings of the name *Calcehou* "Kelso."

[3] Unger's c. 34. The parallel passage in Sigurd Crusader's Saga, c. 47 (F.S., vii, 163) differs somewhat.

This is related between the death of king Eystein (placed in [1023]) and the building of Krosskirkia (placed in [1027]). In Fr. (302) and M. (192), Harold's going to Norway is told of after the latter event. Fagrskinna (below) implies that Harold went to Norway 5 winters after Eystein's death ; Theoderic says, a few years before Sigurd's death : i.e., 1127 × 1128.

In Heimskringla and Sigurd Crusader's Saga, the preceding chapter describes a dream by which king Sigurd was warned of the coming of a man of importance to Norway. So also in Fr., 305 : "And a little afterward came Hallkel Húkr to land, and brought with him Harold and his mother." Similarly in M., 195.

[4] In Sigurd Crusader's Saga : "A little after [king Sigurd's dream], a powerful man who was called Hallkel Húkr, went from the land. He went west beyond the sea, first to the Orkneys, and from there to the Hebrides."

There came out from Ireland to him the man who was called Gillacrist, and who professed to be a son of king Magnus Bareleg. His mother accompanied him, and said that he was called Harold by a second name.[1]

Hallkel received these people, and conveyed them with him to Norway; [he went] at once to king Sigurd with Harold and [Harold's] mother.[2] . . .

[1] In Sigurd Crusader's Saga: " . . . Gille-crist. His mother went with him, and said that by his true name he was called Harold, and that he was the son of king Magnus Bareleg."

Cf. O.S., c. 62; and Fl., ii, 440-441. O.S. says that Harold's "mother's family was in the Hebrides, and some in Ireland" ("his mother was in Sudrey" Fl.). O.S. says also that when Kali, Koll's son (afterwards earl; see year 1136), was 15 winters old, he met Harold in Grimsby. Kali was born after 1099; therefore this meeting would, according to O.S., have taken place 1115×.

O.S. and Fl. say: "There [to Grimsby] came very many men, [from Norway, Fl.] from the Orkneys, and from Scotland [Sutherland?], and [also O.S.] from the Hebrides." It is implied that they went there for purposes of commerce.

[2] Sigurd Crusader's Saga does not say that the mother went to Norway: "Then Harold betook himself to journeying with Hallkel. They went east to Norway. Harold went at once to king Sigurd, when he came to land . . ."

With them went Thorkel Fosterer (H., Magnus and Harold Gilli, c. 14—Unger's c. 16. Harold Gilli's Saga, c. 18—F.S., vii, 201).

For Harold's going to Norway, cf. the following.

Ágrip, c. 50 (F.S., x, 418): "But after this" (after king Sigurd had caused his subjects to swear that his son Magnus should succeed him), "there came east from Ireland the man that was called Harold Gillacrist, and who claimed to be the son of Magnus, and brother of Sigurd . . ."

Fagrskinna, c. 250, p. 334: "Five winters after the death of king Eystein, the man that was called Harold came east from Ireland, and declared that he was a son of Magnus Bareleg. He had in Ireland been called Gillacrist."

F. says that Eystein died 7 winters after his brother Olaf, who died in mid-winter, 1115: i.e., in 1122 or 1123. Fr. (300), M. (189), and Sigurd Crusader's Saga (c. 41), say that Eystein died 6 winters after Olaf: i.e., in 1121 or 1122. Theoderic says erroneously that Olaf died 3 years after Magnus's death, i.e. in 1106.

Theoderic (c. 32) and H. say that Eystein reigned for 20 winters; and H. says that he died on 29th August, [1123].

Theoderic, c. 34 (Storm's Monumenta, 66-67): "*Of Harold of Ireland.* At this time" (in the reign of Sigurd) "one Harold came from Scotia to king Sigurd, saying that he was his brother—the son of king Magnus surnamed Barefoot—; and humbly begging to be permitted to prove what

1130

Annals of Innisfallen, Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores, vol. ii, part 2, p. 109; O'Conor's year 1113 = 1130[1]

Slaughter of the men of Moray[2] in Scotland.

1130

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 124, s.a. 1130[3]

A battle [was fought] between the men of Scotland and the men of Moray; and in it four thousand of the men of Moray fell, including their king, Angus, the son of Lulach's daughter; and a thousand (or, more correctly, a hundred) of the men of Scotland fell in the encounter.[4]

he said, according to the laws of the land. And king Sigurd (more severely than was just, as it seemed to some) commanded him to walk upon nine red-hot plough-shares, contrary to ecclesiastical censure" (i.e., in spite of the protest of a bishop); "but divinely aided, as it is believed, he appeared un-burnt.

"A few years afterwards, king Sigurd died." ("And shortly after this, the king died, in the east, in Oslo" Ágrip, u.s., p. 419.)

Sigurd died, according to the Heimskringla, on the 26th of March, [1130]; 27 winters after the death of Magnus Bareleg (Theoderic; Ágrip; Sigurd Crusader's Saga; H.; F.; Fr.; in 1130, Icelandic Annals KOCEA).

The ordeal is also spoken of by the Ágrip, and H., F., Fr., M., and Sigurd Crusader's Saga (but the last four read 7 plough-shares instead of 9).

Morkinskinna, 192: "Then had come to king Sigurd the man that was called Harold Gillacrist, and who professed to be a son of king Magnus Bareleg. Hallkel Húkr had gone west beyond the sea, and as far as the Hebrides. And that man came to him there; and his mother accompanied him. Harold was then in king Sigurd's company, and not in great honour . . ." Similarly, but more briefly, in Fr., 302.

Harold Gilli made an agreement not to claim the kingdom of Norway in the life-time of Sigurd Crusader. Upon Sigurd's death, Harold obtained half of the kingdom, while the other half was held by Magnus, Sigurd's son (H., Magnus and Harold Gilli, c. 1).

War broke out between the kings in 1134 (H., u.s., c. 3). Magnus was blinded and maimed in 1135 (c. 8). He entered a monastery in Trondhjem; and Harold Gilli alone ruled Norway for one winter [1135-1136] (c. 12). Then Harold fell by the hand of Sigurd Slembir, another claimant by ordeal. See year 1136.

[1] With ferial and epact of 1130.

[2] *Ar fer Muriam.*

[3] With f.n. and e. of 1130.

[4] *i frithguin.* This passage is copied by A.L.C., i, 128.

1130

Robert de Torigni, Cronica, in M.G.H., Scriptores, vol. vi, pp. 489-490; s.a. 1130

Angus, the earl of Moray, was killed; and David, the king of Scotland, held the earldom thenceforward.[1]

1130

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 69

In the year 1130, Angus, the earl of Moray, was killed with his people[2] by the Scots.[3]

Before and after 1131

Additions to the Book of Deer, pp. 91-95

[no. 1][4] Columcille and Drostan,[5] Cosgrach's son, his disciple, came from Iona, by the inspiration of God, to Aberdour.[6] And Bede,[7] a Pict, was mormaer of Buchan when

[1] This passage has been written over an erasure; according to Bethmann, by R.T. himself. It is not in MS. 2. The original version, preserved in three other MSS. (4, 7^b, 8^d), is translated in E.C., 166-167, note.

[2] *cum gente sua.*

[3] Perhaps derived from C.M., C.H. (34) reads: "In 1130, Angus, the earl of Moray, was killed by the Scots."

Cf. O.V., VIII, 32, iii, 403-405 (E.C., 166-167. On p. 167, for "Siward's son Edward" read "Edward, son of Siward." Cf. above, year 1055, note).

[4] In facsimile, 90 × 91, Plates III and IV; and in Nat. MSS. of Scotland, i, no. 1. Written in early Gaelic. Cf. L.C., no. 1.

[5] *Drostán mac Cósgreg.* If this had occurred in the life-time of Columba, the date would have been 565 × 597. But the story is fabulous. There is no historical account of Drostan, who seems to have been the patron saint of the original monastery of Deer. Cf. Macbain's ed., 150. L.C., 221-222.

The Aberdeen Breviary (without authority), i, 8, fo. xix, under 14th December, says that Drostan was "born of the royal family of the Scots"; he was godly from childhood, and at maturity was given to his uncle, Columba, then in Ireland, to be trained; he took the habit at Dalquongale, and afterwards became abbot there; then took up the life of an anchorite "in regions of Scotland," and "built a church in the place that is called Glenesk": "the bones of the most holy confessor Drostan are laid in a stone tomb at Aberdour; and there many oppressed by various afflictions of disease are restored by his merits to health."

Cf. A.S., 11th July, iii, 190-191.

[6] I.e., Aberdour in Buchan, Aberdeenshire.

[7] In text, *Béde;* in Nat. MS. facs., *Bedé;* Stuart's facs., *Hede.* Below, the name is spelt *Bédé.*

they came there; and he made the offering of that town to them, in freedom for ever from mormaer and from toisech.[1]

They came afterwards to another town; and it pleased Columcille, because it was full of God's grace[2]: and he asked of the mormaer[3] Bede, that it should be given to him. But he did not give it.

After he had refused the clerics, his son fell ill, and was upon the point of death[4]; whereupon the mormaer went to beseech the clerics to pray for his son, that health might come to him: and he gave to them as an offering [the land] from the [boundary-]stone of the well to the [boundary-] stone of Gartnait's son's farm. They prayed, and health came to him.

Thereupon Columcille gave that town to Drostan, and blessed it; and left a curse[5] that whoever should oppose it should not be long-lived or victorious.

Drostan shed tears upon parting with Columcille. Columcille said: "Let tear[6] henceforward be its name."

Before 1131

[no. 2][7] Comgell, Aed's son,[8] gave to Columcille and to Drostan [the land] from Orti to Furene.[9]

[1] The titles *mormaer* and *toisech* were nearly equivalent to "earl" (of a province), and "chief" (of a clan; i.e., a feudal baron, or "thane" of a district). *Toisech* became later an equivalent of medieval Latin *dux*. Cf. L.C., 223-224.

[2] This is Stokes's translation of *iarfallán dó rath Dé*.

[3] Stokes's translation of *dorodloeg* [*e* superscript; in Nat. MSS. facsimile, dots show that it should stand between *o* and *g*] *arin mormaer*. See Stokes, Goidelica, 117; and Macbain's ed., 161, 163.

[4] *robomaréb* [with points of deletion above and below the *e*] *act madbeg*.

[5] *imbrether*, literally: "in a word."

[6] *deár*, indistinguishable from the Gaelic name of Deer.

[7] Also in facsimile, Stuart's ed., 91×92, 92×93, plates IV and V; Nat. MSS. of Scotland, i, no. 1. In early Gaelic. Cf. L.C., no. 1, p. 2. This is a list of grants alleged to have been made to Deer at various times. Down to the end of Maelsnechtai's gift, the writer is the same who wrote no. 1; perhaps to "the beginning."

[8] *Cómgeall mac Éda;* in no. 5, *Cómgell*. The Irish form was *Comgall;* but the diminutive *Comgellan* (A.U., 624=625) suggests that *Comgell* was an earlier spelling of the name.

[9] *úaorti* [*go*]*níce fúrené*. Macbain suggested the reading *ua* [*G*]*orti*.

Muiredach, Morgan's son,[1] gave Gartnait's son's farm,[2] and the field Toche Temní[3]; and he was mormaer, and was toisech.

Matain, Cairell's son,[4] gave the mormaer's portion in Altrie[5]; and Cul[e]n, Baithine's son,[6] gave the toisech's portion.

Donald, Giric's son,[7] and Maelbrigte, Cathal's son, gave the farm of the mill[8] to Drostan.

Cathal, Morgan's son, gave the priests' field[9] to Drostan.

Donald, Ruadri's son,[10] and Malcolm, Culen's son, gave Biffie[11] to God and to Drostan. Malcolm, Kenneth's son,[12]

[1] *Moridac mac Morcunn:* below, *Morcunt.* In no. 6, *Morgunn*, gen. *Morgainn.* This is probably a Pictish name. It is spelt *Morcant* in the Welsh pedigrees appended to A.C.; *Morgand* in A.U., 662=663.

[2] *pett mic garnait.* I translate these names, because they seem to be descriptive, and not yet entirely proper names.

Pett (now Pit-; Welsh *peth*), a piece of land, is identified with Middle-Irish *cuit* (Gaelic *cuid*). See Stokes, ed. Bezzenberger, Urkeltischer Sprachschatz, 59. The two words, *pett* and *cuit*, are used side by side in the Book of Deer. Macbain thought that the extent of a *pett* might have been one plough-land.

[3] *áchád toche temní* (in Nat. MS. facsimile; *temm*, with accent above the second *m*, in Stuart's facsimile): perhaps genitive of *toich temni* "propriety of the bequest." For *toich* "natural right" see 1905 Oengus, 369.

[4] *Matáin mac Caerill.* Cf. *da mac matni* in no. 6, *mac mátni* in no 7.

It is implied here that Matain was mormaer of Buchan.

[5] *álteri*; *er* being represented by a horizontal stroke above the *t*. Cf. below, *Alterín*; *edar da álterin.*

[6] *Culíi mac Batín* in Nat. MS. facsimile; *Culn*, with accent above *n*, in Stuart's facsimile. *Culíi* in Stokes's and Stuart's editions; *Culn* in Macbain's ed. What appears to be the same name occurs below, in the genitive case, as *Culeon.*

[7] *Dómnall mac Giric.* Cf. *Malgirc* in no. 4.

[8] *pett in mulenn.* Pitmilly, in the east of Fife, is another occurrence of the same name.

[9] *áchád na glerec.*

[10] Cf. the Ruadri, mormaer of Mar, in no. 3. A Ruadri, presumably mormaer of Moray, was Macbeth's grandfather; cf. year 1020.

[11] *Bidbín.*

[12] This implies that Malcolm was a king. He would have been Malcolm II, king of Scotland 1005-1034.

gave the king's portion in Biffie and in the farm of Coprach's son[1]; and two dabachs[2] in the upper land of Rosabard.[3]

Malcolm, Maelbrigte's son,[4] gave the Delerc.

Maelsnechtai, Lulach's son,[5] gave Maelduib's farm[6] to Drostan.

Donald, the son of Dubbacin's son,[7] mortmained all the offerings to Drostan, in order to give them to him.[8] In the same manner,[9] Cathal mortmained his toisech's portion; and gave a dinner for a hundred, every Christmas and every Easter, to God and to Drostan.

Cainnech, the son of Dobarchu's son,[10] and Cathal, gave Altrie of the rock of the birch . . .[11] as far as the birch-tree between the two Altries.

Donald and Cathal gave Etdanin to God and to Drostan.

Cainnech and Donald and Cathal mortmained all the offerings to God and to Drostan, from beginning to[12] end, in freedom from [taxation by] mormaer and from [taxation by] toisech, to the Judgement Day.[13]

[1] *pett mic Gobróig.* Cf. no. 3. Macbain suggested *Cobrach* as the nominative. Cf. *Cobrig* in no. 3; and the genitive *Lulóig*, below, from the nominative [*Lulach*].

[2] "Two dabachs" were eight plough-lands (Hogan; Meyer). Macbain (161) said that a dabach contained about 400 acres.

[3] *uactáir Rósábard.*

[4] Malcolm died in 1029.

[5] *Málsnecte mac Lulóig.* He died in 1085.

[6] *pett Maldúib.*

[7] *mac meic Dubbacín.* Macbain suggested that this was Dubucan, the mormaer of Angus († 938; Chronicle of the Picts, A). (For *-ín* instead of *-án* cf. Matadin, Brocin, below.)

[8] *robáith nahúle edbarta ro Drostán arthabárt áhule dó.* For *ro báith*, see Stuart's ed., pp. lii-liii. Some symbolic act of renunciation may have been meant. For *ro Drostán*, Stokes would read *do Drostán.*

[9] *árachoír chetna.*

[10] *Dobarcon.*

[11] *Alterín alla úethé na camone*, the last word written over a flaw in the parchment.

[12] "to . . . Day," written by the writer of no. 3.

[13] Here Lawrie places the addition translated below, at the end of no. 5.

23 Apr. 1131 × 22 Apr. 1132

[no. 3][1] Gartnait, Cainnech's son, and Ete, Gillemichel's daughter,[2] gave Coprach's son's farm for the consecration of a church of Christ and the apostle Peter, and to Columcille and to Drostan, free from all burdens, along with their gift to Cormac, the bishop of Dunkeld, in the eighth year of king David; these being witnesses[3]:—Nechtan, the bishop of Ab[erdeen][4]; and Leot, the abbot of Brechin[5]; and Maelduin, the son of Bead's son[6]; and Alfwin, Arcil's son[7]; and Ruadri, the mormaer of Mar; and Matadin, judge; and Gillecrist, Cormac's son; and Maelpetair, Donald's son; and Domangart, the lector of Turriff(?)[8]; and Gillecoluim Muiredach's son; and Dubni,[9] Malcolm's son.

[1] In facsimile, 92 × 93, plate V; and Nat. MSS. of Scotland, no. 1. Cf. L.C., no. 97. In early Gaelic.

[2] *Ete ingen Gillemcchel* in both facsimiles, with acute accent over the first *c*; below, *Gillemicel*. The prefix *Gille* is of Scottish form; cf. Gillemichel, earl of Fife, in Dunfermline, nos. 27, 31 (L.C., nos. 103, 84). Cf. L.C., 318. The Irish form of the name was Gillamichil. Ete seems to be the Irish Íte.

[3] *Testibus istis.* These Latin words have been regarded as evidence that the writer translated from a Latin original. But Latin words were frequently used by writers of Irish. If the writer had a document before him, it was almost certainly written in Latin; but these words do not greatly increase the probability. Cf. nos. 4, 6.

[4] Cf. Aberdeen, i, 3-4, 12; ii, 246, 247 (H. & S., ii, 210-211). His successor, Edward († 1171), became bishop × 1150 (D.B., 98).

[5] Cf. L.C., nos. 134, 161, 224, 227. "Leot" is the Icelandic name *Liótr* (whence "MacLeod").

[6] *mac meic bead;* perhaps an error for *bethad*, "Macbeth's son." Cf. no. 5. See L.C., 339.

[7] *álgune mac árcill.* These names are either Danish (Alfwin, Arcil) or Anglo-Saxon (Ælfwine, Earcytel). Since Alfwin's name is frequently written with the Gaelic *mac*, he was probably the son of a resident in Scotland or Ireland.

Alfwin witnessed a charter of earl David (Dunfermline, no. 29; L.C., no. 94: 1114 × 1118); and (1153 ×) a charter of king Malcolm IV (St Andrews, 195). He witnessed many charters of king David (× 1152), in many places. See L.C., nos. 74, 103, 110, 125, 126, 128, 136, 155, 159, 207, 221, 224; St Andrews, 183, 187, 193.

Alfwin seems to have had a son, Gillandriais (*Gillandres*); St Andrews, 196-197.

[8] *turbruad.* Cf. nos. 6, 7. See Aberdeen, i, 30-34; a charter of 1273, in which Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan, proclaims that he has founded

? After 1131

[no. 4][1] Gartnait and Gillemichel's daughter gave Balldomin in Ipar's farm[2] to Christ, and to Columcille, and to Drostan. Witness[3]: Gillecalline, priest; and Feradach, Maelbriccin's son; and Maelgiricc, Tralin's son.

? After 1131

[no. 5][4] Duncan, son of the son of Bead, son of Ited (?),[5] gave Auchmachar[6] to Christ, and to Drostan, and to Columcille, in freedom for ever. Malechi[7] and Comgell and Gillecrist, Finguine's son, in witness of it, in testimony; and Malcolm, Molini's son.

Cormac, Cendétig's son, gave [land] as far as Skillymarno.[8]

Comgell, Cainnech's son, toisech of the children of Canan,[9] gave to Christ and to Drostan and to Columcille [land] as far as Gort-lie-mor,[10] in the end of the Fíus nearest to Aldin Alenn,[11] from Dubuci to Lurchari, both mountain and plain[12]; in[13] an almshouse in Turriff (*Turrech*, *Turref*). It is not known that any monastery existed at Turriff at the time of this grant.

[9] Read *Dubin*, for "Duban"?

[1] In facsimile, 92×93, plate V; and Nat. MSS., no. 1. Cf. L.C., no. 95, "ante A.D. 1130." In early Gaelic. Written by the writer of no. 3.

[2] *báll dómin i pet ipáir*. *Ipar* may not be a proper name. Baldovan near Dundee seems to be another instance of the first of these names.

[3] *Teste*.

[4] In facsimile, 2×3, plate VI; Nat. MSS., no. 1. Cf. L.C., 2-3. In early Gaelic; written in a different hand from that of the preceding numbers.

[5] *Donchad mac mec bead mec hídid*. For *bead* read *bethad*, "Duncan, son of Macbeth"?

[6] *acchad madchór*.

[7] Cf. *Malaechín* in no. 6. Possibly = *Mael-fechine* "servant of St Fechin"?

[8] *scáli merlec*. "Robber's shelter"? This name looks like a hybrid; *scáli* = Icelandic *skáli* "hut."

[9] *Clande Canan*. Possibly the descendants of the legendary Cano, Gartnait's son? See year 668, note.

[10] *gonige in gort lie mór igginn in fíus*. In the Book of Deer, *ie* is sometimes written for *ia*. Possibly read *gort liath mór* "large grey cornfield"? Cf. the conjectured omission of *th* in *Bead*, above.

[11] "Aden, of old Alneden" Stuart, p. lvii.

[12] Therefore "they must have comprehended part of the high ground of Pitfour" Stuart, p. lvii.

[13] "in . . . opposes it" written by the writer of no. 6.

freedom from [taxation by the] toisech for ever. And his blessing for ever upon every one who fulfils his will, and his curse on every one who opposes it.

(And the blessing of the Lord upon every mormaer and every toisech who fulfils it, and upon their descendants after them.) [1]

After 1131

[no. 6][2] Colban,[3] the mormaer of Buchan, and Eva, Gartnait's daughter, his married wife, and Duncan, Sithech's son,[4] toisech of the children of Morgan, mortmained all the offerings to God, and to Drostan, and to Columcille, and to the apostle Peter, [freeing them] from all exactions, upon the extent of four dabachs, of [taxes] that would be owing upon principal residences of Scotland, and upon principal monasteries.[5] With

[1] The passage within brackets is added in a bold hand at the top of the page, before the beginning of no. 5 (this hand resembles the second hand of no. 2; but it is impossible to judge from the facsimiles). This passage is added in the editions to the contents of no. 4; but in L.C., 2, it is placed at the end of no. 2; and there it fits well with the context.

[2] In facsimile, 2×3, plate VII; Nat. MSS., no. 1. Cf. L.C., no. 107, "circa A.D. 1135" This is written in early Gaelic, in a different hand from those that wrote the preceding numbers.

[3] *Colbain.* This may be either Danish ("Colben") or Norwegian ("Kolbein"). It is deduced from this grant that Colban was mormaer or earl of Buchan, in the right of his wife, Eva; and that Eva's father, Gartnait Cainnech's son, of nos. 3 and 4, was mormaer of Buchan, possibly in the right of his wife, Ete, Gillemichel's daughter. Cf. Dr Milne, in S.P., s v. Buchan. But Ete's father may possibly have been the earl of Fife (†×1136). Cainnech may have been the toisech of a clan (no 5), and the grandson of a mormaer of Angus (no. 2).

An earl Colban accompanied king William in his invasion of England, in 1173 (Fantosme; L.A., 133). He appears also as a witness 1178×1182 (Lindores, no. 1). He witnesses along with Duncan, earl of Fife, who was probably earl Gillemichel's son (St Andrews, 258-260). He appears to have had a son named Magnus (ibid., 269-270); and was therefore perhaps of Norwegian origin.

[4] *Donnachac mac Sithig.*

[5] *onahulib dolaidib archuit cetri dabach do nithissad ar ardmandaidib Alban cucotchenn acus arhardchellaib.* O'Curry understood this in the sense that Colban and Eva "mortmained all the foregoing offerings from every burden for ever, except as much as would fall on four *dabachs* (i.e. the pay by four *dabachs* only) of such burdens as came upon all the high monasteries and high churches of Scotland"; and adds:—"According to

these as witnesses[1]:—Brocin; and Cormac, the abbot of Turriff(?)[2]; and Morgan, Duncan's son; and Gillepetair, Duncan's son; and Malaechín; and two sons of Matni[3]; and the nobles of Buchan, all in testimony to it: in Ellon.[4]

1131 × 1144

[no. 7][5] David, the king of the Scots, to all his true men, greetings.

Know that the clerics of Deer are quit and immune from all service [required] of laymen, and from unjust exaction; as it has been written in their book; and as they have maintained at Banff, and have sworn at Aberdeen. Wherefore I strictly command that none shall presume to inflict any injury upon them, or their cattle.

this, all Drostán's lands were freed from coigny (*coinnmedh*) etc., excepting the proportion of four *dabachs* of a sort of quit-rent." It seems to me to mean that the monks were immune from taxation upon four dabachs only; the remainder of their property being liable to the same taxation as other monasteries and churches.

[1] These words are in Latin.

[2] Cf nos. 7, 3. Brocin looks like a diminutive of *brocc* "badger," as Matadin in no. 3 looks like a diminutive of *matad* "dog."

[3] Cf. Matain in no. 2. It is possible that *matni* was a genitive case formed by the translator, from Matain, on the analogy of *matain* "morning," genitive *maitne*. See also no. 7.

[4] *in helain*.

[5] In facsimile, 36 × 37, plate XIV; Nat. MSS. of Scotland, i, no. 18. In L.C., no. 223, "circa A.D. 1150." This charter is in Latin, and written in a Latin hand, showing strong Irish influence. It is written in a space left blank after the words "and he was tempted by the devil" (Luke, IV, 1); with which the Gospel of Luke ends in the Book of Deer. If the charter is forged, the place chosen for it is peculiarly appropriate.

Of the 11 witnesses, 3 are probably also witnesses of no. 6. The rank of 7 is specified; of these 7, one is not known, and two are earliest appearances.

This charter implies that the monastery which received the grants described in the previous numbers was a monastery at Deer. There is no other evidence that a monastery existed at Deer in David's reign. A Cistercian monastery was established there in 1219. The hand-writing of additions no. 1-6 is Irish, and therefore difficult to date; but it is probably later than 1219, and perhaps of the end of the 13th century. The writing of no. 7 can hardly be later than the beginning of the 13th century; but it is abnormal, and difficult to judge. If it is forged, the previous numbers are probably also forged. But neither it nor they can be proved not to be copies of genuine documents.

Witness, Gregory,[1] bishop of Dunkeld.
Witness, Andrew, bishop of Caithness.[2]
Witness, Samson, bishop of Brechin.[3]
Witness, Duncan, earl of Fife[4]; and Maelmuire, of Athole[5]; and Gillebrigte, earl of Angus[6]; and Gillecoimded, Aed's son;

[1] *Gregorio:* "Cormac" in Stuart, p. lix, erroneously. Cf. Dunfermline, no. 2. See D.B., 48-49; and below, year 1169. Gregory became bishop of Dunkeld during the reign of David. He was bishop 1131 × 1136 (L.C., no. 134).

[2] See D.B., 232; below, 1184. Andrew became bishop × 1146; B.Cl. 97, ii, 2, 598.

[3] See D.B., 173. According to C. Innes, in 1856, (Brechin, p. vi) Samson was bishop 1156 × - × 1178. He was bishop × 1161 (St Andrews, 129, 131), to 1164 × (ibid., 133). It is not known that he was bishop before king David's death. He witnessed charters of king Malcolm IV (St Andrews, 194, 199, 202).

[4] Probably Gillemichel's son. Duncan was earl × 1136-† 1154.

[5] *Malmore d' Athotla.* See L.C., 425-426.

According to O.S., king Malcolm III, the son of king Duncan I [† 1040], was the brother of Maelmuire; whose son, Matad, earl of Athole [earl 1143 × 1144; and still in ? 1152], was the father of Harold, earl of Orkney [† 1206]. Three generations in this pedigree extend over 166 years, instead of the usual 100 years.

Maelmuire's relationship to king Duncan is not established. The relationship between Maelmuire and Matad may, without great confidence, be accepted; since the connection of Maelmuire's name with Athole in this charter supports to some extent the statement of O.S.

The son of an earl Mel — — is named by R.H. as one of the hostages given by the Scots in 1139 (see 1139, note). This Mel — — may have been Maelmuire; but it would not necessarily follow that he was alive in 1139.

If Maelmuire was not earl of Athole, his name should have been placed after Cormac's. His name may have been added or displaced by the copyist. If we accept the obvious interpretation of the charter, that Maelmuire was the earl of Athole at the time when he witnessed the grant, we must conclude that the charter (if it is genuine) was given before 1144; and, if O.S. is to be trusted, before 1134. According to O.S., Matad, Maelmuire's son (Fl. calls him "Malcolm's son"), was earl of Athole in [1134] and [1138]. See years 1106, 1136, notes.

Matad's son, Malcolm, was earl of Athole 1172 × 1178, 1178 × 1182, and in ? 1189 (Dunfermline, no. 147). Malcolm's wife, Hextilda, daughter of Uhtred (son of Waltheof of Tynedale), and of Bethoc, daughter of king Donald Bán, was countess of Athole in 1176. See S.P., i, 416-417; Bain, i, no. 2287. The Malcolm who appears as earl in Dunfermline, nos. 35 and 40 (1157 × 1159), was probably Malcolm Macheth, the earl of Ross († 1168).

[6] This was the "earl Gilbert" of 1175; E.C., 262. This is the earliest

and Brocin; and Cormac, [abbot] of Turriff (?)[1]; and Adam, Ferdomnach's son; and Gille-andriais, Mátni's son.[2] At Aberdeen.[3]

1134

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 69

In the year 1134, the dedication of the church of St James in Roxburgh [took place], on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of May, Tuesday, the third day of Easter week.[4] And the church of St Paul at London was burned down.

Malcolm [Macheth] was taken, and placed in close custody in the town of Roxburgh.[5]

1134

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 62, s.a. 1134[6]

The abbey of St Mary of Calder was founded.[7]

In the same year, king Olaf gave to Yvo,[8] the abbot of

occurrence of earl Gillebrigte's name. He was earl 1157×1159 (Dunfermline, nos. 35, 40), and witnessed many charters in the reigns of Malcolm IV and William; and lived until after 1187. See S.P., i, 161. He was succeeded in the earldom by Adam, ×1189 (Arbroath, i, 21).

[1] [2] Cf. no. 6.

[3] This seems to be the only charter of David dated at Aberdeen, in L.C. The charter implies that David had adjudicated there upon the monks' claim to immunity from taxation. The genuineness of the charter is very much in doubt.

[4] I.e., on Tuesday, 17th April, 1134. It is not stated that this was a monastic church; but many of the new churches whose construction is noticed about this time were occupied by monks. Land beside this church pertained to the Tironian abbey of Kelso. See Kelso, no. 2 (L.C, 194); and king Malcolm's charter of 1159, in Kelso, i, 2, p. iv. It was in the diocese of Glasgow. In 1201, the church pertained to Kelso; and the papal legate John declared it immune from episcopal aids, and from duties of hostelry and corody; see L.A., 333-334. It seems therefore to have been occupied by Cistercian monks at that time.

According to De Domibus Religiosis, (below, s.f.) an Augustinian abbey existed at Roxburgh, near the end of the 13th century; but that is uncertain, and may be wrong.

[5] See year 1157.

[6] In the previous year-section, for 1133, are noted the foundation of Rievaulx abbey (from C.M., which dates it Saturday, 5th March, 1132); and an eclipse of the sun on 2nd August.

The abbey of Rievaulx was the parent house of Melrose. The

Furness, part of his land in Man, for the construction of a monastery, in the place that is called Rushen.[1] And he gave to the churches of the islands lands and liberties.[2]

He was devout and zealous in the service of God; and was acceptable both to God and men, excepting that he indulged too much in the domestic vice of kings.

1134 × 1143

St Bernard's Vita S. Malachiae, in the Bollandists' Acta Sanctorum, November, vol. ii, part 1, pp. 155-156[3]

Malachias departed from us,[4] and reached Scotland safely. And he found David, the king who still survives to-day, in one of his castles: his son was sickening to death. Entering to him, [Malachias] was honourably received by the king, and humbly implored to cure his son.

Cistercian Foundation lists place its foundation on 5th March, 1131=1132 (J.B.A.A., xxvi, 283, 358). The eclipse of 2nd August occurred in 1133.

[7] Calder, in Cumberland, a daughter house of Furness abbey, was founded in 1134, on January 10th. See the Cistercian Foundation lists to 1234 and to 1247, J.B.A.A., xxvi, 284, 358; cf. 299, 367; and Atkinson's Coucher Book of Furness, i, 11.

[8] *Yvoni.* This appears to be the same name as that Latinized *Ewanus* in the Coucher Book of Furness, i, 8; cf. iii, pp. xxvi-xxxi. He was surnamed de Avranches. He appears to have been the abbot "E." who inspired king Olaf's letter to archbishop Thurstan (H. & S., ii, 218; 1127 × 1140. See years 1095, 1154, notes).

Cf. Beck's Annales Furnesienses, 122.

[1] Cf. the Cistercian Foundations to 1247, s.a. 1134: "[The house] of Man [was founded]." J.B.A.A., xxvi, 358.

[2] Cf. year 1154, note.

[3] Also in P.L. **182,** 1095-1096.

[4] I.e., from Clairvaux, upon his return to Ireland as the legate of pope Innocent II. Malachias was Maelmaedoic Ua-Morgair, designated bishop of Armagh in 1132, consecrated in 1134. Cf. F.M., s.aa.; Contin. T., and C.S., [1134]. See years 1148, 1151, notes. Bernard says that Malachias had held the bishopric of Connor and Down, but had relinquished Down, retaining only the ancient bishopric of Connor.

The previous legate to Ireland had been Gilbert or Gillabrigte, bishop of Limerick. He had ceased to be able to exercise that function, through old age.

On his Rome-ward journey, Maelmaedoic had gone *de Scotia*, by way of York. *Scotia* probably here (155), like *ulterior Scotia* below (165), means Ireland.

[Malachias] sprinkled the youth[1] with water, which he had blessed; and looking upon him, said: "Have confidence, son; this time thou shalt not die." This he said; and on the following day, according to his saying, health followed; and upon health, the gladness of the father, and the shouting and cheers[2] of the whole exultant household.

Word went out to all; because what had happened in the royal house, and to the king's son, could not be concealed. And on all sides renderings of thanks arose, and the voice of praise; both for the safety of their lord, and for the revival of miracle.[3]

This is Henry—for he still lives, the only son of his father; a brave knight, and prudent; taking after his father, as they say, in seeking justice, and the love of truth. And they both loved Malachias, as long as he lived, as though he had recalled [Henry] from death.

They asked him to remain for some days. But he, avoiding glory, would not endure delay; but took his way in the early morning.[4]

1135

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 70

In the year 1135, Henry, the king of England, died, on the fourth day before the Nones of December.[5] And count Stephen, his nephew, received the kingdom; and was crowned afterwards, upon the eleventh day before the Kalends of January.[6] And

[1] This appears to have happened before Henry's marriage; therefore perhaps × 1135. The account was written 1148 × 1152.

[2] *clamor et strepitus.*

[3] *pro miraculi novitate:* perhaps "for the rarity of the miracle."

[4] Passing through Scotland on his way to Ireland, he performed miracles of healing in Cruggleton, Kirkmichael, and Portus Lap[is]-asperi (perhaps Cairngarroch).

Cf. year 1148.

[5] I.e., 2nd December. The same date is given by A.S.C. E, J.W., J.H., R.T., G.C. King Henry died (according to modern reckoning) on the evening of the 1st: see W.M., ii, 536, 539; O.V., v, 49-51; H.H.

[6] I e., 22nd December. So also in W.M., G.C.; and cf. J.W., who places the coronation on Sunday, 20th December. Sunday was the 22nd in 1135; the 20th, in 1136. O.V. (v, 56) places the ceremony a week earlier. A.S.C. E places it on Christmas day. He held his court on Christmas day, according to G.C.; attended the funeral of king Henry, at

on the day of his coronation, at mass, it was forgotten to give the pax to the people: nor did he have peace, during nearly the whole time of his life.

Before 1136

Heimskringla, Magnus and Harold Gilli's Saga, c. 13[1]

Beginning of Sigurd Slembi-diákn.

Sigurd [Slembi-diákn] was the name of a man who was brought up in Norway. He was called the son of priest Æthelbeorht. Sigurd's mother was Thora, daughter of Saxi, in Vik; and sister of Sigrid, the mother of king Olaf, Magnus' son, and of Kari, the king's brother, who married Borghild, a daughter of Dag, Eilif's son: their sons were Sigurd at Austrátt, and Dag. The sons of Sigurd [were] John at Austrátt, and Thorstein; [and] Andrew the Deaf. John married Sigrid, sister of king Ingi and duke Skúli.

Sigurd was in his childhood put to school, and he became a clerk, and was consecrated as a deacon. But when he became full-grown in age and strength, he was in bearing the most gallant of all men, and the strongest; a big man; and in all accomplishments he was ahead of all of his own age, and almost of every one else in Norway.

Sigurd was early a very overbearing man, and an unruly. He was called Slembi-diákn.[2] He was the most handsome of men; somewhat thin-haired, and yet well-haired.

Then it happened before Sigurd that his mother said that king Magnus Bareleg was his father. And as soon as he became his own master, he abandoned clerkly ways, and then went away from the land. In these expeditions he remained a long time. Then he began his expedition out to Jerusalem, and came to Jordan, and visited relics,[3] as is the custom of palmers.

And when he came back, he continued in merchant-voyages.

Reading, after Christmas, according to W.M., ii, 539; and received control of the government on 1st January, according to J.H.

For Stephen's coronation, cf. Gesta Stephani, R.S. 82, iii, 3-9; for the omission of the pax, see J.H., 287; G.C., i, 94-95.

[1] Unger's c. 14. Very similarly in Frisbók, 321; and in Harold Gilli's Saga, c. 17 (F.S., vii, 199-200).

[2] This seems to mean "deacon by a fluke."

[3] "many an unknown place" Harold Gilli's Saga.

One winter[1] he was stationed for some time in the Orkneys. He was with earl Harold, at the fall of Thorkel Fosterer, Sumarlidi's son.[2]

Sigurd was also up in Scotland with David, the king of the Scots. He was there held in great esteem. Then Sigurd went to Denmark. . . .[3]

[1] "For some while" Frisbók, and Harold Gilli's Saga. This was 1128×1136.

[2] The next chapter in H. says: "When Harold had been king over Norway for six winters, Sigurd came to Norway, and went to king Harold, his brother. . . . Then from their conversation it occurred that the king brought a suit against Sigurd, because he had been at the killing of Thorkel Fosterer, in the west beyond the sea. Thorkel had accompanied Harold [ca. 1128] to Norway when first he had come to the land. Thorkel had been the greatest friend of king Harold." So also in Harold Gilli's Saga, c. 18 (F.S., vii, 200-201). Cf. also M., 205; Fr., 323.

From this it appears that Sigurd went to Norway in 1136.

Harold Gilli brought against Sigurd a charge of complicity in the death of Thorkel. Sigurd was made prisoner, but escaped (this reason for his capture is not mentioned by F., 342).

For the death of Thorkel, cf. O.S., c. 57; see above, year 1106, note. According to O.S., Thorkel was killed in Orkney by Harold, Hakon's son, earl of Caithness, and Sigurd Slembi-diákn: Sigurd was expelled from Orkney by earl Paul, Hakon's son; earl Harold paid fines for the murder. O.S. places after this Sigurd's sojourn in the Scottish court, and visit to Palestine. It is hardly likely that a murder would have commended him to the Scottish king; and H. places his visit to Palestine before the murder. O.S. is not here trustworthy.

[3] He was said to have proved his parentage there by ordeal, in the presence of five bishops.

Fagrskinna, 341: "Sigurd, who was called Slembi-diákn, came to Norway from west beyond the sea. He went south to Denmark, and bore there iron, to [establish his] paternity . . .".

Fagrskinna, 342: "Thence [from Denmark] Sigurd Slembi-diákn went to Norway, and came to king Harold, his brother. But he was heavily received; and king Harold and his counsellors put no trust in his ordeal. . . ."

Sigurd Slembi-diákn murdered Harold Gilli by night, in the house of Thora, Guthorm's daughter, on 13th December, [1136] (H., Magnus and Harold Gilli, cc. 15-16 (Unger's cc. 17-18); M., 206). Sigurd was then made king of Hordaland, Sogn, and Firdir, in the west of Norway; and after Christmas [1136], he made common cause with Magnus the Blind, Sigurd Crusader's son. Then "they went with their company south along Mærr, and as far as to Raumsdalsmynni. They parted there with their army, and Sigurd Slembi-diákn immediately went west beyond the sea, [and remained there] during the winter [i.e., the beginning of 1137]; but

Morkinskinna, pp. 201-204[1]

Saga of Sigurd Slembi-diákn.

This man is named, who was called Sigurd, the son of Thora, Saxi's daughter. And she declared of his paternity that he was the son of Magnus Bareleg; but the friends of king Magnus, and his confidants, concealed this, because of the difficulty that Sigrid, Thora's sister, was the mother of king Olaf, Magnus' son.

Sigurd was fostered south in the land, with the priest who was called Æthelbeorht; and this was the complexion put upon it by some men, that he was the priest's son; as Ivar, Ingimund's son, said in the poem that he made about Sigurd: "He grew up in the ashes with Æthelbeorht."

Magnus went to the Uplands, and expected to get there a great host, as he did get. He was there for the winter, and during the whole summer, in the Uplands; and had then a great host" (H., Harold Gilli's sons, c. 2. Cf. Ingi's Saga, c. 2; F.S., vii, 208; M., 208; Fr., 326: but M. and Fr. do not say that Sigurd passed the winter in Britain. F. does not mention Sigurd's visit to Britain (c. 256 b, p. 347): "Then they went out from Trondhjem; and a little later, Magnus and Sigurd parted").

In the summer [of 1137], Magnus was defeated by the supporters of Ingi, Harold Gilli's son. Magnus fled to Denmark, and persuaded king Eric of Denmark to invade Norway; but the south of Norway was strong in support of king Ingi, and Eric's expedition came to nothing.

"Sigurd Slembi-diákn came that summer [1137] from west beyond the sea, to Norway. But when he learned the misfortunes of Magnus, his kinsman, he thought he knew that he should then have little support in Norway. Then he sailed all the outer way, south along the land, and arrived in Denmark . . ." (H., u.s., c. 5; similarly Ingi's Saga, c. 5, F.S., vii, 213. M., 210, and Fr., 328, do not say that Sigurd came from Britain ("Sigurd Slembir came that summer to Denmark"); nor does F., c. 257, p. 349).

For three summers Sigurd and Magnus carried on plundering warfare along the coasts of Norway. Then a battle was fought on Sunday, 12th November, 1139. Magnus was killed; Sigurd was taken, and tortured to death (H., u.s., cc. 5-12. Fr., 328-335).

Insertion in version B of Fagrskinna, c. 215 (F. Jónsson's ed., p. 390): "A daughter of Sigurd Slembi-diákn was Ingigerd, whom Hakon Claw married. Their sons were Havard the Halt, Sigurd, Harold, Eric."

Eric Hakon's son, from the Orkneys, daughter's son of Sigurd Slembir, was the second husband of Gudrun, daughter of Thorvald, son of Thorgeir, son of Halli. Sturlunga Saga, ed. Kålund, i, 122; ed. Vigfusson, i, 88.

[1] Also in F.S., vii, 327-329. For Ivar's verses, see J.S., i, A, 496-497; B, 468-469.

He became a clerk at an early age, and then the priest sent him to a bishop, and [the bishop] gave Sigurd consecration, so that he was a deacon. And when he became a full-grown man in age, he was of the most gallant bearing of all men, big and strong; and in all accomplishments he was far ahead of all those of the same age, and almost of every other man in Norway.

But as soon as he was his own master, he abandoned clerkly ways, and went out of the land. And he remained a long time upon these expeditions.

This is said, that he was stationed in the Orkneys with earl Harold, as Ivar says: "[Sigurd] the wolf's meal-giver was in the west, in the islands, with the earl of remarkable disposition; until the kings, vigorous in warfare, stirred up [to battle, slew] the Fosterer."

There Sigurd was in [the Orkneymen's] counsels, and at the killing of the noble man who was called Thorkel Fosterer. Thence he went up into Scotland, to the Scottish king. So says Ivar: "Then Sigurd, of valued counsels, went from the islands to king David. William's slayer, resorter to assemblies of darts, was with the king for five seasons."[1]

The king esteemed him well; so did the other chiefs. He was there for a while in great honour, as the poet said: "The excellent hosts of David thought that no man nobler had come thither. The chief bettered the king's-men's host. The young king had all men's praise."

This also is mentioned, that while Sigurd was with the king he had some battles, and always got the victory. So says Ivar: "The commander fed ravens on the blood of Scots, in the firths; missiles flew; there, where the slaughter-eel's appraisers[2] bore the standards before the king who had come from the east."

And also: "A vigorous battle gave victory to Sigurd, inland from Stoer."[3]

And he said also: "The prince, doughty in all respects made four war-slaughters in the empire of the Scots."

And after this, Sigurd went out into the lands; and set out upon his journey to Rome. And he went as far off as to

[1] I.e., 30 months.
[2] I.e., "spear's estimators," "fighting-men."
[3] *inn fra Stavri.*

Palestine, and to Jordan. And he visited the relics that palmers are wont to visit, as Ivar says. . . .[1]

And here he tells of this, that Sigurd went to Jerusalem, and visited the grave of our Lord, and so won for himself the favour of God, and much honour from the world. . . .[2]

This too is said, that five bishops conducted his ordeal, and established his descent; so says Ivar . . . .[3]

Then Sigurd went, upon his return from Palestine, about Greece, France, and Saxony; as Ivar said . . . .[4]

And next after this it is said in the poem, that he came then to the islands: "The active, martial king proceeded with one cutter across the sea, west to the islands."

This too is said, that he remained upon trading voyages.

1136

Icelandic Annals, version K, in Storm's Annaler, p. 20; s.a. 1136[5]

The slaying of king Harold Gilli.
Earl Ronald won the Orkneys.[6]

[1] [2] [3] [4] 8 lines of verse.

[5] With dominical letters of 1136.

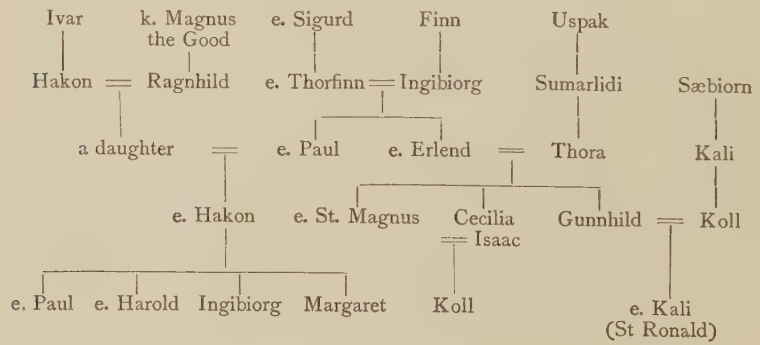
[6] Both notes appear similarly in O (60), s.a. 1136; and P (321), with dominical and paschal letters of 1136.

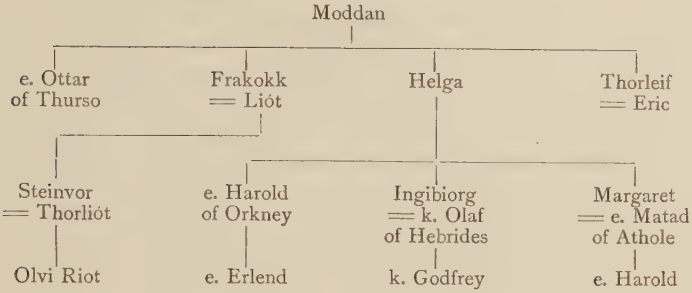
Cf. C (113) and A (Fl., iii, 513), both with d.l. and p.l. of 1136: "Earl Ronald [Kali C] won the Orkneys.

"Sigurd Slembir, the son of [king C] Magnus Bareleg, slew [king C] Harold Gilli [in Bergen A]. Ingi [Cripple A] and Sigurd [Mouth A], Harold Gilli's sons, [then C] took dominion in Norway."

For Ronald Kali, cf. years 1151, 1158, 1192.

For the relationships of the Orkney earls, cf. above, year 1070, note; and the following tables, derived from O.S. and Fl.





Cf. the table in Hjaltalin and Goudie's Orkneyinga Saga, p. cxxxiii.

Kali, Sæbiorn's son, died in the winter of 1098-1099 (see above). In compensation for his death, king Magnus Bareleg gave in marriage to Koll, Kali's son, Gunnhild, the daughter of earl Erlend († 1098 × 1099), and sister of earl St Magnus, in the spring of 1099: Koll then went with his wife to live at his lands in Agdir (O.S., c. 45, 61). Kali, their son, went on a trading voyage when he was 15 winters old, to Grimsby, and there met Harold Gilli (O.S., c. 62).

See years 1098-1099, ca. 1128.

For Kali's adventures after his return to Norway, see O.S., cc. 63-64; and Fl., ii, 441-445. Making a settlement between Kali and John, Peter's son, a baron of Sogn, king Sigurd [in 1129] decided that Kali's sister Ingirid should marry John.

O.S., i, 103, and Fl., ii, 445-446: "It went also with this agreement, that king Sigurd gave to Kali, Koll's son, half of the Orkneys, along with earl Paul Hakon's son; and therewith [gave him] the title of earl. He gave him also the name of earl Ronald Brusi's son; because Gunnhild, [Kali's] mother, said that [Ronald] had been the most accomplished of all earls in the Orkneys, and thought that it would bring good fortune. Magnus the Holy, the mother's brother of [Ronald O.S.] Kali, had possessed that part of the islands."

For the story of earl Kali, or St Ronald, see Fl., ii, 446-512; and O.S. (from various MSS.), cc. 65-113.

On 26th March in the following spring, king Sigurd died (O.S., c. 65; Fl., ii, 446). The kingdom was shared by his sons Magnus and Harold Gilli. King Magnus rescinded the grant of the Orkneys made by Sigurd to Ronald Kali. In [1133], the two kings fought, and Harold was defeated (this happened in 1134, according to Icelandic Annals CP; in 1132, according to EA: but EA place under 1132 the eclipse of 1133). Harold fled to Eric Eimuni, king of Denmark; but returned to Bergen before Christmas. (Eric became king of Denmark in 1134, according to Icelandic Annals CA.) After Christmas [early in 1134], Magnus was taken captive, and maimed (this was in 1135, according to Icelandic Annals CP; in 1133, according to EA). Harold became king of the whole of Norway.

"And in the following spring [1134], king Harold renewed to

Ronald the gift of the islands, and also the title of earl" (O.S., c. 65; Fl., ii, 447).

Ronald sent messengers to earl Paul, who refused to divide the lands. The messengers went to Caithness, and to Frakokk (see 1106, note), in Sutherland, offering her and her grandson, Olvi Riot, half of the islands if they would assist him to get them. They promised aid next mid-summer, from Scotland and the Hebrides.

Solmund, son of Sigurd Sneis, and John, Peter's son, went with Ronald in the summer [of 1135] to Shetland. They were detained by unfavourable winds. Olvi brought ships from the Hebrides at mid-summer, and attacked earl Paul, but was defeated (off Tankerness, on Friday, ? 26th June, 1136). Earl Paul sailed to Shetland on the following day, and defeated Ronald's men in Yell Sound. Ronald was on shore. Paul would not land, but returned to Orkney. Ronald returned to Norway in the autumn.

Earl Paul set a beacon on Fair Isle, and another in North Ronaldshay, to warn him of the approach of enemies from Shetland. He held a great Yule-feast at Orphir. Olaf Hrólf's son was Paul's warden in Caithness [he had houses in Gairsay and at Duncansby; O.S., c. 59]. Olaf's son Valthiófr was drowned on the way to the earl's feast. Olvi Riot burned Olaf in his house, while his wife Asleif, and their sons (Svein, Asbiorn, and Margad), were absent. Svein (called Asleif's son) went to earl Paul; and while in Orkney killed one of Paul's followers. Bishop William protected him, and after Yule sent him "to the Hebrides, into Tiree; to the man that was called Holdbodi, and was a son of Hundi. He was a great chief [there Fl.]" (O.S., c. 70; Fl., ii, 453. Below in Fl., his name is spelt *Hornbodi*, *Hornbogi*).

Svein, Olaf's son, remained in Tiree during the winter (the early months of 1136).

Ronald remained in Agdir (1135-1136). He sent ships to England and Denmark, to buy arms and stores. A week after Easter, they set out [Easter was 22nd March in 1136]. Ships were commanded by Koll; Kali; John, Peter's son; Aslak, Erlend's son, of Hernar [Herlo], a daughter's son of Steig-Thori. They had 6 war-ships, five cutters, and three merchantmen. In Hernar, they heard of the great preparations that earl Paul was making to resist them. Ronald vowed to build a stone church at Kirkwall, and dedicate it to St Magnus, if he succeeded in obtaining his inheritance.

They sailed to Shetland, and were welcomed there.

By a trick, Paul's men were led to fire the beacons. Paul's forces assembled, and were kept in arms for three days. Since no enemy came, they slew Dagfinn, Hlodve's son, the keeper of the Fair-Isle beacon.

Uni, a friend of Koll, contrived to damp the beacon, so that it would not burn. Ronald took Westray by surprise, and obtained a footing in the Orkneys. Bishop William arranged a truce for half a month, the earls meanwhile sharing the islands: Ronald in Pomona, Paul in Rousay. Ronald gained power in the Orkneys, and sent his Norwegian supporters home.

Fl., ii, 459-460 (=O.S., c. 78): "Early in the spring [of 1136], Svein, Asleif's son, had gone from the Hebrides, and up into Scotland, to visit

his friends. He remained long in Athole with earl Matad, and Margaret Hakon's daughter. And they talked in private of many things.

"Svein learned there of the conflict in the Orkneys; and he was eager to go to join his friends. He went first to Caithness, into Thurso; and the noble man who was called Liótolf along with him. Svein had been for a long time with [Liótolf] in the spring. They came to earl Ottar in Thurso, Frakokk's brother. And Liótolf tried to make peace between Ottar and Svein, for what Frakokk had caused to be done" (i.e., for the death of Svein's father, Olaf).

Ottar paid the atonement on his own behalf, and promised friendship to Svein. Svein promised to support Erlend, the son of earl Harold, and grand-nephew of earl Ottar.

Svein sailed across the Pentland Firth in a merchant-ship, and by a trick captured earl Paul. He sailed back with him, to the Moray Firth, and Oykell bank. He left 20 men with his ship; and went on to Matad and Margaret, Paul's sister, in Athole. Paul never returned to Orkney, and it was given out that he had been maimed or blinded. Harold, Matad's son, then 3 winters old [i.e., in 1136. According to Fl., he was 5 winters old before 23rd April, 1139], succeeded to his claim to the Orkneys; but meanwhile Ronald was sole earl in Orkney.

Ronald built the cathedral, and for this purpose taxed the cultivated lands.

On 30th December [1138], bishop John went from Athole to Orkney, and persuaded Ronald to receive Harold, Matad's son, and give him half of the islands with the title of earl. This agreement was finally made at a meeting held in Caithness during Lent [8 Mar. × 22 Apr. 1139]. Harold went to Orkney, with Thorbiorn Clerk, his foster-father.

Svein Asleif's son went to Scotland [1139×], to avenge his father's death. He went to Oykell bank, and thence to Athole, to earl Matad; and Matad gave him guides. He surprised Olvi, by coming through Helmsdale to Frakokk's house. Olvi fought, and was defeated; he fled to the Hebrides. Svein burned the house, and Frakokk in it. Svein harried Sutherland, and plundered the coasts of Scotland. He returned to Orkney, and was welcomed by Ronald. Svein passed the winter in Duncansby. He had inherited the lands of his father and brother. His sister had married Thorbiorn Clerk, Thorstein's son, Frakokk's grandson (cf. 1106, note).

Holdbodi sent a message to Svein [1140×], telling him that he had been deprived of house and goods by Robert, an Englishman, a yeoman [*haulldr*] of Wales; who had plundered widely in the Hebrides and Man. [I do not know whether this Robert is historical. The earl of Pembroke was Gilbert de Clare († 1149). Reynold de Dunstanville was earl of Cornwall (1141 - † 1175). Randolph de Gernons was earl of Chester.]

Svein got two ships of war from earl Ronald, and found Holdbodi in Man. Svein and Holdbodi plundered in Man, and burned six homesteads in Earl's-ness [in Pembroke?]. Robert fled to Lundy Island. After a vain siege of his castle there, Svein and Holdbodi returned to Man, in the autumn. Svein married, and remained there during the winter.

In spring [1141 ×], Svein plundered about Ireland. Returning to Man in the autumn, he was attacked by Holdbodi. Holdbodi was defeated, and fled to Robert, with whom he had made peace. As winter passed, Svein sold his wife's lands in Man, and sailed in spring [1142 ×] to Lewis, and afterwards to Orkney. He went home to Gairsay.

Meanwhile, Thorbiorn Clerk had been in Scotland. He killed two of the burners of Frakokk. After his father, Thorstein, had been killed by [an unhistorical] earl Waltheof, Thorbiorn went to earl Ronald, who was in Wick, feasting at Hroald's house. Ronald made peace between Thorbiorn and Svein, regarding the deaths of the burners [1142 ×].

Holdbodi came to the Hebrides. Svein Asleif's son, Thorbiorn Clerk, and three other nobles, went with five ships from Orkney, and plundered the Hebrides. Holdbodi escaped to Lundy Island, and did not return to the Hebrides. The Orkneymen returned in autumn [1143 ×] to Duncansby, and quarrelled over the spoils. Thorbiorn sent back his wife, Ingigerd or Ingirid [cf. c. 59], to Svein, her brother.

During this expedition, Duncansby was in the charge of Margad, Grím's son [*Margaðr* in O.S.; *Murgadr* in Fl., i.e. "Murchaid"]. After Svein's return, Margad killed Hroald in Wick; Margad and Svein took refuge in Lamba-borg, and robbed from there in Caithness. Svein, Hroald's son, obtained aid from earl Ronald, who, with the nobles that had accompanied Svein Asleif's son to the Hebrides, first went to Duncansby, and afterwards besieged Lamba-borg.

Svein and Margad were lowered by ropes from the castle into the sea. They swam to the end of the cliffs, and escaped to Sutherland, Moray, and Dufeyrar, where they found an Orkney merchant-ship southward-bound. They were storm-stayed for seven nights on the May Island. Abbot Baldwin [1143 × 1148. The earliest known prior of May is called Achardus, 1142 × 1153 (? 1144 × ? 1147); May, no. 5], or Archardus, thought they were robbers, and sent ashore for help: therefore they plundered the place. They sailed up the firth of Forth, and came to king David at Edinburgh. They told David how they had quarrelled with earl Ronald, and how they had plundered May; and David gave them welcome. They remained with him for some time. [May priory had been founded by David.] The king gave compensation to those whom Svein had robbed; and sent messengers to earl Ronald, asking him to take atonement from Svein. Svein returned home, Margad remained with David.

Meanwhile Ronald had taken Lamba-borg, and sent Thorbiorn Clerk to Moray Firth to look for Svein. Thorbiorn set fire to earl Waltheof's house, and killed the earl and thirty men. [Waltheof of Lothian † 1182.] Thorbiorn returned to Orkney. Ronald was well pleased, and Orkney was at peace.

[In 1148], when earl Harold was "19 winters old" [∴ 1153 ×; falsely], the two earls of Orkney went to Norway. They were wrecked in Shetland upon the return journey. After two winters [in 1150], earl Ronald prepared for his journey to Palestine; and for this purpose visited Norway. He passed another winter in Orkney.

In the spring [1151; q.v.], a great assembly was held in Pomona. The

1136

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 70

In the year 1136, the abbey of St Mary of Melrose was created, on the second day of Easter week.[1] And Richard [was] the first abbot.[2]

After 1136

Chronicle of Melrose (fo. 62 verso), pp. 190-191

The abbots of Melrose.

Richard	[1136-1148]
Waltheof	[1148-1159]
William	[1159-1170]
Joceline	[1170-1175]
Laurence	[1175-1178]
Arnold	[1179-1189]
Rayner	[1189-1194]
Ralph	[1194-1202]

Orkneys were placed under earl Harold's charge. Harold was then "nearly 20 years old" [∴ 1154; falsely].

Ronald sailed from Orkney in the summer [1151] with fifteen ships. With him went bishop William, Erling Skakki, Aslak Erlend's son, Magnus Havard's son, Svein Hroald's son, and others. A long account is given of their adventures. Cf. below, year 1151.

The whole story is of a highly unhistorical character.

[1] I.e., Monday, 23rd March, 1136. This sentence is written in capital letters.

The foundation of Melrose is entered by the Chronicle of Man, i, 62, (from C.M.) s.a. 1139.

According to Cistercian Foundations to 1234, "The abbey of Melrose [was created] on the Kalends of April," 1135 (1st April; read *x kal.*, i.e., 23rd March, 1136?); the Foundations to 1247, s.a. 1136: "[The house] of Melrose [was founded]," with the note: "an abbacy." J.B.A.A., xxvi, 284, 358.

See L.C., no. 141, and pp. 375-376. According to Bower, i, 296, Melrose was occupied by "monks of Cîteaux." Its parent house was Rievaulx. Cf. below, year 1261.

Cf. the Chronicle of Peterborough (Caxton Soc. ed., 89), s.a. 1136: "The monastery of Melrose was restored, and bestowed upon Cistercian monks, in the — —th year from its destruction."

For the dedication of the new church built for the monks, see year 1146.

See the verses De Melros, in S.S. 70, 83-85.

[2] See year 1148.

The abbots of Melrose—continued.

William	[1202-1206]
Patrick	[1206-1207]
Adam	[1207-1214]
Hugh of Clifton, on the Ides of May,[1] in the year 1214	[-1215]
William	[1215-1216]
Ralph	[1216-1219]
Adam of Harkarres	[1219-1245]
Matthew	[1246-1261]
Adam of Maxton	[1261-1267]
John of Edrom	[1267-1268]
Robert of Keldeleth,[2] formerly abbot of Dunfermline	[1268]
Patrick of Selkirk	[1268 × ?1275-1296 × 1310]

Bishops taken from the house of Melrose.

Simon de Toeni,[3] monk, to the bishopric of Moray	[1172-1184]
Joceline, abbot, to that of Glasgow	[1175-1199]
Reynold, monk, to that of Ross	[1195-1213]
Ralph, abbot, to that of Down	[1202]
Adam, abbot, to that of Caithness	[1214-1222]
Gilbert, monk, to that of Galloway	[1235-1253]

1136

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 70, s.a. 1136

The dedication of the church of Glasgow.[4]

Northumbria and Cumbria were restored to David, the king of the Scots. But immediately king David and king Stephen made peace; and Northumbria was restored to king Stephen, and Cumbria remained with king David.[5]

[1] 15th May.

[2] I.e., Kenleith, Currie.

[3] *Toney.*

[4] C.H., 35, s.a. 1136: "Dedication of the church of Glasgow, on the Nones of July" (7th July).

About this time, king David granted Partick to the church of Glasgow (Glasgow, no. 3; L.C., no. 109, 1136 × 1144).

[5] Cf. E.C., 170-173.

Chronique de Normandie, in B.R., xiii, 255: "David, the king of

1137

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 70, s.a. 1137

Thurstan, the archbishop of York, came to Roxburgh; and induced king David for the time not to lay waste Northumbria. But not long afterwards the truce was terminated, because king Stephen refused to give Northumbria to king David's son, Henry.[1]

1137

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 35

In 1137, on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of December,[2] there was a battle between the Scots and the English.

1138

Annals of Loch Cé, vol. i, p. 138, s.a. 1138[3]

Plundering of the north of England by men of Scotland; and they took innumerable captives, and many spoils.[4]

Scotland, was the uncle of this Maud—her mother's brother—; and he fought for her in England continually, along with the earl of Leicester, against king Stephen." But David's policy was not disinterested. He wished to obtain possession of the northern counties of England.

The warfare of David and Stephen is mentioned in the 1291 chronicles of Tewkesbury and Worcester (Palgrave, 127, 130-131; from H.H.), and cf. Chester (Bain, ii, 113); in the Chronicle of Peterborough, 89, s.a. 1136; and the additions to Ralph Niger, 180, s.a. 1135 (from H.H.).

Edward's letter to Boniface (Foedera, i, 2, 932) says that David's son Henry did "homage and fealty" to king Stephen.

The districts of Carlisle and Doncaster, and the earldom of Huntingdon and probably Northampton, were given to Henry. See year ? 1114, note. This compromise was perhaps suggested by the terms made between kings Henry I and Louis VI, whereby Henry's son William did homage to Louis, and obtained Normandy, in 1120.

[1] See E.C., 174-175. The truce was made to 28th November; but it was broken off by Stephen's refusal to give Northumbria to Henry (R.H.).

By this warfare, Henry forfeited the earldom of Huntingdon and Northampton. It was restored to him in 1139 (q.v.; and see ? 1114, note); and he then obtained Northumbria also.

Thurstan's death, in the monastery of Pomfret, in 1140, is noticed by C.M. (cf. E.C., 138, note).

[2] 17th November.

[3] With f.n. and e. of 1138.

[4] This is probably derived from a part of A.U., now lost.

1138

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 70

In the year 1138, king David miserably wasted the whole of Northumbria. In the beginning of the fast,[1] king Stephen came to Roxburgh with a great army; but immediately returned, with ignominy.[2]

1138

Annals of Multifernan, p. 8, s.a. 1137

A battle between English and Scots at Clitheroe.[3]

1138

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 70-71

There was a battle at Cowton Moor, between Scots and English, at the Standard, on the eleventh day before the Kalends of September, the second day of the week.[4]

[1] Ash Wednesday was 16th February in 1138.

[2] This paragraph is copied in the inserted folio 53; p. 233. Cf. the Chronicle of Carlisle, in Palgrave, 72, s.a. 1138: "King David wasted and obtained almost the whole of Northumbria; and he took into his own [hand] Cumbria, and Carlisle, and Newcastle, and the other fortresses [*municipia*], excepting Bamborough.

"King Stephen compelled him to return to his own land, and pursued him to Roxburgh."

The 1291 chronicle of Tewkesbury notes Stephen's invasion of Scotland (Palgrave, 128), from H.H. (E.C., 184, note).

Cf. also the Chronicle of Huntingdon (P. & S., 212): "This David wasted almost the whole of Northumbria; but king Stephen came with the English army, and compelled him to return to his own land, and pursued him as far as Roxburgh."

See E.C., 178-185. Cf. Additions to Ralph Niger's Chronicle, s.a. 1138 (181-182; derived from Gesta Stephani and H.H.).

[3] Cf. E.C., 186-187. The battle was won on Friday, 10th June, 1138. On the following day, king David, at the siege of Norham, granted protection to the priory of Tynemouth (L.C., no. 119).

[4] I.e., on Monday, 22nd August, 1138. See E.C., 195-208.

Cf. the Chronicle of Huntingdon, P. & S., 212: "In the summer, king David again crossed the river Tees. And the English army met him on Cowton Moor; and there was fought the battle that is called [the battle of] the Standard. The Scots were conquered, many being captured, and many killed." So also in the Chronicle of Carlisle, Palgrave, 72.

The Chronicle of Man, i, 62, s.a. 1139 (with the foundation of Melrose

And [Roger] the bishop of Salisbury, and [Alexander] the bishop of Lincoln, and chancellor, were captured by king Stephen.

The legate Alberic, bishop of Ostia, came to king David at Carlisle.[1]

1139

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 71, s.a. 1139

Peace was made between the two kings [Stephen and David], at the instance of the queen [Matilda]; and Northumbria was given to king David's son, Henry.[2]

Earl Henry married countess Ada, daughter of earl William de Varenne; and sister of William the younger,[3] and of Robert, the earl of Leicester, and of Waleran, the count of Meulan.

[1136]): "In the same year the battle of the Standard was fought between the English and the Scots; and the Scots were defeated, and fled."

The Annals of Multifernan, 8, s.a. 1138, copying from the Life of Thurstan (E.C., 195), note: "A battle between David of Scotland and the archbishop of York; and king David was conquered."

Cf. Langtoft, i, 472-482.

See the humorous verses describing this war, in S.S. **70**, 74-76. The author says that the wives of the Scottish soldiers grieved that their husbands had suffered a defeat, and obtained no booty; "and they forbade their husbands to go to the wars again, laying the curse *mallacht Phatraic* [*Maloht Patric* in text; "the curse of Patrick"] upon the English, and the Standard."

[1] This note stands in the MS. before the account of the battle of the Standard.

[2] This paragraph is copied in the inserted folio 53; p. 233. Cf. the Chronicle of Huntingdon, P. & S., 212: "But at the instance of the queen of England, Matilda, who was king David's niece (the daughter of his sister Mary), peace was restored between king Stephen and king David; and Northumbria and Cumbria were given to earl Henry, David's son." Cf. the Chronicle of Carlisle, Palgrave, 72.

R.H. says that 5 sons of Scottish nobles were given as hostages (E.C., 214-215). Among them he names the sons of earl Mel — — and earl Mac — —. These earls may possibly have been Maelmuire, earl of Athole († ? × 1128; see 1131 ×), and Gillemichel, ? Dub's son, earl of Fife († × 1136). Gospatric, whose son was given, may have been Gospatric II († ? 1138).

For the influence of queen Matilda over her husband, cf. the letter of pope Eugenius III (26th June, 1147), in which she is urged to use it in the favour of Robert, the bishop of London (P.L. **180**, 1249).

[3] "and sister . . . younger" added in text hand, above the line.

And her mother was the sister of Ralph, the count of Péronne; and akin to the king of the French.[1] . . .

[1] See above, year ? 1114, note.

The 1291 chronicle of Norwich, perhaps deriving from H.H. (E.C., 213-214), says erroneously (Palgrave, 119): "— — in the year of the Lord 1139, [king Stephen] entered Scotland with an army; — — [and took away] with him the king of Scotland's son, Henry, as a hostage — —." Cf. a similar implication in the Tewkesbury chronicle (ibid., 128).

For the marriage of Ada, cf. Fordun, III, 33; i, 232-233. See i.a. her charters, in St Andrews, 207-209; L.C., no. 260: L.A., 222. See L.C., 378; L.A., 221.

The countess Ada died in 1178.

Ada's mother, Elizabeth or Isabella, (for whom see Genealogist, N.S., x, 2) married Robert de Beaumont, count of Meulan and 1st earl of Leicester († 1118). Earl Robert had previously married Godechilde, the daughter of Ralph de Toeni and of Alice, the sister of earl Henry's mother (O.V.); but in 1096 Godechilde had married Baldwin, afterwards king of Jerusalem (1101 - † 1118). Isabella also deserted earl Robert, and married William de Varenne, 2nd earl of Surrey († 1136; R.T., 131). The countess Ada was their daughter. Her brother William, 3rd earl of Surrey, had a daughter Isabella, who married (× 1153) William, king Stephen's son and heir († 1159); he became, in the right of his wife, de Varenne and earl of Surrey. See the Genealogist, N.S., xi, 132. Isabella married afterwards Hamelin, an illegitimate son of count Geoffrey of Anjou. Ada's sister, Gundred, married (× 1130; G.E.C. Peerage) Roger, the earl of Warwick. Roger succeeded his father, Henry († 20th June 1123), the younger brother of earl Robert above.

Ada's half-brother Waleran († 1148) became count of Meulan; her half-brother Robert († 1168), the 2nd earl of Leicester. This Robert's daughter Isabella married earl Henry's half-brother, Simon II de Senlis; and was the mother of Simon III. Ada's half-brother, Hugh the Poor, was the earl of Bedford (ca. 1138-1141).

Her half-sister, Isabella, was the wife of Gilbert de Clare, 1st earl of Pembroke; and the mother of Richard Strongbow. See year 1170. Strongbow's daughter, Isabella, married William Marshal, who became in her right earl of Pembroke.

William de Varenne, 3rd earl of Surrey; Waleran, count of Meulan; and Simon II, recently made earl of Northampton, were among the principal adherents to queen Matilda (king David's niece) after the capture of king Stephen in 1141. See O.V., v, 130; cf. Round's Mandeville.

In L.C., no. 271, Malcolm (for which we must read "William," if the charter is genuine), earl Henry's son, while earl of Northumbria used his mother's surname (*de Gwarenne*), since he had no family name. Varenne (Old French also *garene*, *warene*; English "warren") was in the district of Dieppe, and was a fief of Bellencombre (Le Prevost). Arques, in the same neighbourhood, was the last part of Normandy to submit to Geoffrey of Anjou, in 1145.

The empress Matilda came to England, to acquire the land on behalf of her son, whom king David and many others held to be the lawful heir.[1]

1139×1153

Chronicle of the Canons of Huntingdon; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 212

And king David made a very strong fortress in — — Carlisle, and raised very much the walls of the town.[2]

1140

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 71, s.a. 1140

The abbey of St Mary at Newbattle was built.[3]

[1] With the whole annal, cf. J.H., s.a. 1139; and E.C., 213-215.

Stephen's peace with Scotland did not end civil war. Matilda landed at Portsmouth on 30th September, 1139, and effectually revived the anarchy which her presence might earlier have ended in her favour. She gained the greater part of England, and captured king Stephen himself (see year 1141). The struggle continued between Matilda and her cousin, queen Matilda. The empress's arrogant character alienated the sympathy of her supporters. King Stephen was exchanged (ca. 12th November) with Robert, earl of Gloucester, who had been taken prisoner by earl William de Varenne (J.W.) on 14th September, 1141; and before the end of the year, the empress was forced to flee from Oxford. She remained in England for five years longer; and peace was not obtained until, on 6th November, 1153, king Stephen accepted Matilda's son Henry as his heir. Stephen had barely a year in which to establish law and order, before his death (25th October, 1154). See N.C., v, 291-330.

King David took part in this warfare on the side of the empress, in 1141-1142; and probably earl Henry forfeited the earldoms that he held of Stephen. Simon II de Senlis appears as earl of Northampton in 1141, and I do not find any proof that Henry held Huntingdon after the empress's followers had been driven out of that part of the country. King Stephen was unable to take from him Northumbria. See under ?1114. Cf. year 1149.

[2] This stands at the end of this chronicle's account of David's reign, after the peace made in 1139.

[3] This is placed after events of 1141; see that year, below.

Stevenson referred to Harleian MS. 2363, fo. 46 verso, which (he said) dated the foundation of Newbattle in 1141. This was an oversight: the date given there is 1140. This, and the following date of Dundrennan, are the only correct dates in a list there given of king David's foundations,

1141

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 71

In the year 1140, king Stephen was taken captive in the battle at Lincoln, on the day of the Purification of St Mary[1]; and placed in custody.

At the festival of the Holy Cross, in September,[2] after a numerous army of knights had been collected, from England and from districts beyond the sea, [king Stephen] was wholly released from chains, and restored to the kingdom; at the instance of his queen, and in exchange for Robert, the earl of Gloucester, king Henry's son, who was captured there; — —[3] and David king of the Scots, and the empress, escaped without danger.[4]

unless perhaps the date of Jedburgh is right: see below, s.f., under De Domibus Religiosis. This part of the MS. was written in 1557.

L.C. (379) says that C.H. gives the date 1141 for the foundation. C.H. does not mention Newbattle under 1140, and has no annal for 1141. The monastery is stated to have been founded in 1141, in Holyrood, no. 7 = Newbattle, no. 5; but it was already in existence on 1st November, 1140 (Newbattle, no. 2; L.C., no. 144).

Cistercian Foundations to 1234, s.a. 1140: "On the Kalends of November [1st Nov.], the abbey of Newbattle [was made]." Foundations to 1247, s.a. 1140: "[The house] of Newbattle [was founded]." J.B.A.A., xxvi, 285, 358.

[1] 2nd February, 1141.

[2] 14th September.

[3] An erasure in the MS.

[4] Cf. the Chronicle of Peterborough, 91, s.a. 1140: "But king David and the empress escaped from that battle without danger." See E.C., 220-221.

King David did not again take an active part in the warfare; but he continued to support Matilda's cause, and retained his hold upon Northumberland and Cumberland. Cf. years 1142, 1149-1153.

According to the document quoted in Bain, ii, 16 (but not according to the similar document in Wetherhal), king David held Cumbria in trust for Alan, Waltheof's son, who was his ward, and who obtained Allerdale when he came of age.

Earl Henry, in consideration of his oath to king Stephen, did not accompany his father upon this warfare (L.C., 365). Nevertheless Simon de Senlis II appears in this year as earl of Northampton; and it seems probable that Stephen confiscated the honour of Huntingdon also, since David had broken the agreement upon which it had been given. See ? 1114, note.

1140-1141

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 72

In the year 1141, an eclipse of the sun occurred, on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of April[1]; and king Malcolm was born.[2]

1142

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 72

In the year 1142, William Comyn, the chancellor of David, king of the Scots, by gift of the empress entered the castle of Durham. And he held the possessions of St Cuthbert for some time by force, with blind ambition desiring to be made bishop. And since he grievously oppressed the church, Roger, the prior, and the archdeacon Randolph, left the place; and the others were dispersed, and the church ceased from divine service.[3]

[1] I.e., on 20th March. There was a total eclipse of the sun in 1140, on March 20th, at 2 p.m. (Paris time; L'Art). It is noted by A.S.C.

[2] The year-number of this annal presumably belongs to Malcolm's birth; the eclipse having been displaced in order to bring the two events into connection with each other. D.K. places Malcolm's birth on 20th March, 1142, erroneously. It follows that his ages there given (72, 73) at his accession and death are incorrect. The error is repeated in L.A., 3. C.M., s.aa. 1153, 1165, implies that Malcolm was born 10 Dec. 1140 × 24 May 1141.

According to the Book of Coupar (Bower, i, 294, note): "In the 18th year of king David, there was born to the aforesaid Henry, son of the king, a son, named Malcolm, surnamed the Virgin, a future king. And in the following year, David (who was afterwards earl of Huntingdon and of Garioch); and in the 20th year, William (also a future king), were born. . . ." Similarly in the Perth version.

This places Malcolm's birth 23 Apr. 1141 × 22 Apr. 1142. If it is correct, combined with the evidence of C.M. it would date his birth 23 Apr. × 24 May 1141. William was born in 1143 (q.v.). David was younger than William. This is proved by the course of events, and by the claims of 1291; Foedera, i, 2, 776. D.K. says that David was born "about 1144" (cf. L.C., 378).

[3] For the affair of William Comyn, see E.C., 210, 217-221; L.C., 349, 366-370. See especially the Dialogues of prior Laurence; S.S. 70, 3-40.

This was an episode in the warfare of Matilda and David with Stephen. Durham had been excluded from the territory ruled by earl Henry, in 1139 (E.C., 215).

In the same year, the abbey of Dundrennan, in Galloway, was founded.[1]

1142

Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii, p. 1068, s.a. 1142

Ottar's son's son, Ottar, of the people of the Hebrides, assumed the rule and dominion of Dublin.[2]

1142

Heimskringla, Harold Gilli's sons' Saga, c. 13

Eystein, Harold's son, came to Norway.

Sigurd and Ingi [Harold's sons] had ruled Norway for six winters. That spring, Eystein came from the west, from Scotland; he was a son of Harold Gilli. Arni Sturla, and Thorleif, Bryniólf's son, and Kolbein Hrúga, had gone west beyond the sea after Eystein; and they accompanied him to the land, and proceeded at once north to Trondhjem. And the Trondhjemers received him, and he was taken for king at the Eyrathing, during Rogation days[3]: so that he was to have one-third part of Norway, with his brothers.

Sigurd and Ingi were then east in the land. Then men

[1] This note is added in a 13th-century hand. Dundrennan was a Cistercian abbey, founded by king David, according to Fordun, Bower, and the lists added to Bower. Walcott says it was founded by David and Fergus, lord of Galloway (Scotimonasticon, 274-275); K.B., 417, Chalmers (Caledonia, ii, 678), Sir Herbert Maxwell (Dumfries and Galloway (1896), 49), and L.C., 362, say that it was founded by Fergus.

Cistercian Foundations to 1247, s.a. 1142: "[The house] of Dundrennan [was founded]." This is probably the "abbey of *Brundrem*'," whose creation is placed on 23rd July, 1142, in the Foundations to 1234. J.B.A.A., xxvi, 359, 286.

[2] Ottar's father also seems to have been king of Dublin. Annals of Clonmacnoise, 193, s.a. 1134: "Ottar's son, prince of the Hebrides, was chosen to be prince of the Danes of Dublin." (The next section is dated 1135).

See below, year 1148.

During this time, Olaf, Godfrey Crovan's son, was king in Man (?1104-?1153).

[3] 25th-27th May, 1142.

Icelandic Annals C, s.a. 1142: "Eystein, son of king Harold Gilli, came from Ireland to Norway, and took dominion there with his brothers." Cf. EPA, s.a. 1141.

went between the kings, and brought it about that Eystein should have a third part of the kingdom.

No ordeal was demanded of Eystein, to prove his paternity; but that was believed which king Harold had said of it. King Eystein's mother was called Biadok[1]; and she came to Norway with him.[2]

1143

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 72, s.a. 1143

King William of Scotland was born.[3]

After 1144

18th-century Abstract from the Register of the Priory of St Andrews, Harleian MS. 4628, fo. 224[4]

In the year 1140, Robert, the first prior, was elected by bishop Robert; he died in the year 1197.[5] To him succeeded

[1] Probably = Irish Bláthóc.

[2] The same passage is in Fr., 335-336; and Ingi's Saga, c. 14 (F.S. vii, 228-229). The passage in Fagrskinna, c. 259, p. 351, is to the same effect. Similarly, but with verse-quotation, in Morkinskinna, 223: "when the brothers, king Ingi and king Sigurd, had been kings for six winters, there came from the west, from Scotland, the man who is named Eystein, as Einar, Skúli's son, says: 'The king was eager to go east—impetuous and valiant.' . . ." See J.S., i, A, 473; B, 445.

[3] Cf. above, 1140-1141, note.

William was born before the date of Melrose no. 2 (L.C., no. 142), in which earl Henry speaks of "my sons." This charter is referred to in no. 1 (Melrose, Appendix, no. 1; L.C., no. 142). No. 1 was given in June, 1142 × 1144. If C.M.'s year of William's birth is correct, both these charters may be dated 1143 × 1144.

[4] In St Andrews, p. xxx; and Pinkerton's Enquiry, i, 457.

[5] These dates are incorrect. Robert was probably elected in 1144. He died in 1160 (q.v.).

Bishop Robert's foundation charter is dated 1144 (St Andrews, 122-123; L.C., no. 162). In it he announced that, wishing to enlarge the church of St Andrews with living stones, he had established Augustinian canons there; and had appointed Robert to be their prior. This he had done with the approval of king David, and of Henry, the king designate. David and Henry confirmed this charter (St Andrews, 189, 192-193; L.C., nos. 163, 164), probably at the same time.

Pope Lucius II confirmed prior Robert's appointment, and took the priory under his protection, at the instance of Bernard, the bishop of St

Walter, who resigned the priorate because of illness. Gilbert succeeded him, but died after two months, at Clackmannan, while Walter still lived. And [Walter] resumed the priorate, and ruled as well as he could; but he died in the year 1200. Thomas succeeded him; but he resigned the priorate, because of the wickedness of the brethren. And he became . . .[1] of Coupar. To him succeeded Simon. He also left the priorate, and took the priorate of the island of Loch Leven. To him succeeded Henry of Norham, in the year 1226. To him succeeded prior John: he died in the year 1258. Gilbert succeeded him; he died in the year 1263. John of Haddington succeeded him; he died in the year 1304. To him succeeded Adam de Manchan; he died in the year 1313. To him succeeded John of Forfar.[2]

1146

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 73

In the year 1146, the church of St Mary of Melrose was dedicated, on the fifth day before the Kalends of August, on a Sunday.[3]

David's, on 14th May, 1144 (St Andrews, 47-48; L.C., no. 165). The priory must therefore have been founded some months before that day.

On 30th August, 1147, pope Eugenius III took the church of St Andrews under his protection, and confirmed its discipline, possessions, and privileges (St Andrews, 48; L.C., no. 181); and at the same time giving the canons the right to elect the bishops of St Andrews, and decreeing that, upon the decease of the céli-dé, regular canons should be appointed in their place. Cf. H. & S., ii, 225-227; Reeves, Culdees, 106-109.

Among other grants made to the canons of St Andrews, they received the priory of St Serfs in Lochleven, formerly occupied by céli-dé. See St Andrews, 43, 186, 188-189, xvi, and xvi×xvii; L.C., nos. 232, 233. They received also the priories of May, Monimusk, Pittenweem, Portmoak.

For the earlier history of Lochleven Priory, see St Andrews, 113-117; L.C., nos. 3, 5, 6, 8, 11, 14, 23, 80.

[1] Unintelligible words are written here, on a somewhat smaller scale, as if the copyist was uncertain of the reading of the text before him. They seem to be: *no'mlun lvaba.* Coupar was a Cistercian abbey; Thomas was an Augustinian canon. Possibly read *novitius in abbatia* "a novice in the abbey of Coupar"?

[2] This list appears to have been compiled not long after 1313.

[3] I.e., on Sunday, 28th July, 1146.

1147

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 73

John, the bishop of Glasgow, died[1]; and Herbert, the abbot of Kelso, succeeded him, being consecrated by pope Eugenius [III] at Auxerre, on St Bartholomew's day.[2] [And Arnold became the second abbot of Kelso.[3]]

1148

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 73

In the year 1148, [Richard, the first abbot of Melrose, departed; and][4] Waltheof, the brother of Henry, earl of the Northumbrians, and of Simon, earl of Northampton, became abbot of Melrose.[5]

The convent came to Alnwick.[6]

1148

Tigernach's Continuator, Revue Celtique, vol. xviii, p. 170; s.a. [1148][7]

Ottar, the king of the Foreigners of Dublin, was killed by the sons of Thorkel.[8]

[1] So also in C.H., 35. Cf. E.C., 221, 394; and above, years 1122, 1123.

John, a monk (Glasgow, i, 4; L.C., 45), had been consecrated by pope Paschal II (Aug. 1099×1118, Jan. 21). Cf. D.B., 295. He witnessed king David's charter of 3rd May, 1147, at Coldingham (L.C., no. 178).

[2] 24th August; a Sunday in 1147. Pope Eugenius III was at Auxerre upon that day (Jaffé).

[3] This is a marginal addition. For Arnold, see years 1160-1162; † 1164.

[4] These words are added later, in the space between this and the previous year-section. In the margin, in red letters: "2nd abbot of Melrose."

[5] Simon de Senlis II had by this time obtained the earldom of Northampton and, apparently, of Huntingdon. See years ?1114, 1139, 1141, notes.

The Chronicle of Peterborough, 89, s.a. 1136, says erroneously, speaking of the Cistercians of Melrose: "St Waltheof became their first abbot, from being sacrist at Rievaulx."

See below, year 1159.

Cf. Jordan's Life of Abbot Waltheof, A.S., August, i, 251.

[6] Alnwick was founded by Eustace, John's son; and occupied by Premonstratensian canons. It was the parent house of Dryburgh abbey (see year 1150).

[7] With ferial and epact of 1148.

[8] Similarly in C.S., 346, which reads: "by the sons of Thorkel's

1148

St Bernard's Vita S. Malachiae; Bollandists' Acta Sanctorum, November, vol. ii, part 1, pp. 164-165[1]

In the early morning, [bishop Malachias] entered a ship, and on the same day with prosperous course sailed over, and came to Scotland.

On the third day, he reached the place that is called Viride Stagnum, which he had caused to be prepared, in order that he might establish an abbey there. And he left there some of his sons, our brothers, the convent of monks[2] and the abbot; since he had brought them with him for this purpose: and bidding them farewell, he departed. While he went across [the land], he was met by king David; by whom he was received with joy, and detained for several days. And after performing many works pleasing to God, he resumed the journey that he had begun.

son, by a trick." For Thorkel, see A.L.C., i, 133, s.a. 1133; cf. F.M., ii, 1042.

Ottar had become king of Dublin in 1142 (q.v., above). In 1146, Ronald, Thorkel's son, king of Dublin, had been killed in southern Brega. Continuator of T., 168; C.S., 342; F.M., ii, 1080.

In 1160, "Brodir, Thorkel's son, the king of Dublin, was killed by [the men of] southern Brega" (Contin. of T., 190). Brodir "was killed by Maelcron, Gillasechnaill's son" (F.M., ii, 1138, s.a. 1160). His death is noted also by A.B., under O'Conor's year 1160.

Cf. below, year 1171.

[1] Also in P.L. **182**, 1113-1114.

[2] This seems to imply that the abbey was occupied by monks, and of the Cistercian order. Saulseat, with which Viride Stagnum ("green pool") has been identified, was an abbey of Premonstratensian canons. Cf. Maxwell's Dumfries and Galloway, 48; Statistical Account, iv, **8**, 87, 82; Walcott, Scotimonasticon, 333-334. Saulseat was the mother-house of Holywood and Whithorn.

Perhaps as a result of Maelmaedoic's earlier visit to Clairvaux, the Cistercian abbey of Mellifont was founded in 1140 (Cistercian Foundations to 1247; 359). The abbot of Mellifont was Christianus, at the time when Bernard wrote the Life (149). Maelmaedoic may have brought monks from Mellifont to Saulseat; but in that case the monastery ceased to be a Cistercian house not many years afterwards.

The same bishop may have established a Cistercian monastery called Viride-lignum, in Newry county. Cf. Janauschek, 136.

Maelmaedoic had established an abbey of regular canons at Saul, in the county of Down. They were dispersed in 1170 (A.U.). It would

And passing through Scotland, exactly in the entrance to England, he turned aside to the church of Guisbrough, where religious men dwell, living the canonical life; his friends from of old, because of their religiousness and uprightness. . . .[1]

1149

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 74

In the year 1149, Richard, the former abbot of Melrose, died in the convent at Clairvaux.

Henry, the son of the empress [Matilda] (the daughter of king Henry I), and son of [Geoffrey] the count of Anjou, was honourably received by David, the king of the Scots, at Carlisle; and received from him the arms of knighthood.[2]

seem more probable that the canons of Saulseat had been brought from Saul; but it is difficult to imagine that Bernard should have erred in his belief that the abbey founded in 1148 was Cistercian.

[1] The Augustinian priory at Guisbrough in the West Riding of Yorkshire had been founded by Robert de Bruce, lord of Skelton, in 1129. See D.M., vi, 1, 265, 267. See year 1232, note.

St Bernard says that Malachias died at Clairvaux, on his way to Rome on this occasion to receive the pall, on 2nd November, 1148 (166, 164).

Bernard calls him archbishop, which is a rendering of the Irish title *árd-epscop* "chief bishop." He did not in fact receive the pall. There were no Irish archbishops before 1151 (q.v.). He had received the office of papal legate instead of the pall. See years 1134×1143; 1159, note.

He is called Maelmaedoic Ua-Morgair or Ua-Mongair by the Irish annalists.

His death in 1148 is noticed by the continuator of Tigernach, 170 ("Chief bishop of Ireland and Scotland"), and C.S., 344, 346 ("Archbishop, and virgin, and scribe; head of the religion of all Ireland and Scotland, and legate of pope Innocent"). See F.M., s.aa. 1132, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1147, 1148.

C.M., 74, s.a. 1148: "St Malachias, bishop of Ireland, died at Clairvaux; and was buried there." See the account given by J.H., s.a. 1149.

His death is noted by Icelandic Annals KO, s.a. 1147 ("Malachias, bishop in Ireland, died"); and s.a. 1149, by the later versions CA (which call him "archbishop"). Immediately after their notice of his death, CA read: "The conduct of Dugald to Ireland." This may perhaps mean that Dugald was his successor in the office of legate.

[2] Cf. J.H.; see E.C., 221-223.

The Chronicle of Carlisle, s.a. 1149 (Palgrave, 72): "Henry, son of Geoffrey, count of Anjou, and of Matilda the empress, came to Carlisle; and king David received him there, with great honour, and sumptuous preparation; and so on, in that passage."

1149

De Origine Comitum Andegavensium, in Bouquet's Recueil, vol. xii, p. 537[1]

Count Geoffrey [of Anjou] begot, of the empress, Henry II [of England]. And while [Henry] was in his fifteenth year, he was presented with the belt of knighthood by his mother's uncle, David, the king of the Scots, at Carlisle, on the festival of Pentecost. In his seventeenth year he obtained the duchy of Normandy, which his father, girdled with the strength of the Angevins, had wrested by force from the hands of Stephen, the king of the English.[2]

1150

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 74

In the year 1150, the abbacy of Holme Cultram was created, on the Kalends of January[3]; and the abbacy of Kinloss, in Moray.[4]

[1] Also in Marchegay and Salmon, Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou, 341.

[2] Cf. year 1151. According to Ralph Niger, Henry was nearly 22 years old when he became king; this implies that he was born in 1133. But De Origine implies that he was born 23 May 1134 × 22 May 1135. He was born in March, 1133 (R.T.; O.V., iv, 9).

The knighting of Henry is noted in the Additions to Ralph Niger, s.a. 1169 (read 1149), 14 Stephen: "Henry, the eldest son of Geoffrey Plantagenest, count of Anjou, was gifted with the belt of knighthood by David, the king of Scotland, in the festival of Pentecost, at Carlisle" [22nd May].

[3] 1st January, a Sunday in 1150. A later note, inserted between this and the previous year-section, reads: "And Everardus the first abbot." Immediately after this stands the date (*xii Kal. junii*), connected below with the foundation of Kinloss.

The Chronicle of Man, borrowing from C.M., notes under 1141: "The abbey of St Mary of Holme Cultram was founded."

Holme Cultram abbey, in Cumberland, received its foundation charter from earl Henry, 1150 × 1152; its foundation was confirmed by king David, 1150 × 1153. See L.C., nos. 244, 245. It was occupied by monks from Melrose.

Its foundation is erroneously attributed to David by J.H. (E.C., 231), and by Fordun, V, 38. Cf. J.B.A.A., xxvi, 367. See D.M., v, 594-595; Prescott's Wetherhal, 421-422.

The abbey received confirmation from king Henry II after the cession of the northern counties by Malcolm IV; and obtained the protection of pope Lucius III in 1185 (P.L. **201**, 1354-1356).

The following abbots of Holme Cultram are entered in C.M.:—Everard

The Premonstratensian order came to Dryburgh, at the festival of St Martin.[1]

1150

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 35

In 1150, the church of Dunfermline was dedicated.[2]

Alfwin, the abbot [of Holyrood], resigned the pastoral charge of his own will[3]; and Osbert received it.

This abbot Osbert also died in the same year, on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of December.[4]

(1150-†1192); Gregory (1192-); William (-1215); Adam (-1223); Ralph (1223-); William (-1233); Gilbert (1233-†1237); John (1237-†1255); Henry (1255-?1264; see below, year 1267).

[4] Down to this point, the text is written in red ink. Above the line (which ends with *Kinlos*) is written the date: "on the twelfth day before the Kalends of June" (21st May; a Sunday in 1150). This follows the later note of Everard's abbacy, but undoubtedly belongs to the foundation of Kinloss. A later marginal note reads: "Ascelinus the first [abbot]."

Ascelinus died in 1174. For the foundation of the abbey of St Mary of Kinloss, see Stuart's Records of Kinloss, 105-109.

The foundations of Kinloss and Holme Cultram are placed in 1151 by the Cistercian Foundation lists to 1234 and to 1247. According to the Foundations to 1234, Holme Cultram was founded on 1st June a Friday in 1151 (read 1st January?). J.B.A.A., xxvi, 288, 361.

The foundations of Holme, Kinloss, and Dryburgh, are noted from C.M. by Hoveden, s.a. 1150 (E.C., 223). The foundation of Holme is placed under 1151 in the Chronicle of Peterborough, 94.

The foundation of Kinloss is placed in 1147 by Ferrerius (B.Cl. **63**, 21), who says that the 1st abbot "Anselm" died on 1st March, 1157.

Cf. year 1218, note.

[1] 10th November. C.M. notes the foundation of the Premonstratensian order under 1119; the coming of Premonstratensian canons to Alnwick under 1148; the establishment of the monastery at Dryburgh, under 1152. For Saulseat, cf. year 1148.

The abbey of Prémontré in Picardy, near Laon, was founded in 1119; a religious community was established there by St Norbert, apparently early in 1120 (cf. Smedt and De Backer, Analecta, iii, 196; A.S., 6th June, i, 820; P.L. **170**, 1284).

[2] This was the church of the abbey that had been established in Dunfermline by king David, in place of the priory that had been founded by queen Margaret. See K.B., 402-403.

[3] Cf. year 1155.

[4] I.e., 17th November, 1150. For these successions cf. Bower, V, 43, i, 296. See below, year 1152.

1151

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 74

In the year 1151, pope Eugenius IV sent over palls by his legate, John Paparo, to Ireland, whither a pall had never been taken before.[1]

[1] For the mission of the cardinal priest, John Paparo, see E.C., 227; He had been refused safe-conduct by king Stephen in 1150 (J.H., 326. John of Salisbury, Historia Pontificalis, M.G.H., Scriptores, xx, 518-519).

John of Salisbury, u.s., 539: "The messengers of the *reguli* and of the church of Ireland had returned, for the second time," to pope Eugenius III; at Ferentino? "in order that they might obtain the legate for whom they had asked. The lord pope had decreed to ordain in that land archbishops, whom it had not previously had. Cardinal deacon John Paparo was attending to this, when, as has been said above, Stephen, the king of the English, denied him transit. . . ." John Paparo was promoted to the rank of cardinal priest; but refused to be ordained: whereupon pope Eugenius deprived him of his former rank. Paparo, being a noble, and cunning intriguer, threatened to return to Rome, and cause the pope to be deposed. The cardinals induced Paparo to yield, on the ground that his mission to Ireland required him to hold a higher title than cardinal deacon.

Ibid., 540: "He consented; and, after being ordained in Mediana, by the intervention of friends he recovered the legation that had been withdrawn from him: having to convey to Ireland four palls.

"And when he set out, he dared not enter England; but he entered a ship in Flanders, and was carried by it to Scotland." (He landed in reality at Tynemouth, in the territory of earl Henry; at this time practically a part of king David's dominions. See E.C., 227, 221.) "There, conciliating the friendship of the king and people of the Scots, he promised to induce the lord pope and the Roman church to give a pall to the bishop of St Andrews; and that his see should be made the metropolis of the Scots, and of the Orkneys and adjacent islands. For although from the time of lord Calixtus [1119-1124] the archbishop of York has the right to rule over them, in accordance with the authority of privileges, yet the Scots decline to obey him; and they have many times offered obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury, if the apostolic see would have consented.

"Going on to Ireland, John created two archbishops there; held a council, and made laws, which are still preserved in that land and in the archives of the apostolic see. . . ."

The promise with regard to St Andrews, if made, was not kept. See year 1159, note.

This was the occasion upon which archbishoprics were created at Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam (Oct. 1151 × Apr. 1152). Cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, v, 162-163; Annals of Multifernan, 9, s.a. 1152.

Continuator of Tigernach, R.C., xviii, 175, s.a. [1152]: "The bishops of Ireland held the assembly of a synod, along with a cardinal of Peter's successor, at Drogheda; and they established there certain rules. The

Geoffrey, the count of Anjou, died; and his son Henry succeeded him.[1]

The Premonstratensian order came to Richmond.[2]

1151

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Islandske Annaler, 114, s.a. 1151[3]

The journey to Jerusalem of earl Ronald[4] Kali of the Orkneys; and of Erling Skakki.[5]

cardinal also left a pall for each province of Ireland:—a pall in Armagh, a pall in Dublin, and others in Connaught and in Munster."

The Four Masters, ii, 1094, s.a. 1151: "A cardinal of Peter's successor, namely John Paparo, came to Ireland, to establish rules and morals [*soibhés*], and to correct the others in their sins [*ina cciontaibh*]. He was a week in the house of Patrick's successor [Gillamaccliac, son of Ruadri's son], in Armagh; and he left a benediction." F.M., ii, 1100-1102, s.a. 1152: "The bishops of Ireland held the assembly of a synod in Drogheda, along with Patrick's successor and the cardinal John Paparo, with three thousand religious men, both monks and canons; and they established there several rules. These are, to put away concubines and women-friends from men" (i.e., from priests and monks); "not to ask reward for anointing, or for baptizing (although it is not good not to give it, if it is in one's power); not to take reward for church lands; and to take tithes justly."

The Annals of Clonmacnoise, 199, s.a. 1141 (at the end of the annal, before 1152): "John Paparo, cardinal, came to this kingdom from the pope, to procure the inhabitants of the land to an amendment of their lives."

St Bernard paints a gloomy picture of Irish civilization in his Vita S. Malachiae (cf. 150, 162). Eight bishops of Armagh, before Maelmaedoic's predecessor, had been married men.

For Irish irregularities, v.i.a. Giraldus Cambrensis, v, 164-165, 170, 171. Cf. J.H., 326. See notes under years 1093, 1170.

On his return journey, Paparo was permitted to pass through England, and had audience of king Stephen.

[1] Cf. year 1149. In 1152 (May 18×24), Henry married Eleanor, daughter of William, the count of Poitou and duke of Aquitaine; and divorced wife of Louis VII. Cf. i.a. A.S.C.; G.C., i, 149; R.T., 133, 164, 165; W.N., i, 92-94; Ralph Niger, Chronicon ab initio mundi, M.G.H., Scriptores, xxvii, 335-336; De Origine Comitum Andegavensium, B.R., xii, 537. See A.E., 1; and below, year, 1154.

Eleanor's previous marriage had been pronounced invalid, on 18th March 1152. Cf. i.a. Ramsay's Foundations, ii, 444-445.

[2] In MS. *ad Rikemunt;* in the editions, *Kikemunt.* This seems to have been Richmond, in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

[3] With dominical and paschal letters of 1151.

[4] To this point also in P (322).

[5] Erling Skakki received earldom from Valdimar Cnut's son, king of Denmark, in 1166; and died in 1179 (Icelandic Annals).

King Eystein, Harold's son, made a plundering expedition to England.[1] He placed earl Erlend, Harold's son, over the Orkneys.[2]

1151

Heimskringla, Harold Gilli's sons, c. 17[3]

Expedition of Erling and earl Ronald.

Erling was the name of a son[4] of Kyrpinga-Orm and Ragnhild, daughter of Sveinki, Steinar's son. Kyrpinga-Orm was a son of Svein, son of Svein, son of Erlend from Gerdi. Orm's mother was Ragna, daughter of earl Orm, Eilif's son, and of Sigríd,[5] daughter of earl Finn, Arni's son. Earl Orm's mother was Ragnhild, daughter of earl Hakon the Powerful.

Erling was a wise man, and was a great friend of king Ingi [Harold Gilli's son]; and with his counsel, Erling married Kristín, daughter of king Sigurd[6] and queen Málmfríd. Erling had an estate in Studla, in South Hordaland.

Erling went from the land, and with him Eindridi the Young, and many landed men besides; and they had a fair host. They prepared to go on a voyage to Jerusalem. And they went west beyond the sea to the Orkneys. From there went earl Ronald, who was called Kali, and bishop William; they had in all from the Orkneys fifteen long-ships.[7] And they sailed to the Hebrides, and from there west to France, and afterwards by the ways that Sigurd Crusader had gone, out to Norfa-Sound[8]; and they plundered widely, out about heathen Spain.

A little after they had sailed through the sound, Eindridi the Young, and those who followed him, separated and went

[1] To this point also in A, Fl., iii, 514, omitting "Kali . . . Orkneys" and "Harold's son."

[2] For Erlend, cf. years ?1156, 1158 note.

[3] The same passage is in Fr., 337-338; and with variations in Ingi's Saga, c. 17 (F.S., vii, 231-233). A similar passage is in M., 223-224. See Fl., ii, 472-489 (O.S., cc. 89-98).

[4] "a baron of the brothers, Sigurd and Ingi; a son" M.

[5] "of Ingibiorg" Ingi's Saga and M.

[6] "Crusader" add Fr., Ingi's Saga, and M.

[7] "They prepared to go to Jerusalem. Over this expedition was earl Ronald Kali, and with him bishop William. And they had in all from the Orkneys 15 long-ships. They sailed first to the Hebrides" Ingi's Saga.

[8] Gibraltar Strait.

away, with six[1] ships; and they went after that each his own way.[2] But Ronald and Erling Skakki met[3] a dromond at sea, and set upon it with nine ships, and fought with them; . . . they won the dromond, and slew there great numbers of men, and took there an excessive amount of treasure,[4] and gained a notable[5] victory.

Earl Ronald and Erling Skakki[6] came on this expedition to Palestine, and out to the river Jordan; then they turned back,[7] first to Constantinople; there they left their ships behind, and went back by the land-way, and proceeded with all good fortune, until they came to Norway. And their expedition was very greatly praised. . . .

Erling was now thought much more of a man than before, both because of his expedition, and because of his marriage. . . .[8]

?1151

Heimskringla, Ingi's Saga, c. 20[9]

The campaign of king Eystein, Harold's son.

A little later,[10] king Eystein set out upon a voyage from the land, to the west beyond the sea, and sailed to Caithness.[11] He heard that earl Harold, Matad's son, was in Thurso[12]; he set on with three small cutters, and came upon them unexpectedly. The earl had a thirty-benched ship, and eighty men upon it[13]:

[1] "five" M.

[2] "They sailed to Constantinople" Ingi's Saga.

[3] "went with ten ships, and met" M.

[4] "very great treasure, and many jewels" M.

[5] "fair" H., Fr.; "famous" Ingi's Saga.

[6] "Erling, who was after that called Skakki" Ingi's Saga.

[7] "in the autumn" adds M.

[8] For earl Harold († 1206), see year 1136, notes; and below (under 1158, 1192-1194, 1198, 1201, 1202-1210).

[9] The same passage is in Fr., 339-340; Ingi's Saga, c. 20 (F.S., vii, 234-237); and M., 225-226. See O.S., c. 99, and Fl., ii, 489-490.

[10] After king Eystein's success over farmers in easter Vik. "In the summer in which the earl had gone from the land" O.S., Fl.

[11] "He sailed to the Orkneys" Ingi's Saga. "When he came to the Orkneys, he brought in his army at [South] Ronaldshay" O.S. "He had then brought in his army to R[onaldsh]ay" Fl.

[12] *í Thórsá* "in Thor's river." "He learned where earl Harold, Matad's son, lay in Thurso" M.

[13] "But the earl also had three ships, and eighty men on them" Fr., erroneously. "But the earl had a twenty-five-benched ship, and very costly" M.

but since they were not prepared, king Eystein and his men were able immediately[1] to board the ship; and they made the earl prisoner, and brought him with them to their ships. He ransomed himself with three marks[2] of gold, and thereupon they parted.

So says Einar Skúli's son: "With Matad's son were eighty men; the mighty wounds'-creek's mew-feeder[3] was captured.

"The waves'-horse's contender[4] took the earl, with three cutters; the carrion-skua's bold purveyor[5] gave to the valiant prince his head."[6]

King Eystein sailed from there southwards along the east of Scotland, and attacked in Scotland the market-town that is called Aberdeen[7]; and slew there many men, and plundered the town. So says Einar Skúli's son: "I have heard that Aberdeen's people fell; the king broke the peace; swords were broken."[8]

Other battles had he, south near Hartlepool, with a force of cavalry; and they were put to flight.[9] They cleared a certain ship[10] there. So says Einar: "The king's sword bit, blood fell on spears, the body-guard followed faithfully, near Hartlepool: the sword's[11] hot stream gladdened raven, wolf's wine increased. Ships of the English were cleared."[12]

Then he proceeded farther south in England, and had a third battle near Whitby, and got the victory, and burned the town. So says Einar: "The chief increased battle—there was

[1] "immediately" not in M.

[2] I.e., 24 ounces. Similarly in O.S., Fl. "With 7 marks of gold" M. O.S. and Fl. say that Harold was forced to become king Eystein's vassal, and to swear that he would hold his lands of Eystein thenceforward. "[And after that O.S.] king Eystein went [from there Fl.] to Scotland, and plundered there in the summer" O.S., Fl.

[3] I.e., "the mighty warrior"; "feeder of birds of prey."

[4] I.e., "the ship-warrior."

[5] I.e., "the bold warrior"; "feeder of vultures."

[6] I.e., spared his life. For this stanza, see J.S., i, A, 475; B, 447.

[7] *Apardjón.*

[8] Cf. J.S., i, A, 473-474; B, 446.

[9] "and he put them to flight" Fr., Ingi's Saga, and M.

[10] "he cleared certain ships there" Ingi's Saga.

[11] "the corpse-heap's" Ingi's Saga.

[12] Cf. J.S., i, A, 474; B, 446.

a song of swords; the cloud of battle[1] was hewn asunder—near Whitby. The fore-wood's dog[2] played strongly about the mansions; the she-wolf's teeth were reddened, grief was got for the warriors."[3]

After that he plundered widely in England. Stephen was then king of England. Next after this, king Eystein had a battle near Skarpa-sker,[4] with certain knights. So says Einar: "The true descendant of Dag slew a shield-skilled army near Sharp-skerries: there drove a rain from bow-strings."[5]

Next thereafter, he fought in Pílavík,[6] and got the victory. So says Einar: "The prince reddened his sword in Pílavík; the flock of wolves tore the noble corpses of the Parties.[7] To the west of the salt sea,[8] sword fell screaming upon brow; the chief burned all Langa-tún."[9]

They burned there Langa-tún, a great village; and men say that that town has been but little re-built since then.[10]

After that, king Eystein went away from England, and back to Norway in the autumn. And men spoke very variously about this expedition.[11]

[1] I.e., "the shield."

[2] I.e., "fire."

[3] See J.S., i, A, 474; B, 446.

[4] I.e., "Sharp skerry": but perhaps this is a corruption of the name of Scarborough.

[5] Morkinskinna adds the second half of the stanza (226): "The battle-garth [i.e. shield] was broken when the abundance of horsemen, attacked with the shield-eels [i.e. swords], were forced to flee." See J.S., i, A, 474; B, 447.

[6] I.e., "arrow-bay," if the name is Scandinavian; but probably this is a corruption of the name of Filey Bay.

[7] *prútt Parta lík;* so also in Ingi's Saga, and M.; *prúð Parta lík* in Fr. *Partir* may be a corruption of some place-name (or possibly="the Ridings"?).

[8] *salt;* in M., erroneously, *fallt.*

[9] I.e., "long-town." For this verse see J.S., i, A, 474-475; B, 447.

[10] "He burned Langa-tún last in England, before they went away" M. It seems to be implied that this place was to the south of Filey. Langton, inland in Berwickshire, can hardly be the place.

[11] The last sentence is omitted by Fr.

Morkinskinna adds: "King Eystein was thought to have made this expedition in vengeance for this, that king Harold, Sigurd's son, had gone west, and fallen there." Cf. O.S., Fl.

O.S. and Fl. omit the details of Eystein's plundering expedition, and add: "Earl Harold remained [behind O.S.] in his dominions in the

1152

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 74

In the year 1152, Matilda, the queen of the English, died.[1]

Henry, earl of the Northumbrians, son of David, the king of the Scots, died[2]; and Matilda, [Henry's] daughter.

Baldwin, the first abbot of Alnwick, died; and Patrick succeeded him.

William [of St Barbara], the bishop of Durham, died.

The convent came to Dryburgh, on the day of St Lucy[3]; and Roger became the first abbot.

Orkneys; and he was highly thought of by most men. At that time earl Matad, his father, was dead; and Margaret, his mother, had come into the Orkneys. She was a fair woman, and very haughty.

"At that time David the Scottish king died. His son Malcolm was then taken as king; he was a child in age when he took dominion."

[1] C.H., 35, adds: "on the fifth day before the Nones of May" [3rd May]. Similarly in a 12th century Lincoln obituary, R.S. **21**, vii, 157.

[2] C.H., 35, s.a. 1152: "Henry, the earl of — —, died upon the second day before the Ides of June" [12th June]. The Chronicle of Carlisle (Palgrave, 72) says, s.a. 1152: "Earl Henry, the son of king David, died on the Ides of June; and so on there" [13th June].

The Continuator of T. notes Henry's death s.a. [1152] (with ferial and epact of 1152); R.C., xviii, 176; cf. the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 200, s.a. 1152.

The Bodleian version of the Verse Chronicle (P. & S., 181), after the story of Henry's birth (see ? 1114, note), says: "Buried in Kelso, he overtook his parent in death."

King David had retained for his son Henry the earldom of Northumberland, in subjection to himself; since it had been forfeited by his warfare with Stephen. He now installed in the earldom Henry's son William, while he proclaimed Henry's son Malcolm the heir to the throne. See E.C., 228, 229.

For Henry's widow, see year 1178.

At the time of Kelso no. 142 (1165 × ?1198), earl Henry's body lay in Kelso abbey. Cf. E.C., 228; Fordun, V, 33.

[3] 13th December; a Saturday in 1152. This was a Premonstratensian abbey. See E.C., 327; De Domibus Religiosis, below, s.f.; above, years 1148, 1150. The canons appear to have reached Dryburgh in 1150. There is also a 13th-century marginal note in C.M., s.a. 1148, which appears to read: "The abbey of Dryburgh was made"; but this note is faint, and may have been partly erased.

Premonstratensian houses were established also at Saulseat, Holywood, Whithorn, Tongland, and Fearn (in Ross).

1152

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 35

In 1152, William was elected abbot [of Holyrood].[1]

1153

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 75

In the year 1153, David,[2] the king of the Scots, died, on the ninth day before the Kalends of June.[3] And his grandson, Malcolm, a boy of twelve[4] years, son of his son Henry,[5] succeeded him.[6]

1153

Verse Chronicle inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, p. 228[7]

David was king in Scotland for twenty-nine years, warily discerning what was provident.[8] After he had fortified the kingdom with castles and arms, the king is said to have died, an old man, at Carlisle.[9]

[1] See year 1150; and 1171, note.

[2] "of pious memory" adds C.H.

[3] I.e., 24th May. C.H. adds: "on the Sunday before the Lord's Ascension." This (Rogation Sunday) was 24th May in 1153. So also in J.H.

[4] Originally "at the age of 42 years" in C.H.; altered to "12" by another hand. "42" in the Lambeth version.

[5] "the aforesaid earl of Northumbria" adds C.H.

[6] Upon this passage is based C.H., 35-36. Cf. J.H. (E.C., 230-232). The Chronicle of Carlisle, s.a. 1153 (Palgrave, 72), in abridging from J.H., has altered 9 Kal. Jun. to 9 Id. Jun., which is absurd.

Tigernach's Continuator, R.C., xviii, 177, s.a. [1153] (with ferial and epact of 1153): "David, Malcolm's son, the king of Scotland and England, ended his life happily."

Cf. A.B., 24-25, s.a. 1153: "David, Malcolm's son, king of Scotland and Wales [*Bretain*], reposed." Annals of Clonmacnoise, 204, s.a. 1160: "David, Malcolm's son, king of Scotland, Wales, and the borders of England, the greatest potentate in these parts of Europe, died." David's death is noticed also by the Annals of Multifernan, 9, s.a. 1153.

B.T., 317, Ab Ithel's year 1152=1153: "The same year died David, Malcolm's son, the king of Scotland [*Prydein*]."

[7] This passage is written on an inserted slip of parchment, intended to go with the year 1124. Similarly in the Bodleian version; P. & S., 181.

[8] *caute provida prospiciens.*

[9] Here the Bodleian version places the story of the death of David's eldest child, and the birth of Henry. See ? 1114, note.

1153

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version F; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 175

David [reigned] for twenty-nine years and three months. He died in Carlisle; he was buried in Dunfermline.[1]

1153

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version E; Skene's Picts and Scots, pp. 132-133[2]

David, [Alexander's] brother, [reigned] for thirty [years].

King David was a very pious man: catholic in religion, generous towards princes, zealous in restoring churches; sufficiently [devoted] to vigils, and so greatly devoted to prayer that he obtained victory over his enemies more by entreaties poured out to God than by the weapons of war. And the most pious king David made many gifts[3]; but especially, wherever in his whole realm he had found sacred houses in ruins through age,[4] he commanded the bishops and abbots[5] in whose charge they were to restore them; and saw to it by messengers that his orders were fulfilled. And so during his reign many monasteries were restored, and indeed built from the founda-

[1] Similarly in versions GIK (303, 290, 207).

N reads (306): "David, his brother, [reigned] for 20 years, and was buried at Dunfermline. He begot Henry" [? supply: "who married Ada de Varenne; and had three sons . . . "] "and three daughters, Margaret, Isabella [read "Matilda"?], and Ada." The previous reign entered in N is that of Malcolm III; the next, a spurious reign of Henry.

David reigned 29 years, 1 month, and 2 days (D.K.).

[2] Also in Innes's Critical Essay, ii, 793-795.

[3] *multa dona fecit*, Skene; but Innes reads *bona*, "did many good deeds."

Cf. the Life of Suger, in B.R., xii, 105: "Moreover also David, the religious king of the Scots, sent [to Suger, abbot of Saint-Denis] as gifts, with friendly letters, a sea-monster's teeth, of marvellous bigness, and of no small value": i.e., presumably, tusks of a narwhal. Suger died in 1152; the Life was written by his pupil, William.

[4] *precipue tum* [*tamen*, Innes] *edes sacras ubicunque in toto regno suo vectate* [= *vetustate*, Innes] *collapsas conterat* ["sic" Skene; *conscrat* = *construxerat*, Innes]. Read *tamen, vetustate, contuitus erat?*

[5] *pontificibus et patribus.*

tions[1]; and especially these [houses][2]:—the monastery of nuns of St Mary,[3] and the monastery of nuns of St N.[4]; and many other monasteries for either sex, of men and of women; by which monasteries the whole kingdom of Scotland is decorated, as with lamps.[5] All these [monasteries] this most pious king David adorned with great[6] weights of gold and silver, and with gifts of precious jewels; and he enriched them with the greatest possessions[7]; and (what is still more precious) he gave them the distinction of the most holy patronage of relics.

The same powerful and most pious king honourably cherished all these [houses] with many gifts. But in especial, among all the churches, he faithfully protected, and sweetly loved, and decorated with his own wealth, the [house] of Melrose.

But all his deeds that are commonly related are not fully expounded here, in order to avoid wearying the reader.

1153

Inserted folio 13 in the Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 52-53

[Alexander] was succeeded by his brother, David, younger and more prosperous. And this most powerful king reigned prosperously for twenty-nine years; and so, commending his soul to God, departed in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1153, on the ninth day before the Kalends of June.

Earl Henry, the son of the same king David, had died in the previous year, from the Lord's Incarnation 1152. And in the following year, 1153 from the Lord's Incarnation, Malcolm, the son of the aforesaid earl Henry, received the government of the kingdom: a boy, and a virgin; continuing in his virginity until his death, through inspiration of the grace of God.[8]

[1] *funditur*, Skene; read *funditus*, as in Innes.

[2] *he*, Skene; = *hocce*, Innes. Read *haec?*

[3] "Of St Mary" not in Innes's edition. Possibly the Cistercian priory of North Berwick.

[4] "of St Nicholas" Skene. Perhaps the letter N was used to indicate that the saint's name was not known to the writer.

[5] *veluti quibusdam lichinis.*

[6] *magnus*, Skene; read *magnis*, with Innes.

[7] *honoribus.*

[8] The Chronicle of Huntingdon, deriving from J.H., says (P. & S. 212)

"And Northumbria was made subject to [Malcolm's] brother, William." Cf. Fordun, c. 1 (i, 254). Fordun says also that "Huntingdon was made subject to their younger brother, David"; but David did not obtain it until 1173. King Henry II retained the earldom of Huntingdon until 1157, when he gave it to king Malcolm; depriving earl William of Northumbria and Cumbria.

Malcolm was invested with royal rank at Scone (J.H.; D.K., 72).

Malcolm's accession is mentioned in the Additions to Ralph Niger, 188, s.a. 1152.

PART VII

Reign of Malcolm IV

1153

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 36, s.a. 1153

Also Randolph,[1] the earl of Chester; and Simon, the earl of Northampton,[2] [died]; and Henry, the archbishop of York.[3]

Stephen, the king of England, concluded peace and perpetual faith with Henry, the most noble count of Anjou, on the festival of St Leonard the abbot.[4]

On that day, in Scotland,[5] Somerled and his nephews, the

[1] In MS., *Rad'* ("Ralph").

Randolph de Gernons, son of earl Randolph le Meschin († ca. 1129), and of Lucy, the mother of William de Roumare, earl of Lincoln, died in 1153 (G.C., i, 155; J.H., 331; R.T., 177). Cf. Foedera, i, **1**, 16. His sister Adeliz (or Alice) married Richard de Clare, Gilbert's son († 1136). See years ? 1114, 1190, notes.

While William of Roumare was earl of Lincolnshire, and Gilbert of Ghent used the same title (cf. year ? 1114, note), Randolph de Gernons, formerly earl of Lincolnshire, did homage to king David; and Randolph's son was to have received a granddaughter of David in marriage. See V.C.H. Lincolnshire, ii, 254-255. A granddaughter of Randolph, Matilda, married David, king David's grandson, in 1190.

[2] See year ? 1114.

[3] Henry Murdac's death is also noted in C.M. He died 14th October, 1153 (R.S. **71**, ii, 227; cf. J.H.).

[4] 6th November. So also R.T. (viii Id. Nov.).

C.M., 75, s.a. 1153: "Peace was restored to England; a mutual reconciliation having been made between king Stephen and Henry, duke of Normandy, whom also king Stephen adopted as his son and heir, and appointed the successor to the kingdom; by mediation of the venerable men Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry, bishop of Winchester." Hence Hoveden, i, 212.

See the treaty, in Foedera, i, **1**, 18, dated 1153=1154 (Syllabus, i, 4). The agreement was made in November, confirmed before Christmas, and publicly ratified on 13th January, 1154. See H.H., 289-290; G.C., i, 159.

[5] *eo die apud Scotiam.*

sons of Malcolm [Macheth], having allied themselves with very many men, rebelled against king Malcolm; and perturbed and disquieted Scotland in great part.[1]

1154

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 37, s.a. 1154

A very great famine, and pestilence among animals, occurred in Scotland.[2]

Arthur, who intended to betray king Malcolm, perished in [single] combat[3] on the third day before the Kalends of March.[4]

Geoffrey, the abbot of Dunfermline, died[5]; and his nephew Geoffrey succeeded in his place.[6]

Roger of Bishopsbridge was consecrated to the archbishopric of York.[7]

Stephen, the king of England, died, on the eighth day before the Kalends of November[8]; and Henry, the duke of Normandy, was distinguished with the diadem of the kingdom, on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of January.[9]

Duncan, the earl of Fife, died.[10]

King Malcolm gave the church of Tranent to the canons of Maidens' Castle.[11]

Christian was consecrated as bishop of Galloway by the

[1] See years 1157, 1164.

[2] *apud Scotiam.*

[3] *duello.*

[4] I.e., 27th February.

[5] See E.C., 166.

[6] See year 1178.

[7] The death of William, and succession of Roger, are noted in C.M., s.a. 1154. See G.C., i, 158-159; W.N., i, 80-82. Cf. Stubbs's Lives, R.S. 71, ii, 397-398.

Roger of Bishopsbridge (or of Pont l'Évêque) was consecrated on 10th October, 1154 († 1181).

[8] I.e., 25th October. So also R.T. 24th October, according to H.H., R.C.

[9] I.e., 19th December; a Sunday. So also A.S.C. E; so read in R.T. Cf. W.N., R.C.

[10] Duncan was probably a son of earl Gillemichel, for whom see year 1131. Duncan became earl of Fife 1128 × 1136 (S.P., iv, 4-5).

[11] I.e., of Holyrood abbey.

archbishop of Rouen,[1] in Bermondsey,[2] on the same day as Henry [was consecrated] king of England.[3]

?1152-?1154

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, pp. 62-66

In the year 1142 [= ?1152], Godfrey, Olaf's son, sailed over to the king of Norway, whose name was Ingi, and did his homage to him. And he remained with him, being received by him honourably.

In the same year, three sons (who had been brought up in Dublin) of Harold, Olaf's brother, collected a great band of men, and all king [Godfrey's] exiles; and came to Man, demanding of that king that half of the whole kingdom of the islands should be given to them.

When king [Godfrey] heard it, wishing to appease them he replied that he would hold a council with regard to it. And after they had appointed a day and place, when and where the council should be held, these most wicked men planned in the meanwhile among themselves the death of the king.

And on the appointed day,[4] the two sides met in the harbour that is called Ramsey; and sat in order, the king with his followers on the one side, and they with their followers on the other: while Ronald, the brother of intermediate age, who was to strike him down, stood apart talking with one of the chiefs of the land. And when [Ronald] was summoned, and had come to the king, he turned to him as if saluting him; and raised aloft a gleaming axe, and with one stroke cut off the king's head. And after committing so great a crime, they immediately divided the land among them.[5]

A few days afterwards, they collected a fleet and sailed over to Galloway, wishing to subdue it to themselves. And the

[1] Hugh d'Amiens (Gallia Christiana, xi, 43; Stevenson). See D.B., 354-355; E.C., 238, 259, 264, 269. Christian died in 1186. For his predecessor, Gilla-aldan, see E.C., 159-160, 215-216.

[2] *apud Germundeseiam.* The Lambeth MS. reads *Bermundeseiam*, "Bermondsey."

[3] I.e., 19th December.
Cf. E.C., 238.

[4] In ?1153; see below.

[5] For the succession of Olaf's son Godfrey, see year 1160.

Galwegians assembled and met with them, making a great attack. They immediately turned their backs and fled in great confusion to Man; and of all the Galwegians that dwelt in it, some they slew, and the others they expelled.

In the year 1143 [= 1153], died Bernard, of blessed memory, the first abbot of Clairvaux.[1]

In the same year died David, king of Scotland; and Malcolm his grandson succeeded him, being raised up as king in royal fashion.

In the same year, king Olaf was slain, as we have said above, on the day of the apostles Saints Peter and Paul.[2]

In the following autumn,[3] his son Godfrey came from Norway with five ships; and landed at the Orkneys. And all the chiefs of the islands, hearing that he had come, rejoiced; and meeting together unanimously chose him as their king. Godfrey therefore came to Man, and seized the three sons of Harold, and in vengeance for his father punished them with a fitting death. It is also said that he put out the eyes of two, and slew one.

1154

Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii, pp. 1110-1112, s.a. 1154

A fleet [was sent] by Toirdelbach Ua-Conchobair upon the sea, about Ireland northwards:—namely, the fleet of the fortress of Galway, of Connemara, of the men of Owles,[4] of Tirawley,[5]

[1] St Bernard died on 21st August, 1153.

[2] I.e., on 29th June, 1153.

Canon Quine, in a letter, says: "Olaf's reign naturally divides itself into two parts:—(*a*) when he was connected by marriage with the House of Orkney (vide Orkney Saga; he married Ingibjorg the Honourable, daughter of Herbjorg, a sister of earl Hakon who caused the death of his cousin St Magnus of Orkney): this connection probably implying a policy political and ecclesiastical; (*b*) when he was connected by marriage with Fergus, lord of Galloway—viz., by marrying Aufrica, daughter of Fergus: this alliance probably implying a new policy, political and ecclesiastical. I place the latter marriage about 1130."

See years 1095, 1106, notes.

[3] In ? 1154; see below.

[4] I.e., of Newport Bay and Westport Bay, in Mayo county.

[5] Literally: "of the Ui-Amalgada"; in Mayo county.

and of Tireragh,[1] with[2] Cosnamaig Ua-Dubdai in authority over them. And they plundered Tirconnell and Inishowen.

[Men] went from the tribe of Eogan and from Muirchertach, Niall's son,[3] across the sea, with Scelling's[4] son as their leader; and purchased (i.e., bought)[5] the ships of Galloway,[6] Arran, Kintyre, Man, and the shores[7] of Scotland also. And when they had come near to Inishowen, they collided with the other fleet. A naval battle was fought between them, terribly and stubbornly. They fought from prime till none[8]; and a great number of the Connaughtmen, including Cosnamaig Ua-Dubdai, were killed by the aliens.

The host of the aliens was routed, with slaughter; and Scelling's son had his teeth struck out.

1154

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 115; s.a. 1154[9]

The fall of earl Erlend,[10] Harold's son,[11] in the Orkneys.[12]

[1] Literally: "of the Ui-Fiachrach"; in Sligo county.

[2] Literally: "and of," the case having apparently been attracted to that of the foregoing names.

[3] King of Ailech, above Inishowen.

[4] Perhaps the Scandinavian name *Skioldungr*.

[5] *co ruaiclidis i. go cendcadís;* "to hire (and who did hire)" O'Donovan. The second phrase is a gloss that has been inserted in the text.

[6] *Gallghaoidhel*.

[7] *centair*.

[8] I.e., from before 7 a.m. till after 2 p.m.

[9] With dominical and paschal letters of 1154. Similarly in A (Fl., iii, 515).

[10] So also in K, s.a. 1154 (with d.l.); and P (with d.l. and p.l.) (21, 322).

[11] "Paul's son" in K, erroneously. He was the son of "Harold the Smooth-spoken" (O.S.).

[12] "of the Orkneys" A. For Erlend, see years 1151, 1158 note. O.S. and Fl. appear to place his death in 1156, on December 21st. The authority of K, however, can hardly be set aside in favour of the saga. K's date is not derived from O.S., but may have been obtained from an earlier source.

Nidaróss or Trondhjem was made the seat of an archbishopric in 1152 (Icelandic Annals CPA; July 20th × September, Munch, Dowden. Cf. the Chronicle of Man, i, 171-172). Norway, Iceland, and the Faroes, had previously been among the lands subject to the archbishop of

Bremen (cf. the bull of 27th May, 1133, in Lappenberg's Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch (1842), no. 144; P.L. **179**, 180).

On 30th November, 1154, pope Anastasius IV († 3rd December, 1154) confirmed the erection by his legate, Nicholas, the bishop of Albano (afterwards pope Adrian IV, 1154-1159), during the pontificate of Eugenius III (1145-1153), of the see of Nidaróss, or of Trondhjem, to the rank of the metropolitan archbishopric of Norway; and included in its sphere of authority Norway, Orkney, the Hebrides, Iceland, and Greenland. Diplomatarium Norvegicum, viii, i, 1-4; P.L. **188**, 1081-1083; Chronicle of Man, ii, 274-284. Cf. the Liber Censuum, for 1192; in Diplom. Norveg., viii, 5.

The first archbishop of Nidaróss was John, appointed in 1154 (cf. Storm's Monumenta, 189).

The monastery of Furness had previously had the right of election to the bishopric of the Hebrides. See (from the White Book of York) the letter of Olaf, king of the Islands, establishing the bishopric in his kingdom (in Beck's Annales Furnesienses, 123; J. R. Oliver, Monumenta de Insula Manniae, ii, 1-3), and cf. the same king's letter, written (1127 × 1140) to Thurstan, archbishop of York, requesting him to consecrate the (first) bishop-elect to the new see (H. & S., ii, 218-219; Chronicle of Man, ii, 269-271; D.M., vi, **8**, 1186; Cotton. MS. Claud. B III, fo. 131 verso; see years 1095, 1210, 1219, notes). Another copy of this letter (in Oliver's Monumenta, ii, 7), taken from a Harleian MS., reads, instead of T[hurstan], "G[eoffrey], . . . archbishop of York." This false reading would date the letter 1191 × 1207.

Oliver dates king Godfrey's confirmation of this right of Furness abbey, in 1154 (Monumenta, ii, 13).

The monastery of Furness was first founded at Amunderness in 1124; and was re-founded at Furness in 1127. See D.M., v, 246; Atkinson, Coucher Book of Furness, i, 8. Its creation is placed under 1127 in the Cistercian Foundations to 1234.

King Olaf founded the abbey of Rushen, in Man; and placed in it monks from Furness, in 1134 (see that year, above).

On 20th April, 1154, in the letter of Anastasius to Richard, the abbot of Savigny, the abbacies of Furness and Man were included among the monasteries that were subject to Savigny. Migne, P.L. **188**, 1054. The Savignian order had been united to the Cistercians, on 19th September, 1147. See P.L. **180**, 1282; Jaffé, Regesta Pontificum, ii, 48, 51. Furness had resisted the change (see D.M., v, 246; Atkinson, Coucher Book, i, 8-9); its abbot, Peter, had been taken to Savigny, and deprived of his office, before the end of 1148. Pope Eugenius III had granted protection, and confirmation of its possessions and rights (including the abbey lands of Rushen), to the church of St Mary of Furness, as a Cistercian house, in 1152, after 18th February (Oliver's Monumenta, ii, 8-12). Furness did not receive precedence over Cistercian houses founded before 1147 (R.S. **36**, ii, 311).

List of bishops in Man, appended to the Chronicle of Man, i, 114:

"After [Gamaliel (see year 1095, note)], Reginald, a Norwegian by race, received the government of the church of Man. The tierces of the churches of Man were first conceded by the parsons to him; in order that they might thenceforward be free from all episcopal exactions.

"He was succeeded in the episcopate by Cristinus, of Argyle by race; and he lies in the monastery of Bangor.

"After him, Michael, a Manxman, . . . received the episcopate. And he . . . lies buried with honour at Fountains." See year ? 1193.

Reginald was the first bishop of the Hebrides appointed in subjection to the new archbishopric of Trondhjem. He has been identified with the Nemar or Reinar of the Icelandic Annals. See year 1210.

Cristinus and Michael were not apparently suffragans of Trondhjem. Cristinus may have been Christian, the bishop of Galloway (1154-1186). Cf. D.B., 273.

Both the archbishops of York and the archbishops of Bremen had previously claimed Orkney to be within their jurisdiction. Cf. Adam of Bremen, in M.G.H., Scriptores, vii, 384. See E.C., 134, note. Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen, appointed bishop Thurolf of Blascona to the Orkneys (1045 × 1072); and, within the same period, sent there bishop John, and Adalbert.

To the quotations in E.C., this may be added, from Adam of Bremen (M.G.H., Scriptores, vii, 344): "Among these [visitors] came last ambassadors from Iceland, Greenland, and the Orkneys, asking [Adalbert] to send preachers there; and this he did." Similarly ibid., 365.

Cf. Adam of Bremen, u.s., 371, where it is said that king Sven [Ulf's son, king of Denmark, 1047-1076] gave the bishopric of Lund (in Skaane) to a bishop Henry: "Henry had been bishop in the Orkneys before; and he is reported to have been king Cnut's treasurer [*sacellarius*] in England" (1016 × 1035).

Later, bishops of Orkney were appointed by the archbishops of York (see Dowden's Bishops, 253-255). Of these, Ralph (consecrated by archbishop Thomas I, probably in ? 1073), held the see, by the wish of earl Paul (see E.C., 99); Roger (consecrated by archbishop Gerard, 1100 × 1108; E.C., 134; R.S. **71**, ii, 462) seems to have held the see in the time of earl Hakon, Paul's son (see the letter of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, to earl Hakon, in P.L. **159**, 246); Ralph Nowell (consecrated by archbishop Thomas II, 1109 × 1114; E.C., 134) seems never to have obtained the see (E.C., 164-165; P.L. **163**, 1142). The time of his consecration is confirmed by a letter of pope Honorius II (1124-1130), written (1125 × 1129) on 9th December, [1125], to S[igurd Crusader, † 1130], king of Norway; complaining that another bishop had been intruded upon the diocese of Orkney; and requesting the king to restore the episcopal see, with the parish and its other appurtenances, to bishop Ralph, who had been consecrated by archbishop Thomas of York. See P.L. **166**, 1241; D.M., vi, **3**, 1186. According to Dowden, the intruded bishop was William the Old († 1168).

(H.H., 262-263, puts into the mouth of bishop Ralph a speech alleged to have been delivered before the battle of the Standard. Cf. Hoveden, i, 193-194; and E.C., 197-198, note.)

The first bishop of Orkney under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Nidaróss was William the Old. See years 1168; 1095, note.

On 15th and 16th June, 1194, pope Celestine III issued confirmations

1155

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 38, s.a. 1155

Alfwin, the first abbot of the church of Holyrood, died.[1]

?1154-?1156

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, pp. 66-68

In the year 1144 [=?1154], Godfrey began to reign [in the islands]; and he reigned for thirty-three years.[2] And of him might be related many things worthy of remembrance, which we have omitted for the sake of brevity.

In the third year of his reign, the men of Dublin sent for him to reign over them. And he collected a quantity of ships, and a numerous army; and came to Dublin, and was joyfully received by the citizens, with great exultation. And a few days afterwards, by common counsel and consent they raised him up as king.

When Muirchertach, the king of Ireland, heard it, he collected an innumerable host of Irishmen, and hastened to Dublin, to drive out Godfrey, and subdue it to himself. When he had come near to the city that is called Cortcelis he stayed, fixing his tents there. And on the following day, he chose three thousand horse, over whom he placed his uterine brother, Osiblen by name[3]: and sent him with the aforesaid horse to the city, to hold a conference with the citizens; and at the same time also to test their valour. And when they approached

of the possessions and privileges of Nidaróss and of York. P.L. 206, 1039-1042; 1042-1045.

[1] *Ailwinus;* previously *Alwinus.* In charters (L.C.), his name is spelt *Alwinus, Alwynus, Albyn, Alfwinus, Alfwynus.* It is a Danish form of the Anglo-Saxon Ælfwine.

See years 1128, 1150.

[2] According to the later Icelandic Annals (CPA), Godfrey began to reign in 1160 (see below). He was in that year recognized as king by king Henry II, whose vassal he became.

The Chronicle of Man says that he died in 1187; and since it says that he reigned for 33 years, the year of his accession is probably intended to have been 1154.

[3] Possibly Ua-Siblen? An Ua-Siblen's son, Findan, had a son who was king of the Ui-Echach of Muaid, on the borders of Sligo and Mayo counties († 1159; A.U., ii, 134).

the city, Godfrey with his followers, and all the citizens of Dublin, went forth with a great uproar and made a great attack and fell upon them, and began to overcome them with so great a shower of darts that they compelled them straightway to turn their backs. And Osiblen, the king's brother, since he rashly attempted to resist, was surrounded by the enemy and perished, with many others. The rest, by aid of their chargers, escaped.

When they had returned to their lord, they related to him everything in order. And when the king heard that his brother was slain, he mourned him with inconsolable grief; and for excessive sorrow ordered his armies each to return to its own place.

And after a few days Godfrey returned to Man, and gave the chiefs[1] of the islands leave to return home. And when he saw his kingdom established, and that none could oppose him, he began to employ tyranny against his chiefs; he disinherited some of them, others he cast down from their dignities. And one of these, called Thorfinn, Ottar's son, more powerful than the rest, went to Somerled, and requested from him his son Dugald, in order to appoint him king over the islands.

Hearing this, Somerled rejoiced greatly, and gave to him his son Dugald; and [Thorfinn] took him and conducted him through all the islands; and made them all subject to him, receiving hostages from each.

But one chief, Paul by name, escaped secretly, and came to Godfrey; and related to him all that had been done.

Hearing this, Godfrey was dismayed in his mind; and immediately ordered his supporters to prepare ships, and go against them speedily. And Somerled with his followers collected a fleet of eighty ships, and hastened against Godfrey.

? 1156

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 68

In the year 1156, a naval battle was fought between Godfrey and Somerled on the night of the Lord's Epiphany[2]; and great slaughter took place, of men on either side. And when day

[1] *principes.*

[2] 5th-6th January, 1156.

dawned they made peace; and they divided the kingdom of the islands between them, and the kingdom became bipartite from that day to the present time. And this was the cause of the downfall of the kingdom of the islands, from the time when the sons of Somerled took possession of it.

1156

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 75-76

In the year 1156, a convent of nuns came for the second time to Eccles.[1]

Donald, son of Malcolm [Macheth], was taken captive at Whithorn; and was imprisoned with his father[2] in the tower of Roxburgh.

1157

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 38

In 1157, Malcolm Macheth was reconciled with the king of the Scots.[3]

[1] Hence Hoveden, i, 215. Eccles is in Berwickshire, not far from the Tweed. Eccles nunnery, established in 1156, was of the Cistercian order (E.C., 327; De Domibus Religiosis, below, s.f.).

[2] "Donald . . . father" also in C.H., 38, s.a. 1156.

[3] Malcolm is surnamed *Mabeth*, *Machbeth*, in C.H., s.aa. 1157, 1168; *Machet*, in the Lambeth MS. of the same chronicle, s.a. 1157; *Macheth*, in Fordun. These two names are frequently confused; and here the less familiar name is probably the correct one.

Macbeth is a corrupt form of *macc-bethad* "one of the elect"; Macheth, perhaps of *macc-Aeda* "son of Aed," the modern Mackay. Cf. year 1215. It is also possible that Macheth might mean "son of Heth," a Danish woman's name (Icelandic *Heiðr*).

Since Malcolm is stated to have been a son of king Alexander I, Heth was probably his mother's name; or else (less probably) Aed may have been the name of his foster-father. This patronymic seems to have become a family surname in 1215.

This Malcolm witnessed a charter of king Malcolm (Dunfermline, no. 40; before 1160); his name is there spelt *Melcolm' Maceth.* In *Heth*= *Aed*, the *H* was silent. He witnessed, as "earl Malcolm," Dunfermline no. 35 (1157×1159); Melrose, no. 39 (28 Mar. × 9 Dec., 1165); and was presumably the "earl of Ross" who received Dunfermline no. 43 (1160×1162).

For an account of Malcolm, see L.A., 10-13; 21; 26. Cf. the summary of events of his life, in S.H.R., vii, 32-33; and E.C., 224-225. The sources

1157

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 76

In the year 1157, Malcolm, the king of the Scots, came to king Henry of England at Chester; and became his vassal, in such manner as his grandfather had been the vassal of the old king Henry, saving all his dignities.[1]

will be found in the present work, under the years mentioned in the summary given below.

The authorities for Malcolm Macheth are :—the Chronicle of Melrose ; the Chronicle of Holyrood ; Alfred of Rievaulx ; Ordericus Vitalis ; Robert of Torigni.

Malcolm was an illegitimate son of king Alexander (O.V.; R.T.; perhaps A.R.). Fordun (Skene's ed., i, 254-255) says that : "Malcolm was the son of Macheth ; but he lied, and said that he was the son of Angus, earl of Moray" († 1130). This statement is not made by any of the earlier chroniclers, and appears to be the first instance of confusion of Malcolm with Wimund, who is said to have falsely made that claim. See year 1095, note ; S.H.R., u.s.

Before 1134, Malcolm married a sister or daughter of Somerled (C.H.).

Malcolm rebelled with Angus, earl of Moray, in 1130 (O.V. ; E.C., 158, 167). They were conquered, and Angus was killed, by the Scots, with the aid of Norman knights from England (A.R. ; O.V. ; R.T.).

In a second battle (O.V. ; E.C., 158), in 1134, Malcolm was captured, and imprisoned in Roxburgh (C.M.).

In 1153, after the accession of Malcolm IV, Somerled and Malcolm's sons rebelled (C.H.).

In 1156, Donald, Malcolm's son, was captured at Whithorn, and imprisoned beside his father at Roxburgh (C.M. ; C.H.).

In 1157, Malcolm was reconciled with the king (C.H.). He seems then to have received an earldom of Ross, part of the earldom of Moray.

In a letter of 1160×1162 (Dunfermline, no. 43), king Malcolm commanded [Malcolm] the earl of Ross, to protect the monks of Dunfermline, and all that was theirs. These were presumably monks of the Benedictine priory of Urquhart, in the north-east corner of Elgin county ; a cell of Dunfermline. It may therefore be deduced that Malcolm's earldom extended to the Spey. Fl. calls him "earl of Moray" (see year 1206).

In 1161, the earldom of Ross was given by king Malcolm to his brother-in-law, Florence, count of Holland ; but he seems never to have obtained possession of it (see p. 238).

In 1168, Malcolm, earl of Ross, died.

The next earl of Ross named is (in 1235) Ferchar Maccintsacairt, who had supported the king against Kenneth Macheth, in 1215.

Before 1196, Harold Matad's son married the daughter of Malcolm ; although his previous wife, the daughter of Duncan, earl of Fife, still lived (Hoveden ; E.C., 318). See year 1206.

[1] Hence Hoveden ; E.C., 239. Cf. the Chronicle of Peterborough, 96,

s.a. 1157: "Malcolm, the king of the Scots, coming to Carlisle to king Henry, followed the king to Chester, and did his homage; such, that is, as his grandfather had done to [Henry's] grandfather, Henry the First; saving to himself his dignities, and all his honours."

The kings met July × September (cf. Stubbs's Itinerary)

The terms of this homage are ambiguous. The dignities and honours reserved were probably the "procurations, and all the liberties, dignities, and honours, due by right" to the king of Scotland when he visited the English court; and enumerated and guaranteed to king William by king Richard I, in 1189 (Foedera, i, 1, 50; L.A., 283-284; E.C., 308-309).

To have made this reservation would have been unnecessary, if there had been no change in the pre-existing relations.

Malcolm's grandfather, David, before he became king of Scotland, had been the vassal of king Henry I. It is not recorded that on his accession he did homage for Scotland; no act of homage by him is mentioned in Edward's letter to Boniface. David continued to be Henry's vassal; but whether for Scotland, or not, is uncertain.

The relation of dependence that had existed between Malcolm III and kings William I and II had been re-imposed upon Duncan and Edgar in 1094 and 1097, and had apparently been accepted by Alexander in 1107. Alexander had resisted the claims of England to ecclesiastical supremacy in Scotland. Although it was probably assumed that Scotland continued to be dependent upon England in David's reign, the fact that no separate act of homage was done for Scotland by David can hardly have been accidental, and has an important bearing upon this record of the homage done by his grandson.

During the reign of Stephen, Scotland had been independent of England. Henry II succeeded by treaty as the heir of Stephen; not of Matilda, to whom homage had been done.

The compromises of 1136 and 1139, by which earl Henry did homage to Stephen for lands to the south of the Tweed, implied that no homage was owing to the English king for lands to the north of the Tweed.

In 1142, earl Henry seems to have lost the earldom and honour of Huntingdon; and the northern counties were annexed by king David. By the agreement of 1149, Henry of Anjou promised to yield these counties to Scotland; he broke this agreement in 1157, possibly because earl William had not been permitted to do homage for them. William had become earl of Northumberland in 1152, and Malcolm, king of Scotland in 1153, without any homage to an English king.

By depriving William of his earldom, and giving other English lands to Malcolm and William, king Henry forced the brothers to become his vassals. The manner in which king Malcolm did homage suggests that the Scots desired to remain independent, as they had been during Stephen's reign.

King Henry wore his crown, according to the custom, at Christmas, 1157. After being crowned at Easter, 1158 (April 20th), he renounced the custom. Cf. i.a. A.E., 15.

King Henry led an army for the first time into Wales, and took Rhuddlan.[1]

1157

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 38, s.a. 1157

The king of Scotland restored to the king of England Northumbria and Cumbria; and the king of England gave him the earldom of Huntingdon.[2]

1158

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 76

In the year 1158, the castle of Wark was fortified again, by command of the king of England.

Henry, the king of England, and Malcolm, the king of the Scots, met at Carlisle; but they departed not well pacified on either side, and in such a manner that the king of the Scots was not yet knighted.[3]

[1] C.H., 38, s.a. 1157: "Henry, the king of England, led an army into Wales; and there Eustace John's son fell, with many others. At last the Welsh made peace with the king." Cf. W.N.; R.T.; G.C.; Coggeshall.

[2] This is perhaps derived from R.T. (E.C., 239, note); who is the source of the entry in the 1291 chronicle of Norwich (Palgrave, 119-120).

According to the biographer of Waltheof (above, year ? 1114), Malcolm did not obtain the honour of Huntingdon until [1159]; but that appears to be incorrect. He obtained his lands in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Northamptonshire, before 29th September, 1157 (Pipe Rolls for 1156-1157, 86, 84, 104; Bain, i, nos. 45, 43, 48; cf. the Pipe Rolls for 1157-1158, 114, 142, 145, 146).

Evidence of Malcolm's journey through the counties of York, Lincoln, Nottingham, and Derby, is to be found in the Pipe Roll accounts of 1156-1157 (83, 85, 90). Cf. Eyton's Itinerary, 28.

Malcolm obtained part at least of the honour of Huntingdon in 1157. But he was not knighted by Henry until June, 1159; and may not have obtained the rank of an English earl until his return from the siege of Toulouse.

Lands in Tynedale were granted to Malcolm's brother William, before 29th September, 1159 (Pipe Rolls, i, 13; Bain, i, nos. 62, 64). Cf. Bain, i, pp. xvi-xvii. The yearly value of these lands is entered at £10, in 1173 (19 Henry II), as in 1158 (4 Henry II), in the Red Book of the Exchequer, ii, 796. These lands were forfeited in 1174; but recovered in 1175 (Bain, i, nos. 133, 143). See year 1159, note.

[3] Hence Hoveden (E.C., 240). Cf. the Chronicle of Peterborough, 96,

1158

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 116; s.a. 1158[1]

The fall of earl Ronald[2] Kali[3] in the Orkneys.[4]

s.a. 1158: "Henry, the king of England, and Malcolm, the king of Scotland, met at Carlisle; but returned in mutual disagreement." See R.T., 196.

See L.A., 39. King Henry was at Carlisle on 24th June (Stubbs's Itinerary); when, according to R.T., he knighted king Stephen's son William there. It is probable that the two kings met about that time.

[1] With dominical and paschal letters of 1158. Similarly also in A (Fl., iii, 515).

[2] So also in KO, s.a. 1158 (21, 60).

[3] To this point also in P (322).

A reads "the holy," instead of "Kali."

[4] CD note, s.a. 1192 (120, 180; with d.l. and p.l. of 1192): "The sanctity of earl Ronald [Kali C] [appeared D] in the Orkneys." A (520, similarly): "The sanctity of earl Ronald Kali [was] accepted." Cf. Fl., ii, 511-512 (O.S., i, 216-217).

In 1151, Ronald Kali had gone upon the crusade to Palestine; and Erlend, Harold's son, had been placed over the Orkneys (above). For the events of 1151-1158, see the account given, with unhistorical colouring, in O.S., cc. 99-113; and Fl., ii, 489-512.

Erlend lived usually in Thurso, sometimes in the Hebrides; or else he was "upon warfare, after earl Ottar died" (O.S., Fl.). Anakol, a Hebridean (O.S.), was his foster-father and principal counsellor.

After Ronald's departure, Erlend went to king Malcolm; and obtained from him the title of earl, and half of Caithness. This was, according to the story in the saga, at least five winters before the death of earl Ronald.

Erlend went to Caithness, and collected supporters. Then he went to the Orkneys, and demanded half of the islands; but Harold refused to give them. Erlend and Harold kept truce during the winter [1153-1154].

Harold promised to give Ronald Kali's half of the islands to Erlend, if king Eystein approved. Erlend went to Norway [in 1153]; Anakol remained in Orkney; Harold passed the winter in Wick.

Gunni, Olaf's son (Svein Asleif's son's brother) seduced Margaret, earl Harold's mother. He was outlawed, and went to Svein's friend Liotolf in Lewis. (Margaret was abducted by Erlend the Young; and they were besieged in Mousa Broch by earl Harold, in [1155]. Peace was made, and they were married.)

Svein was in Thrasvík. He robbed earl Harold, and Fugl, Liotolf's son; took 12 ounces of gold from Harold's steward; and went to Scotland. He found king Malcolm ("9 winters old") in Aberdeen, and remained with him in high favour for a month. Svein was atoned with Fugl and earl Erlend [in 1154].

Erlend had returned from king Eystein, with permission to take earl Harold's part of the islands. Erlend and Svein challenged Harold off

Kiarreks-stadir on 29th September, [1154] (28th September, in Fl.). Harold defended himself in the castle there (at Knarstane, according to Munch); and on the following day resigned his share of the islands to Erlend. Harold went to his kindred in Scotland. Erlend ruled the islands; but Ronald Kali's rights were reserved. Svein returned to Gairsay at Christmas [1154]. Harold made a surprise attack upon the Orkneys; Erlend recalled Svein. In spring [1155], Harold went from Caithness to Shetland, in order to kill Erlend the Young, who had abducted Harold's mother: but they were atoned, and went to Norway.

Earl Erlend and Svein plundered in the east of Scotland, as far as [? North] Berwick, with the purpose of gaining money for the war. They robbed Knut the Wealthy in Berwick; were pursued, and escaped to Morsey (Mosey, in Fl.).

Svein sent messengers to Edinburgh, to tell the king of the spoil they had won. Twelve men met the messengers, with bags of silver. The king, thinking that Svein had been captured, had sent money to ransom him. Svein's messengers went to the king, who made light of the robbery, and sent Svein a costly shield, and other gifts.

Erlend and Svein returned to Orkney rather late in the autumn [1155].

Earl Ronald and Erling Skakki had returned to Norway from Constantinople; and Ronald came to Orkney shortly before Christmas. On 23rd December [1155] he came to terms with Erlend, at Kirkwall. Each took half of the islands, and undertook to defend them against Harold, or any other claimant.

In spring [1156], Erlend and Svein went to Shetland; Ronald, to Thurso. Harold sailed straight to Orkney, and followed Ronald to Caithness. Ronald was in Sutherland, at the wedding of his daughter, Ingigerd [s.l.], to Eric Stagbrellr, who was Harold's kinsman. Ronald and Harold met in Thurso, and made peace on 25th September [1156]; and sailed to Orkney. On the evening of the 28th, Svein and Erlend, avoiding battle, sailed to Caithness. They returned to Orkney unexpectedly, and defeated Harold on 24th October, at night. Harold and Ronald fled. Svein claimed as his share of the spoil the treasure found in Ronald's ship: he sent it to Ronald.

Erlend drank at Damsay until the Advent. On 20th December (22nd December, O.S., MS. C), Svein left him there. On the following night, Ronald and Harold attacked Erlend unexpectedly. Erlend was "dead-drunken," and could not be waked. He and most of his ship's-company were killed. His followers took refuge in St Magnus' cathedral.

Svein avenged Erlend's death upon the slayer, but made peace with Ronald and Harold. He was with Ronald after Christmas.

The atonement was broken by Harold. A new atonement was made in Lent [1157], in Stroma. Svein went to Caithness, stayed for a time in Lewis, and returned to Orkney from the Hebrides after Easter. He was welcomed by Ronald. The atonement with Harold was renewed in St Magnus' cathedral on Friday in Whitsun week [24th May, 1157].

Svein, Thorbiorn [Clerk], and Eric [Stagbrellr], went on a plundering expedition, firstly to the Hebrides. They had a victory in Port St Mary in the Scilly islands on the 9th of June. Svein returned to Orkney for the

winter. The saga relates the death of Somerled (see 1164), and other matters, before the death of earl Ronald.

For the description of Ronald's death, see O.S., c. 113; Fl., ii, 508-512.

"When Ronald had been earl for 22 winters after earl Paul had been taken captive [see 1136], the earls [Ronald and Harold] went over to Caithness when summer had passed, according to their custom." They came to Thurso. Next day, in Kalfadalr, beside the farm of Fors, Ronald was killed by Thorbiorn Clerk in a surprise attack. Thorbiorn was afterwards killed by Harold's men.

Fl., ii, 511, says: "The death-day of earl Ronald Kali is five nights after the earlier mass of Mary, in the summer" (i.e., on 20th August).

The account of O.S. is hardly historical. The implied dates cannot be relied upon. Erlend's death is placed at least 2 winters before Ronald's death, and at least 3 winters after king Malcolm's accession (∴ in 1156); but the Icelandic Annals place Erlend's death in 1154 (q.v.). Especially with regard to the communications with the Scottish king, the saga appears to be untrustworthy.

Ronald's body was carried to Orkney, and buried in the choir of St Magnus' church.

Fl., ii, 512 (O.S., c. 113): "Earl Ronald was greatly lamented; because he had been very popular there, in the islands, and widely elsewhere. He had been a great helper to many men; generous with money, gentle, a trusty friend; a great athlete, and a good poet.

"Of children, he had one daughter living: Ingigerd, whom Eric Stagbrellr had married. Their children were:—Harold the Young; Magnus Mangi; Ronald; and Ingibiorg; Helen [*Elin*]; Ragnhild." See year 1198.

O.S. says (Fl., ii, 512) that after earl Ronald's death [in 1158] earl Harold ruled all the islands. "Earl Harold was a great chieftain; the biggest and strongest of men. He had married Affrica (*Afreka*) [a daughter of Duncan, earl of Fife; E.C., 318]. Their children were Henry and Hakon, Helen [*Helena*] and Margaret." Hakon was fostered by Svein Asleif's son.

Fl., ii, 515 (O.S., i, 221): "Earl Harold now ruled the Orkneys; and he was the greatest chieftain. He married later Hvarflod, the daughter of Malcolm, earl of Moray. Their children were Thorfinn, David, and John; Gunnhild, Herborga, and Langlif."

Sturlunga Saga, ed. Kålund, i, 274 (Vigfusson, i, 212): "Sæmund [son of John, son of Lopt and Thora, daughter of Magnus Bareleg] was thought to be the noblest man in Iceland at that time. He had a great estate in Oddi, and had many other farms. Sæmund had no lawful wife; and messages passed between him and earl Harold, Matad's son, that [Harold] should give him in marriage his daughter, Langlif. And this was the obstacle, that Sæmund would not go to the Orkneys for the wedding; and the earl would not send her out hither."

Svein passed the winters in Gairsay; went upon piracy every spring, in the Hebrides and Ireland; returned after midsummer for the harvest; and went upon piracy every autumn, until a month of winter was over. One spring, he robbed two English ships laden with cloth and other goods, on their way to Dublin. Next autumn he attacked Dublin, and took the town.

1158

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 68

In the year 1158, Somerled came to Man with fifty-three ships, and fought a battle with Godfrey, and routed him; and wasted the whole island, and went away.[1] And Godfrey sailed over to Norway, to seek help against Somerled.[2]

1159

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 76

In the year 1159, Robert,[3] the bishop of St Andrews, died.

Waltheof, of pious memory, the second abbot of Melrose, died on the third day before the Nones of August.[4] He was the uncle of king Malcolm. And William, a monk of the same church, succeeded him, on the fifth day before the Kalends of

But returning to take the ransom next morning, he was trapped and killed. [Cf. years 1170, 1171, for Orkneymen in Ireland.]

Svein was succeeded by his sons Andrew and Olaf. "Andrew, Svein's son, had married Frida, daughter of Kolbein Hruga; sister of Biarni, bishop of the Orkneymen." Olaf had been fostered by Kolbein Hruga (Fl., ii, 505).

[1] The same chronicle describes (i, 68-74) how the miraculous intervention of St Machutus hastened Somerled's departure.

[2] In the year 1160, king Malcolm seems to have received Somerled into favour. He gave a charter on 25th December, 1160, at Perth, dating it "on the next Christmas after the reconcilement (*concordia*) of the king and Somerled" (Moray, appendix, no. 1).

[3] "of good memory" adds C.H., 38, s.a. 1159. At the end of the annal in C.M., another hand has added a second notice of Robert's death.

Robert had obtained from pope Adrian an indulgence (dated 11th August, 1156), permitting him, because of his weakness and age, to remain within his own diocese, unless summoned by the pope or his legate (L.A., 24-25).

See years 1124, 1160.

[4] I.e., on 3rd August. The Life of abbot Waltheof gives the same day of his death, but numbers the year erroneously 1160 (A.S., 3 Aug. i, 269, 270; L.A., 51).

Waltheof was the son of Simon de Senlis I. Cf. the Life, 249. He witnessed, as "Waltheof, son of the queen," king David's charter, L.C., no. 85, of 1124 × 1131. Cf. L.C., 333. See years ? 1114, 1148, 1171.

The Life says (267) that Waltheof had been elected bishop of St Andrews; but had refused the appointment, notwithstanding the persuasion of Ailred of Rievaulx. Cf. D.B., 6.

December[1]; and on the vigil of St Andrew the apostle, which fell on a Sunday,[2] he was blessed in our church by Herbert, the bishop of Glasgow. . . .

1159

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 76, s.a. 1159

Henry, the king of England, went to Toulouse with an army; and in this army very many died. And William, the count of Boulogne, son of king Stephen,[3] and Hamo, son of the earl of Gloucester, died.[4]

Returning from this army, Malcolm, the king of the Scots, was knighted by the English king, at Tours.[5]

[1] 27th November. A note is entered in red ink, in the lower margin: "the third abbot of Melrose."

[2] Sunday, 29th November, 1159. See years 1170, † 1185.

[3] In October, 1159, according to R.T. Cf. year 1139, note. William's possessions reverted to king Henry. The county of Boulogne was given in the following year to Matthew, son of count Thierri or Theoderic of Flanders, in the right of his wife, Mary, king Stephen's daughter, the abbess of Romsey. Matthew's mother Sibylla was the sister of count Geoffrey of Anjou.

[4] Hamo appears to have been an illegitimate son of earl William († 1183), the son of earl Robert, king Henry I's son. Hamo's death is copied in Hoveden (i, 217), from C.M.

[5] From this is derived Hoveden's note (E.C., 240).

C.H., 38, s.a. 1159: "Malcolm, the king of Scotland, went with Henry, the king of England, to Toulouse; and was girded with the sword of knighthood by the same king Henry, in [the city of] Tours."

The Chronicle of Carlisle (Palgrave, 72-73), s.a. 1158: "Henry II, the king of England, went to Toulouse with an army. Upon his return, Malcolm, the king of Scotland, was made a knight, at Tours.

"And the same king Henry took Carlisle from king Malcolm."

Similarly, but with gaps, in the Chronicle of Huntingdon, P. & S., 212.

Malcolm crossed the channel on 16th June (Continuatio Beccensis), and was knighted about 30th June (Geoffrey of Vigeois, below). King Henry besieged Toulouse from July to September. The statement that Malcolm was knighted upon the return from Toulouse is probably false. He may then have received investiture as an English earl. Cf. year 1157, note. For the campaign to Toulouse, see L.A., 40-48.

Malcolm refers to his having received arms, before giving his charter to Newbattle abbey (? 1162; Newbattle, no. 155, and p. xxxvi).

Jordan de Fantosme, l. 1259, seems to imply that Malcolm's brother William also was present at the siege of Toulouse. He was then about 16 years old. He may have been summoned to the campaign as Henry's vassal for lands in Tynedale, which he seems to have obtained about, or shortly before, this time (see year 1157, note).

1159

Robert of Torigni, Chronica; Rolls Series, no. 82, vol. iv, pp. 201-203; s.a. 1159[1]

And in the middle of Lent,[2] the king [Henry II] caused to be called out the army of the whole of Normandy, England, Aquitaine, and the other provinces that are subject to him: because Raymond, count of St Gilles, refused to give up to him the city of Toulouse, which the king demanded as the inheritance of his wife, queen Eleanor.

For Robert, count of Mortain, uterine brother of king William, who conquered the kingdom of England, had one son William, who succeeded him; and who was taken prisoner in battle by Henry I, king of the English, at Tinchebrai: and three daughters, of whom one was married to Andrew de Vitry; another, to Guy de Laval; the third, to the count of Toulouse, the brother of Raymond, count of St Gilles. He conducted himself valiantly in an expedition to Jerusalem. The count of Toulouse had by her one daughter only, whom William, count of Poitou, and duke of Aquitaine, took as his wife, after the death of the aforesaid girl's father; with her rightful inheritance —the town of Toulouse, and the county of Toulouse. And by her the same William had a son, William by name, who succeeded him; and he was the father of Eleanor, queen of the English.

And if any one ask how the count of St Gilles had the city of Toulouse afterwards, let him know that the aforesaid William, count of Poitou, had given the same city to Raymond, the count of St Gilles, his wife's uncle, in security for the money that the same William had spent upon his expedition to Jerusalem; and so this Raymond is sometimes called count of St Gilles, sometimes count of Toulouse, in the book of that expedition.[3]

[1] Also in B.R., xiii, 303-304; M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 509-510.

Cf. the Continuatio Beccensis appended to R.T. (323; L.A., 43; E.C., 240, note); and the same, from the Vatican MS., in B.R., xiii, 302, note, and M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 509, note (cf. ibid., 296, note upon MS. E8g).

See i.a. W.N. (L.A., 40-41). Cf. the Draco Normannicus, R.S. **82**, ii, 608-609.

[2] Mid-Lent Sunday was 22nd March in 1159.

Cf. B.R., xii, 417.

[3] The book referred to appears to be Balderic of Anjou's Historia Jerosolimitana; cf. P.L. **166**, 1139-1142.

After [Raymond's] death, the same city was held by his son, Anforsius, who died at Jerusalem, at the time when Louis, king of the French, had gone there, for prayer: similarly also by Raymond, [Anforsius'] son, who succeeded him, and who had in marriage Constance, the sister of the aforesaid king of the French—the widow of count Eustace, the son of Stephen, king of the English.

King Henry, when about to go upon the aforesaid expedition [to Toulouse], considering the length and difficulty of the way, was unwilling to distress the soldiers of agrarian districts, or a great number of townfolk and rustics; but took sixty sols from the fief of every coat-of-mail of the Angevins in Normandy, and from all the others, in Normandy as well as in England; and also from his other lands, according as it seemed good to him: and he took with him his chief barons, with few men, but innumerable mercenary soldiers.

But to the expedition, with the rest from beyond the sea, came Malcolm, the king of Scotland; and he was girded there with the belt of knighthood by king Henry.

The expedition lasted for about three months. And although king Henry had taken the city of Cahors, and the greater part of the duchy of Toulouse had been reduced by force or fear, yet he was unwilling to besiege the town of Toulouse, out of regard for Louis, king of the French[1]; because he had fortified that town against king Henry of England, and was guarding it by day and by night, wishing to bring assistance to Raymond, his sister's husband. Out of this, great enmities arose between [Louis] and the king of the English; because [Henry] saw that an injury was being done him by the king of the French, of whose help he had been most confident. King Henry therefore sent back count Theobald, who favoured him, to create disturbance in the kingdom of France.

But Henry, bishop of Beauvais, and count Robert, lord of Dreux, brothers of the king of the French, resisted [Theobald], and harassed with fire and rapine some dwellers on the frontier of the duchy of Normandy; the Normans retaliating upon them.

[1] Henry was Louis's vassal for the lands held by him in France.

1159

Geoffrey of Vigeois, Chronica, in Bouquet's Recueil, vol. xii, p. 439[1]

Henry, the king of the English, at that time[2] besieged Toulouse, with a very large army. Malcolm, the king of the Scots, was there; and an innumerable host of nobles and princes.[3] And Henry girded the king of the Scots with the belt of knighthood, at the town of Périgueux, in the Bishop's Meadow. The new knight made thirty sons of nobles the associates of his recent knighthood, and followed the king. . . .[4]

At Toulouse, king Louis brought assistance to count Raymond, who had his sister Constance as his wife. Then the king of the English would not assail the town in battle, out of respect for Louis; but dismissed his army, and, passing through Uzerche with the king of the Scots, came to Limoges, about the festival of the archangel Michael.[5]

After this, in the Lord's Nativity, the earth was bound with severe frost.

1159-1160

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 76-77, s.a. 1159

William, the bishop of Moray, and Nicholas, at that time chamberlain of the king of the Scots,[6] visited the Roman court on king Malcolm's behalf; and came to pope Alexander at

[1] In Labbe's Nova Bibliotheca (1657), ii, 310; L.A., 43-44, 48.

[2] The previous chapter (in Labbe, 310) to that from which this account is taken describes the translation of Saints Leo and Coronatus, on Friday, 6th December, therefore in 1157. On p. 439 (Labbe, 311), Geoffrey says: "In the same year, in the octaves of the Lord's Ascension, I . . . received monastic benediction from sir Peter" (the abbot of St Martial's abbey, at Vigeois): i.e., on 12th May, 1160?

[3] *heroum et praesulum.*

[4] The next sentence begins: "On the festival of St Martial, about which this was done . . . ." St Martial's day is 30th June. Cf. L.A., 44.

[5] 29th September.

[6] Cf. L.A., 49-51.

Pope Adrian IV died at Anagni on 1st September, 1159. Alexander III was elected on 7th September. He went to Anagni ×13th November; and was there until 8th April, 1160 (Jaffé).

Anagni, beyond Rome. And they were received by him there with sufficient honour.

William returned in the following year, having been made legate of the kingdom of the Scots.[1]

1160

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 77

In the year 1160, Malcolm, the king of the Scots, came from the army at Toulouse. And when [Malcolm] had come to the city that is called Perth, earl Ferteth and five other earls (being enraged against the king because he had gone to Toulouse[2]) besieged the city, and wished to take the king prisoner; but their presumption did not at all prevail.

King Malcolm went three times with a great army into Galloway; and at last subdued them.[3]

[1] C.H., 39, s.a. 1159: "William, the bishop of Moray, was sent by king Malcolm to Rome, and received by the aforesaid [pope] Alexander [III] with the highest honour; and was sent back to Scotland with favour, and the election of the papal see" (i.e., as papal legate).

The object of this mission may have been to ask that the see of St Andrews should be raised to the rank of an archbishopric. John Paparo had promised to obtain this concession from the pope (see year 1151, note).

Pope Alexander III replied in a letter dated 27th November [1159], and addressed to the archdeacon, prior, and clergy of St Andrews. It was probably sent by the hands of bishop William. In this letter (L.A., 52-54) the pope refused a request that had been made, on behalf of the king of Scotland, with regard to the church of St Andrews; but instead, as a concession to the king, created William papal legate in the whole kingdom of Scotland; and recommended that he should be appointed bishop of St Andrews.

This recommendation was not carried out. Arnold was elected to the bishopric of St Andrews; and was in the following year appointed papal legate in Scotland. See years 1160, 1161, † 1162. Bishop William was still papal legate on 25th December, 1160, and after 6th January, 1161. This office of legate was a substitute for the archbishopric. Therefore William called himself "bishop of the Scots" in Kelso, no. 417 (1160 × 1161).

A similar instance occurred in the bishopric of Armagh. The Irish had wished that Patrick's successor should receive the pall. Maelmaedoic was instead created papal legate. See years 1134 × 1143, 1148.

[2] Presumably because his going was an act of feudal vassalage, compromising the independence of Scotland. Cf. year 1163.

[3] I.e., the six earls? "Subdued it to himself" in Hoveden, who copies this passage inexactly (E.C., 241-242).

For Ferteth see year † 1171.

1160

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 39

In 1160, king Malcolm led an army into Galloway three times. And he conquered his enemies there, and made a treaty with peace; and he returned without loss.

Fergus, the prince of Galloway, received the habit of a canon in the church of Holyrood at Edinburgh. And he gave to [that church] the village that is called Dunrod.[1]

1160

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 77, s.a. 1160

Arnold, the abbot of Kelso, was elected to the bishopric of St Andrews in Scotland, on the day of St Bricius the bishop; which fell this year on a Sunday.[2] And on the following Sunday, St Edmund's day,[3] he was consecrated at St Andrews in Scotland by William, the bishop of Moray, and legate of the apostolic see; in presence of king Malcolm, and the bishop[s], abbots, and earls, of the kingdom.

John, the chanter of the same church [of Kelso], succeeded him, being elected on the vigil[4] of St Andrew; and on the day of the Epiphany[5] he was blessed by Herbert, the bishop of Glasgow.[6]

[1] *Dunroden:* apparently in the parish of Kirkcudbright.

[2] Sunday, 13th November, 1160.

[3] 20th November. For Arnold, see years 1147, † 1161.

[4] 29th November.

[5] Friday, 6th November, 1161.

[6] C.H., 39, s.a. 1160: "Arnold, the abbot of Kelso, was elected bishop of St Andrews; and [was consecrated] by William, the bishop of Moray and legate of the apostolic see, in the church of St Andrews. And Walter ascended to his place [*et Walterus in ejus locum surrexit*].

"John was elected abbot of Kelso, and was blessed by Herbert, the bishop of Glasgow."

C.H., probably borrowing from C.M., has omitted the death of prior Robert of St Andrews, to whom Walter succeeded.

Obituary of Durham, S.S. **13**, 138: "On the death of sir John, the abbot of Kelso, one entire service shall be held for him in the convent, as is customarily done for a brother who dies outside the church. Thirty masses shall be said for him by the priests: and in the next *tricenarium* that shall be said after his death, it shall be done for him as for one of our brethren. Every one of inferior rank shall repeat for him fifty psalms; the others, who do not know the psalms, [shall repeat] fifty times the *Pater*

And in this year king Malcolm gave his sister, Margaret, to Conan, the duke of Brittany.[1]

Robert, the prior of St Andrews, died; and Walter, the chanter of the same church, succeeded him.[2]

1160

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 116; s.a. 1160[3]

Godfrey, Olaf's son,[4] took kingship in the Hebrides.

Noster, or the *Miserere mei, Deus*. And his name shall be placed in the Martyrology, among the names of the brethren."

For his death, see year 1180.

[1] Conan died in 1171 (q.v.).

In 1181, according to Geoffrey of Vigeois (B.R., xii, 449), "The king father [Henry II] gave Conan's only daughter, Constance [† 1201], to his son Geoffrey [† 1186]. She was the daughter of Margaret, king [William] of Scotland's sister." Cf. W.N., i, 146; R.T., 228; B.P., i, 7.

Cf. the late genealogy in B.R., xii, 569. See L.A., 57-58.

For the lands held in 1185 by Margaret in Lincolnshire, see the Rotuli de Dominabus, 3 (where it is said: "Margaret the countess, sister of the king of the Scots, is in donation of the lord king [Henry II]. And she is 40 years old"; therefore she was born × 1145); also ibid., 4 (where she is called "countess of Richmond"); in Norfolk, ibid., 33 ("Margaret the countess is . . . old [u.s.]. And the count of Brittany has her daughter; and she herself has by Humphrey de Bohun one son, who is under age"); in Cambridgeshire, ibid., 44 ("The countess of Brittany, who is sister of the king of Scotland, and of the donation of the lord king. . . . She is 30 years old. She has one daughter, who is the wife of the count of Brittany; and, by Humphrey de Bohun, one son, who is 10 years old, and in custody of Margaret de Bohun"). The ages given in De Dominabus are approximate.

For Margaret's death in 1201 see E.C., 326.

[2] See above, after 1144.

[3] With dominical and paschal letters of 1160. Similarly also in P (322), and A (Fl., iii, 516).

[4] "Olaf's son" not in A. Cf. year 1095, note; years ?1152-?1154; 1171, note. Godfrey seems to have had the title of king in 1159 (Kelso).

In 1160, William de Beauchamp rendered accounts to king Henry II for sums expended upon the armour of the king of the islands, in Worcestershire; and, in Gloucestershire, for his allowance (*pro vadiis*; 70 shillings), and his palfrey and coat of mail (Hunter's Pipe Rolls of Henry II, 155, 168; Bain, i, nos. 56, 60. Cf. Bain, no. 102).

?1160

List of Cistercian Foundations to 1247, s.a. 1160[1]

[The house] of Sconedale [was founded].[2]

1161

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 40

In 1162, William, the bishop of Moray, and legate of the apostolic see, died on the ninth day before the Kalends of February.[3]

1161

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 39, s.a. 1161

Fergus, the prince of Galloway, died, on the fourth day before the Ides of May.[4]

1161

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 77-78, s.a. 1161

Bishop Arnold [of St Andrews] was by pope Alexander made [apostolic] legate of the kingdom of the Scots. And in the time of his legation he consecrated Gregory as bishop of Rosemarkie.[5] But afterwards, by command of pope Alexander, he ceased to hold the office of legate.

[1] J.B.A.A., xxvi, 361.

[2] I.e., Saddell in Kintyre (? ; Birch). Cf. K.B., 421-422. Birch places the foundation of Saddell abbey ca. 1163.

[3] I.e., on 24th January, 1162. But the true year seems to have been 1161.

There is an added marginal note in C.M., 78, s.a. 1161, which seems to read : "William, third bishop of Moray, died."

See years 1159-1160. For William, his predecessor Gregory (bishop in 1124 ; Scone, 4), and his successor Felix, see D.B., 144-146. William was bishop before 1153 (Cambuskenneth, no. 57).

Bower (i, 461) says that in 1164, before the election of Ingram to Glasgow, the sees of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Moray, were vacant.

[4] I.e., on 12th May.

See L.A., 67-68.

[5] Gregory, bishop of Ross, died in 1195. For his predecessors Macbeth (bishop 1128×1136 ; Dunfermline, no. 1), and Symeon (bishop 1128× ?1147 ; Dunfermline, no. 8 : and 27th February, 1155 ; H. & S., ii, 1, 232), see D.B., 209.

1161, February 3rd-4th

Heimskringla, Hakon Broad-shoulder, cc. 16-18[1]

Of king Ingi.

On Blasius' mass, at evening,[2] came the news to king Ingi that Hakon[3] was then coming to the town [of Oslo]. Then king Ingi caused [the trumpets] to blow for his host to come up from the town. And then were counted there nearly forty hundred men.[4] The king caused the long formation to be made, and not more than five men in depth. . . .

But when the night was over,[5] news came to king Ingi, and it was told him that Hakon and his followers were then coming in upon the ice. And ice lay all the way from the town [of Oslo] out to the Hofud-eyiar.

[c. 17] *Tale of king Ingi.*

Then king Ingi with his army went out upon the ice, and drew up his ranks before the town. Simon Scabbard[6] was in the wing that looked out to Thrælaberg; and in the wing that was in before the nunnery were Godfrey, king of the Hebrides, son of Olaf Buttered-bread[7]; and John, son of Svein, son of Bergthor Buck.[8]

But when Hakon and his followers came to the ranks of king Ingi, they shouted on both sides the war-cry. Godfrey and John made signs[9] to Hakon and his men, and let them know where they were in front of them. Then Hakon's men advanced upon them there; and at once Godfrey and his

[1] The same passage is in Fr., 358-359; and in Hakon Broad-shoulder's Saga, cc. 17-19 (F.S., vii, 275-277).

[2] 3rd February (a Friday, in c. 18; correctly).

[3] Hakon, son of Sigurd, son of Harold Gilli, had been made king in 1157, in succession to Eystein, Harold Gilli's son, the brother of Ingi. Hakon was then 10 winters old (H., Hakon Broad-shoulder, c. 1).

[4] Duodecimal hundreds, according to Storm; i.e., 4,800.

[5] I.e., in the morning of 4th February, 1161.

[6] Simon Scabbard had caused king Eystein to be put to death (H., Harold Gilli's sons, c. 32).

Simon's wife Maria was a daughter of Harold Gilli, and a sister of Eystein and Ingi (ibid., c. 22).

[7] *sonr Olafs klínings.* But Hakon Broad-shoulder's Saga reads *son Ólafs bitlíngs* "Olaf Morsel."

[8] John died in 1163 (H., Magnus Erling's son, c. 14).

[9] "with their weapons" Hakon Broad-shoulder's Saga.

followers fled: and they must have been nearly fifteen hundred men.[1] And John, and a great company with him, sprang into Hakon's host, and fought on his side. . . .

[c. 18] *The fall of king Ingi.*

But when John and his fellows had broken the ranks of king Ingi, many also fled of those who had been placed next to them. And then the army was divided and broken up; and Hakon and his men attacked with vigour. Then too the day had come. Then an attack was made upon the standard of king Ingi. In this assault king Ingi fell. . . .

1162

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 78

In the year 1162, Hugh de Morville, the founder of the church of Dryburgh, died.[2]

Malcolm, the king of the Scots, gave his other sister Ada to count Florence of Holland.[3]

1162

Annals of Egmond, in M.G.H., Scriptores, vol. xvi, p. 462

In the year 1162, Florence, the count of Holland,[4] married the sister of the king of the Scots, Ada by name[5]; fetching her with great array, and decoration, and military force, of ships.

[1] "fled with fifteen hundred men" Hakon Broad-shoulder's Saga. These were duodecimal hundreds, according to Storm.

[2] See L.A., 69.

[3] C.H., 40, s.a. 1162: "Ada, sister of Malcolm, king of Scotland, married Florence, the noble count of Holland." The Lambeth MS. reads erroneously *Elda* instead of *Ada.*

[4] This was count Florence III; "a man in whom the type of all honour and probity had revealed itself" (Annals of Egmond, 470, s.a. † 1190).

[5] "Ada, the tenth countess" ibid., 444.

Ada's marriage-portion was to have been the earldom of Ross (Palgrave, 20-21), by deprivation of the earl, Malcolm Macheth (see year 1157, note). But in fact Malcolm retained the earldom.

Ada's son, Florence, became bishop-elect of Glasgow (1202-1207).

Ada's daughter, Margaret, married Theoderic IV, count of Cleves; Annals of Egmond, 469, s.a. 1182.

Ada's son, count Theoderic VII, is highly spoken of, ibid., 470, 472.

1162

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 78, s.a. 1162

Arnold, the bishop of St Andrews, died.[1]

The church of St Andrews in Scotland was founded.[2]

1162

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 40, s.a. 1162

Isaac, the prior of Scone, died; and Robert, a canon of Jedwater, was appointed the first abbot in that church.[3]

1163

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 78, s.a. 1163

A general council at the city of Tours, held by pope Alexander III; in which council he excommunicated the anti-pope Octavian, and the other schismatics; the emperor alone excepted.[4]

1163

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 78

In the year 1163, Henry, the king of England, came to England from foreign parts.[5]

He married Aleydis, "sister of Theoderic the Younger, count of Cleves" (ibid., 470, s.a. 1186).

See L.A., 66, 354.

Ada's great-grandson, Florence V, count of Holland, was among the claimants of the Scottish crown in 1291. Foedera, i, 2, 775; Stevenson's Documents, i, 318-321.

[1] C.H., 40, s.a. 1162: "Arnold, the bishop of St Andrews, and legate of the apostolic see, died on the Ides of September" (13th September).

See year 1160; and for his successor, 1163.

[2] This was the church occupied by the canons of the priory. See after 1144. According to Wyntoun, the "great church of St Andrews" was founded by bishop Arnold.

[3] Pope Alexander III gave a confirmatory charter of the possessions of the abbey, to "Robert, abbot of the church of the blessed Michael, of Scone, and his brethren . . . who have professed the regular life"; on 5th December, 1164 (L.A., 91).

[4] Cf. i.a. Contin. of Sigebert, in M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 409-410.

The presence of Scottish bishops at the Council of Tours (19th May, 1163) is mentioned by Hugh of Poitou, De Libertate monasterii Vizeliacensis (M.G.H., Scriptores, xxvi, 148. Hugh, the notary of William, abbot of Vézelay, concluded this work in 1167).

[5] Similarly C.H., 40, s.a. 1163, reading: "returned to England, after pacifying foreign parts." Henry landed at Southampton on 25th January (R.D.). He had left England on 14th August, 1158.

And Richard, king Malcolm's chaplain,[1] was elected to the bishopric of St Andrews. And king Malcolm recovered, through the compassion of God, from a great sickness, at Doncaster; and there is firm peace between Henry, king of England, and Malcolm, king of the Scots.[2]

1163

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 40, s.a. 1163

King Malcolm gave his brother David and other noble boys of his kingdom as hostages into the king of England's hand.[3]

Horo, the archdeacon of Lothian, died.[4] And king Malcolm transported[5] the men of Moray.

[1] C.H. reads: "Richard, the king of Scotland's chaplain, the nephew of Alfwin, abbot of Edinburgh."

He was still bishop-elect on 23rd May, 1164 (Scone, no. 5). For his consecration see 1165. He died in 1178.

[2] Copying this sentence, folio 53 verso reads: "In the year 1162, king Malcolm recovered . . . and Malcolm king of Scotland," as above: but omitting "there is" (*est*).

Hoveden, copying the same sentence (E.C., 242), reads "firm peace was made."

This peace seems to have involved a settlement of the question of superiority. The giving of hostages strongly suggests that the agreement was not in Scotland's favour.

After his recovery, the king enriched the monastery of Scone (Scone, no. 5). About the same time, that monastery became an abbacy (1162 × 1164). See year 1162.

About this time, (1161 × 1164) and probably in 1163, Walter the Steward, son of Alan, at Fotheringhay, announced that he would found a Cluniacensian priory of the Gilbertine order within his land of Paisley; and that for this purpose he had received a prior and twelve brothers from Wenlock (Paisley, 1-2). See below, year 1169; 1177, 1219-1221, notes. Monks of the Cluniacensian order had previously lived for some time at Renfrew, beside the mill; they were transferred to Paisley. William of Bondington, bishop of Glasgow, said (1246 × 1249; Paisley, 15-16) that the monastery had existed for 80 years and more before an abbot was appointed. Since an abbot was elected 1219 × 1220, this would seem to imply that the monastery (at Renfrew) was in existence before 1140.

[3] This is derived from R.T., 218 (E.C., 242, note). From R.D. (E.C., 242) is derived a note of this homage, in the 1291 chronicle of Norwich, s.a. 1163 (Palgrave, 120).

[4] This appears to have been the Thor or Thorald (cf. L.A., 74), archdeacon of Lothian, who witnessed charters from 1144-5 to 1165 × 1166 (cf. Dunfermline, no. 96). He probably died 1165 × 1166.

[5] *transtulit.*

1164

Chronicle of Holyrood, pp. 40-41, s.a. 1164

Master Andrew was made archdeacon of Lothian.[1] . . .[2]

The convent came to Coupar; and was reverently received, and the abbot, Fulk, was blessed, by Gregory, the bishop of Dunkeld.[3] . . .

1164

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 78-79

In the year 1164, the abbacy of Coupar was established. King Malcolm created it on the fourth day before the Ides of July.[4]

William, king Henry's brother, died.[5]

The anti-pope Octavian died. And Guy of Crema was set up as second anti-pope by the aforesaid schismatic emperor.[6] . . .[7]

Herbert, the bishop of Glasgow, died; and Ingram, the king's chancellor, succeeded him, being consecrated by pope Alexander at the city of Sens, on the day of the apostles Simon

[1] Andrew appears as archdeacon in 1166; archdeacon of Lothian, 1165 × 1169. An Andrew, archdeacon of Muthill, appearing 1165 × 1171, may perhaps have been the same; in which case he did not become archdeacon of Lothian before 1165. His predecessor Thor, archdeacon of Lothian, appears as a witness in the bishopric of Richard, bishop of St Andrews (∴ 1165 ×; see 1163, note).

[2] Here C.H. describes the death of Somerled (see note, below).

[3] See year 1170.

[4] I.e., on 12th July; a Sunday in 1164.

The Cistercian Foundations list to 1247 places the foundation of the house "of Coupar" under 1164 (J.B.A.A., xxvi, 361).

Cf. the Life of abbot Waltheof, 262.

From C.M. is derived Hoveden's note (E.C., 242). Cf. the Book of Coupar (K.B., 420): "In the year 1164, by counsel of St Waltheof the abbot of Melrose [† 1159], king Malcolm founded the monastery of Coupar in Angus." Cf. Bower, i, 348.

[5] William's death is noted by C.H. s.a. 1163. He died on 30th January, 1164 (R.T., 221). His proposed marriage with Isabella de Varenne, the widow of William Stephen's son, had been forbidden. Cf. year 1139, note.

[6] Cf. C.H., 40. Octavian (elected on the same day as Alexander III) died on 20th April, 1164; Guy was appointed on 22nd April († 20th September, 1168) (Jaffé).

[7] Here follows the affair of Somerled. See below.

and Jude[1]; although the messengers of the archbishop of York very greatly opposed it.[2] . . .

The archbishop of York [Roger] came to Norham, to exercise his legation over Scotland. But the messengers of the king of the Scots opposed him, and gainsaid his legation; and he returned thence in confusion.[3]

1164

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 144, s.a. 1164[4]

Dignitaries of the community of Iona (namely the great priest, Augustine; and the lector, Dubside; and the anchorite, Gilladuib's son; and the head of the céli-dé, Forcellach's son; and other dignitaries of the community of Iona) came to meet Columcille's successor, Flaithbertach Ua-Brolchain, [asking him] to take the abbacy of Iona,[5] by counsel of Somerled, and the

[1] 28th October. Bower (see L.A., 83-84) says that Ingram was elected on a Sunday, ordained on the following Saturday, and consecrated on the 40th day of his election. If he was consecrated on 28th October, Bower would place his election on Sunday, 19th September: but that day was a Saturday. We should probably read "40th day of his ordination," instead of "his election." He would then have been elected on Sunday, 13th September.

[2] Hence Hoveden (E.C., 243).

Cf. C.H., 41, s.a. 1164: "Herbert, of good memory, the bishop of Glasgow, died; and Ingram, the king's chancellor, was elected bishop, and was consecrated by pope Alexander."

Ingram received letters of commendation to his see on 1st November, 1164, at Sens (L.A., 84-85; Glasgow, i, no. 19). In these, pope Alexander III announced that he had consecrated Ingram, and was sending him to the diocesans as the special sons of the apostolic see. The letter is addressed to the dean, Solomon (who was still dean in 1172; ibid., no. 28); the canons of Glasgow; and all the clergy and people of the bishopric of Glasgow. Ingram did not enter the see until after 2nd June, 1165 (L.A., 86-87; Glasgow, no. 22).

[3] For the visit of the abbot of Rievaulx to Kirkcudbright in this year, see L.A., 90.

[4] With f.n. and e. of 1164.

[5] According to A.U., ii, 180, Flaithbertach, "a man to whom the clerics of Ireland had given the bishop's chair, for the sake of his wisdom and his excellence; and to whom had been offered the successorship of Iona, died piously, after excellent tribulation, in Columcille's Dubrecles" near Derry, in 1175. Similarly in F.M., iii, 18.

Donald Ua-Brolchain, presumably a relative of Flaithbertach, became prior of Iona later, and died in 1203.

men of Argyle and of the Hebrides. But Patrick's successor,[1] and the king of Ireland, Ua-Lochlaind,[2] and the nobles of Cenel-Eogain, restrained him. . . .

Somerled, Gilla-Adamnain's son, and [Somerled's] son, were killed. And along with him, slaughter [was made] of the men of Argyle and of Kintyre, and of the men of the Hebrides, and the Foreigners of Dublin.

1164

Tigernach's Continuator, in Revue Celtique, vol. xviii, p. 195; s.a. [1164][3]

Somerled, Gillabrigte's son, king of the Hebrides and of Kintyre, and his son Gillabrigte, were slain by the men of Scotland; and a slaughter was made of the Foreigners of Dublin along with them.

1164

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 79, s.a. 1164

Somerled, the regulus of Argyle, wickedly rebelling for now twelve years against Malcolm, the king of the Scots, his natural lord, after he had landed at Renfrew, bringing a large army from Ireland and various places, was at last through divine

[1] Gilla-macc-liac, archbishop of Armagh (× 1162-1172 ×).

[2] This was Muirchertach, Lochland's grandson. His own tribe, the Cenel-Eogain, turned against him, in consequence of an act of sacrilege; and he was killed in 1166.

Muirchertach's son, Conchobar Ua-Lochlaind, was king of Cenel-Eogain and heir to the kingdom of Ireland († 1170).

[3] With ferial and epact of 1164.

This seems to be the same man whose death is entered under 1083 in F.M., ii, 920: "Somerled, Gillabrigte's son, king of the Hebrides, died."

Malcolm Macheth was related by marriage to Somerled. See years 1134, 1157 note.

For the descendants of Somerled, see i.a. Paisley, 125-128. There charters are given by Reginald, Somerled's son, lord of the Hebrides, and his wife Fonia; by Donald, Reginald's son, and his wife (Henry, Reginald's son, appears as a witness, 136); by Angus, Donald's son, lord of Islay (Alexander, Donald's son, being a witness); and by Alexander, Angus' son, lord of Islay.

vengeance slain there, along with his son, and innumerable people, by a few of his fellow-provincials.[1]

[1] Hoveden's account is derived from this passage (E.C., 243).

Cf. C.H., 40-41, s.a. 1164: "Somerled, the king of Scotland's enemy [*adversarius*], landed with a very great fleet at Renfrew, for the purpose of plundering. And there he and his son were slain, with an immense number of his men."

Chronicle of Man, i, 74: "In the year 1164, Somerled collected a fleet of a hundred and sixty ships; and landed at Renfrew, wishing to subdue all Scotland to himself. But through divine vengeance he was overcome by a few; and was slain there, along with his son, and innumerable people." Afterwards, under the same year, this chronicle describes the battle at Ramsey, the death of king Malcolm, and succession of William.

Fordun (c. 4) names Somerled's son Gillecoluim (*Gillecolanus*).

The story of O.S. appears to be highly fabulous. In it, Thorbiorn the Clerk (see year 1106, note), outlawed from Orkney, is said to have been well received by king Malcolm. At the same time "the man who was called Gilla-Odrain was with the Scottish king: he was of high birth," but his murders forced him to flee from court. He became the steward of the earls of Orkney; but he killed a noble farmer, Helgi, a friend of earl Ronald, in Caithness.

Fl., ii, 508 (O.S., c. 110; i, 210): "And after the slaying, [Gilla-Odrain] went west, into Scotland's firth; and he was received by the chieftain who was called Sumarlidi the Yeoman [*haulldr*]. [Sumarlidi] had dominion in Dalir, in Scotland's firth [Glendale, Skye?]. Sumarlidi had married Ragnhild, the daughter of Olaf Morsel, the king of the Hebrides. These were their children:—king Dugald; Ronald; and Angus [*Engull*]. That is called the family of the Dalveriar" [Dale-dwellers]. Cf. years ? 1103, 1106, 1156, 1157.

Earl Ronald ordered Svein Asleif's son to look out for Gilla-Odrain. Fl., ii, 508 (O.S., c. 111, i, 211): "*Svein slew Sumarlidi.* After that, Svein went upon piracy; and he had five long-ships. And when he came west off Scotland's firths, Svein heard that Sumarlidi the Yeoman had taken ship, and intended going on piracy. He had seven ships. Gilla-Odrain was steering one of the ships; and he had gone into a firth to fetch the levy, which had not come in. As soon as Svein knew of the presence of Sumarlidi, he disposed himself for battle with him. And there was a hard battle there; and in that battle Sumarlidi the Yeoman fell, and many of his men along with him. Svein was sure that Gilla-Odrain was not there. Svein went then to look for him; and found him in Myrkvafiordr; ["the Firth of Forth" Dasent, Vigfusson; but this is improbable] and he slew Gilla-Odrain there, with 50 men." He returned from piracy in autumn, and earl Ronald was pleased with his achievement.

The traditional account of Somerled is not trustworthy. His marriage has been dated, without authority, ca. 1140 (cf. i.a. Clan Donald, i (1896), 43; D. Gregory, History of the Highlands, 2nd ed., 12). For Somerled's descendants, cf. i.a. Lang's History of Scotland, i, s.f.

1164

Carmen de Morte Sumerledi, in Rolls Series, no. 75, vol. ii, pp. 386-388

How by very few was slain Somerled Sitebi, the king,[1] *with his immense army.*

When by death's law king David had been enclosed in his coffin, the treachery of hostile Scots became at once apparent. Hebrideans (?) and Argylesmen, supported by a force of Scots,[2] raged, and slew the righteous, with cruel hand. The righteous hastened, and appeased the fury of the wicked men, who were raging and destroying cities and churches.

Peace was broken, violence renewed. The strong drove out[3] the weak. The enemy slew and injured with fire and sword their miserable victims. Gardens, fields, ploughed lands,[4] were ravaged and laid waste; barbarous hands mastered and menaced the meek.

The people of Glasgow wounded fled from the sword-strokes. But when the clergy dispersed, Mark remained alone, grumbling,[5] within the hard walls of the church; and enduring hard mischance. There he wept and lamented the days of former prosperity. But, though far away, the modest and upright bishop Herbert was suffering and grieving along with him. [Herbert] implored Kentigern to pray to the King above, for [the attainment of] his captives' hopes; and he cursed the enemy.

While he was praying, and yearning for the answer to his prayers; and while his supplications were without result, as they were without cessation, he began to disparage in words the Scottish saints, and piously to rebuke the blessed Kentigern. After these insults had been stilled, and almost forgotten, Kentigern did not forget the bishop's cry. After a long time, he recalled the bishop, to take vengeance, and wipe out the

[1] *Sumerledus Sicebi the king.* Raine reads *Sicebi;* Skene, *Sitebi* or *Sicebi.* The nickname may possibly stand for *Sitte-bi.*

[2] *Galienses, Argaidenses, freti vi Albanica.* Arnold interprets *Galienses* as "Galwegians" (i.e., *Galwenses*); but perhaps the men of *Innse-Gall* are meant.

[3] *trudunt,* Skene, Raine; *tradunt* Arnold.

[4] *aratra.*

[5] *querulus;* introduced to rhyme with *populus.*

disgrace of the Scottish saints. Immediately the bishop (an old man, venerable and estimable) forsook his righteous[1] bed, and like a youth, strenuously and willingly, travelled with his attendants, by night and by day, as quickly as was possible. But while he went, without knowing why he was so eager to go,[2] [he did so] because, with Elias,[3] he was inspired from heaven. This was proved by one who asked him quickly to return, to deliver and save himself from the hand of the hostile Somerled, foul with treachery, the most cruel enemy, who was conspiring and striving against the Lord's servants: and who suddenly landed with an immense company of satellites,[4] and threatened to destroy the whole kingdom. When he heard this on his way, [Herbert] groaned in spirit, and said: "Who urges me now[5] to go, or to return?"

And he called upon Solomon, a warlike young knight; and Elias, who often helped him upon the way.[6]

"Let us hasten, let us assist the desolate of our country; and let us pray, and check their misery. The teacher and ruler ought to fight for his country. Let us hurry, and fight; the victory is ours; because God, who is ever with me, defends his flock and his people in battle, though not with spear or sword."

The defenders, hearing of the bishop's arrival, became very bold, like dragons or lions: although[7] Somerled and a thousand enemies were ready for battle against a hundred of the innocent, yet [the latter] advanced and made an attack upon the ranks of the treacherous[8] men of Argyle, those ill-starred soldiers.

Hear a marvel! To the terrible, the battle was terrible. Heather and furze-bushes, moving their heads; burnt thyme,[9]

[1] *perfecto*, Skene, Arnold; *profecto* Raine.

[2] *ite*, Skene; *ire*, Raine, Arnold.

[3] I.e., "like Elijah"? See below.

[4] *classium satellite;* for *satellitum classe.*

[5] *nunc ire*, Skene, Raine; *nec ire* Arnold.

[6] L.A., 80, identifies Elias with the witness of charters, called "bishop Herbert's cleric" in Kelso, nos. 336, 436, 440; and "canon of Glasgow" in Glasgow, i, 17, no. 16. Solomon, metaphorically called a knight, may have been the Solomon who succeeded Ealdred as dean of the church of Glasgow, 1161 × 1173.

[7] *quanquam*, Skene; *quamquam*, Raine; *quinque* Arnold.

[8] *perfidorum Argaidorum.*

[9] *thymus usta.* Furze? Cf. below.

and branches; brambles, and ferns, caused panic, appearing to the enemy as soldiers. Never in this life had such miracles been heard. Shadows of thyme and ordure[1] were bulwarks of defence.

And in the first cleft of battle the baleful leader fell. Wounded by a [thrown] spear, slain by the sword, Somerled died.

And the raging wave swallowed his son, and the wounded of many thousand fugitives: because when this fierce leader was struck down, the wicked took to flight; and very many were slaughtered, both on sea and on land. When they wished to enter their ships among the blood-tinged waves, they were drowned in troops, alternately,[2] in the water. Rout and slaughter were made of thousands of the traitors[3]; while none of their assailants was wounded or killed.

Thus the enemies' ranks were deluded and repelled; and the whole kingdom with loud voices praised Kentigern.

A priest cut off the head of the unfortunate leader Somerled, and gave it into the bishop's hands. As his custom was, he wept piously on seeing the head of his enemy; saying, "The Scottish saints are truly to be praised." And he attributed the victory to the blessed Kentigern; whose memory keep ye always, and befittingly.

This, which he saw and heard, William has composed; and he has dedicated it to Kentigern's honour and glory.

1164

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 74, s.a. 1164

In the same year,[4] there was a battle at Ramsey, between Reginald Godfrey's brother and the Manxmen. And by reason

[1] *umbrae thymi atque fimi;* read *fumi*, "and smoke"? Cf. *thymus usta*, above.

[2] *alternatim*, introduced to rhyme with *catervatim*. Read perhaps "one ship's company after another."

[3] *perfidorum*.

[4] This follows the account of Somerled's death. After this passage, the chronicle reads: "In the same year, Malcolm, the king of Scotland, died; and his brother William succeeded him in the kingdom." The next year-section, for 1166, notes from C.M. (s.a. 1165) the appearance of two comets.

of the stratagem of a certain sheriff[1] the Manxmen were turned to flight; and Reginald began to reign. But on the fourth day, Godfrey arrived from Norway with a great host of men-at-arms, and seized his brother Reginald; and deprived him of his eyes, and emasculated him.

1165

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 41

In 1165 Malcolm, the king of Scotland, gave his chancellorship to Nicholas, his clerk.[2]

1165

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 79

In the year 1165, king Malcolm's chaplain Richard was consecrated at St Andrews[3] in Scotland, by the bishops of that land, on Palm Sunday; which fell then on the fifth day before the Kalends of April.[4]

And Henry, the king of England, sailed over [to Normandy].[5] And after he returned, he went with a large army to Wales; and there slew many people, and executed judgement upon

[1] *cujusdam vicecomitis.* Cf. Chronicle of Man, i, 78, s.a. 1183: "Fogolt, the sheriff of Man, died." With the name Fogolt cf. Fugl [*Fogl*], Liótolf's son, of Lewis, in O.S., c. 100. It is possible that Fogolt and Fugl were the same person (the *l* of Fugl being dental).

[2] Nicholas was probably a clerk of the king for some time before king David's death. He was brother of Adam, the chaplain of Roxburgh. He appears as chancellor in 1165, before 9th December, in Cambuskenneth, no. 194; Glasgow, no. 15; Melrose, no. 39. He seems to have held the chancellorship until his death in 1171, when he was succeeded by Walter de Bidun; but I have not been able to find an appearance of Walter as chancellor earlier than 1171 × 1176, unless Moray, Appendix, no. 2, was given in 1172.

Ingram, bishop of Glasgow, appears as chancellor in a few charters of William's reign. These may be spurious (e.g., Rogers' Cupar, ii, 291); or possibly Ingram resumed that office for a time, perhaps in 1171.

[3] "In the church of St Andrews" C.H.

[4] Palm Sunday, 28th March, 1165. The same day in C.H., 41.

See year 1163. Richard, bishop of St Andrews, granted the church of Falkirk (and the land held by the bishop there) to the church and canons of Holyrood, for a yearly rent of one stone of wax (M.Cl. 28, 13-14).

[5] During Lent (× 3rd April). He held a conference with king Louis on 11th April (R.T., 224).

two sons of king Ris, and upon the sons and daughters of his nobles: he put out the eyes of the boys, and cut off the noses and ears of the girls.

Two comets appeared before the rising of the sun, in the month of August; one to the south, the other to the north.[1] A comet is a star that does not at all times appear, but principally at the death of a king, or in the destruction of a country.[2] When it appears shining with a crinite diadem, it announces a royal death; but if it appears bearing rays, and it reddens and disperses them, it shows the destruction of a country.[3]

1165

Annales Cambriae, MS. B, in Rolls Series, no. 20, p. 50; s.a. 1166

Henry, the king of England, with the army of England, Normandy, Flanders, Anjou, Poitou, and Aquitaine, and Scotland, came as far as the cross of Oswald [Oswestry], planning the destruction of all the Welsh.[4] Owen, and Catgualatr, with the northern Welsh; and Ris, with the southern; Owen of Keweilauc [Cyveiliog], and Iorwerth Coch, with the men of Powys, resisted him valiantly. The king proceeded farther, and encamped in the mountain of Berwyn. But seeing that he was unable to effect anything according to his wishes, he deprived the hostages of the Welsh of their eyes, and emasculated them; and after losing a large part of his army, he returned to England with ignominy.[5]

[1] Cf. Pingré, Cométographie, i, 394-395.

[2] *in excidio . . . regionis:* below, *patrie.*

[3] Here follows an account of a great storm in Yorkshire, in August; and the appearance of the devil in the shape of a huge black horse, rushing towards the sea: the return of pope Alexander to Rome [23rd Nov., 1165], and the rejection of the anti-pope by Italy and Tuscany.

[4] Brut y Tywyssogion, 323-324, s.a. [1163] (and in MSS. CD of Ab Ithel's ed., s.a. 1164): "After that" (i.e., after king Henry's advance to Rhuddlan, and three days' encampment there,) "[Henry II] returned to England; and he collected to himself an enormous host of chosen warriors of England, Normandy, Flanders, Anjou, Gascony, and all Scotland"; (*Prydein.* "All the forces from the north" in MS. C) "and came to Oswestry, preparing to banish and destroy all the Welsh."

[5] Chronicle of Peterborough, 98, s.a., 1165: "King Henry a third time led an army into Wales, supported by a huge band of Flemings, Angevins,

1165

John of Salisbury, Letter to Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury; in Rolls Series, no. 67, vol. v, p. 218[1]

. . . I have heard nothing from Kent. Nevertheless, after my courier had returned from you, I heard that the king of Scots had written to you, and that he had obtained peace for you from the king. But I have not been able to trust the rumour; both because I hear that the Scottish king did not go to our king, and also because I perceive that an affair so bitterly begun could not easily, without a miracle, be settled by a letter. . . .

1165

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 148, s.a. 1165[2]

Malcolm Cendmor, Henry's son, the sovereign of Scotland, died: with regard to charity, and hospitality, and piety, the best Christian of the Gaels to the east of the sea.[3]

1165

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 80, s.a. 1165

Malcolm, of pious memory, the king of the Scots, died at Jedburgh, on the fifth day before the Ides of December[4] (which

Poitevins, and Scots; and he took the famous castle of Cardigan, and he captured two sons of king Ris [Grufud's son], and sons and daughters of his nobles; and he put out their eyes, and cut off their noses and ears most cruelly."

Ralph Niger, Chronicon a Christo Nato, 170, s.a. 1165: "King Henry led an innumerable army against the Welsh, help being afforded him by Flemings, Scots, Poitevins, Angevins, and many others. But even with so great a multitude he did not overcome them; but on the contrary embittered them against him. Also the famous castle of Cardigan was captured by (? from) the Welsh."

For this campaign, see B.T.; R.T., 225; G.C., i, 197; Giraldus Cambrensis, vi, 138, 143-144; W.N., i, 145; Annals of Waverley, R.S. 36, ii, 238-239; Hoveden, i, 240 (borrowing from C.M., above).

[1] In B.R., xvi, 513; Giles's ed., i, 201; L.A., 100-101. The letter begins *Ex relatione latoris.*

This was written after 10th July, and probably before 19th August 1165 (L.A., 101).

[2] With f.n. and e. of 1165.

[3] Cf. R.T., 226, s.a. 1165: "Malcolm, the king of Scotland, a religious youth, died. William, his brother, succeeded him."

[4] Similarly in C.H., 41, s.a. 1165; reading "of good memory," and omitting "at Jedburgh."

day fell on the fifth day of the week)[1]; in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the [thirteenth][2] year of his reign. And his body was conveyed by all persons to Dunfermline, and buried.

1165

Verse Chronicle inserted in the Chronicle of Melrose, p. 229[3]

The renowned king Malcolm reigned in Scotland for twice six years, and three months. Firm peace did not yet sufficiently flourish in the kingdom. The king is said to have died, without a slip, at Jedburgh.[4]

These four [last] kings, at last buried in peace,[5] rest in the tomb where [rests] king Malcolm [III].

1165

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version F, in Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 175

Malcolm, the son of Henry, David's son, [reigned] for twelve years, six months, and twenty days. He died at Jedburgh. He was buried at Dunfermline.[6]

[1] I.e., Thursday, 9th December, 1165.

[2] *xiii* has been altered by the same hand to *xii et dimidio* (as in folio 13).

[3] Similarly in the Bodleian version (P. & S., 181-182); but there the beginning is altered, after the addition describing Henry's birth (see year ?1114, note), and reads: "A chaste life permeates [*perit;* read *parit* "creates"?] the praise of Malcolm. He succeeded his grandfather in wielding the royal sceptre, for . . . ."

[4] In the margin is a note, in the same hand: "Malcolm, king of the Scots, died."

[5] *jam tunc in pace sepulti.* The Bodleian version reads *jam sunt:* "are now buried in peace, and lie . . . ." Unlike their predecessors (from Duncan onwards), Edgar, Alexander, David, and Malcolm IV, died natural deaths.

[6] Similarly in versions GIK (303, 290, 207). I adds: "with the kings, his predecessors." K reads: "Malcolm, son of Henry, earl of Garioch, of Huntingdon, and of Northumberland"; and says that Malcolm died "before the [altar-]stone at Jedburgh" (*avant la pier a Jedworth*).

N reads simply (306): "Malcolm reigned for 12 years, and was buried at Dunfermline."

Malcolm IV reigned for 12 years, 6 months, and 16 days (D.K.).

See the verse dialogue composed upon his death; in Fordun, c. 6; L.A. 105-106; S.S. 70, 81.

PART VIII

Reign of William, and the Wars of Henry

1165

Inserted folio 13 in the Chronicle of Melrose, p. 53

[Malcolm IV] reigned for twelve years and a half. And putting off the man, he was received in heaven, on the fifth day before the Ides of December: with the result that his brother William received the kingdom in the same year, 1165 from the Lord's Incarnation. And in the thirty-third year of [William's] reign, 1198 from the Lord's Incarnation, his son Alexander was born to him. And in the forty-ninth year of his reign, he died.

1165

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 80, s.a. 1165

And William, [Malcolm's] brother, succeeded him; being elevated to the kingdom in the royal manner,[1] on the vigil of the Lord's Nativity.[2] . . .

John, the abbot of Kelso, came from Rome, mitred.[3]

1166

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 80

In the year 1166, Henry, the king of England, sailed over [to France]. And William, the king of the Scots, followed him, upon his lord's affairs; and, after attempting certain feats of chivalry,[4] he immediately returned [to Scotland].

[1] *more regio.*

[2] I.e., on 24th December.

C.H., 41, s.a. 1165: "And William, his brother, was raised up as king, on the vigil of the Lord's Nativity."

[3] See pope Alexander's bull, in Kelso, no. 467.

[4] *quibusdam militiarum probitatibus attemtatis.* This seems to imply that he took part in tourneys, not in war.

William's return seems to have been hastened by a dispute with king Henry. See below; and L A., 114, 115.

Earl Gospatric died[1]; and his son Waltheof succeeded him.[2]

1166

Letter to Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, in Rolls Series, no. 67, vol. vi, p. 72[3]

. . . I learned this only after the departure from me of your courier (who has long ago returned to you), that, on a certain day when king [Henry II] was at Caen, and was eagerly conducting the affair that he had with [William] the king of Scotland, he broke out in insulting language against Richard de Hamez, who seemed to be speaking to some extent in the king of Scotland's favour; and called [Richard] manifestly a traitor. And the king, roused to his usual fury, flung his cap from his head, put off his belt, threw far from him the mantle and clothes that he had on; removed with his own hands the silken coverlet that was over the couch; and, sitting as it were in a manure-heap, began to chew the stalks of straw.[4]

[1] Hoveden, i, 253, copying this passage, adds: "in Scotland." Bower (i, 459) calls Gospatric "earl of March," or Merse.

This was Gospatric III, who is called "earl of Lothian" in St Andrews, 132, 144. For his appearance in charters, see L.A., 109-110. He became earl in ? 1138 (1135 × 1139; see 1072, note). "Earl Gospatrik" appears in the scutage list of 1160-1161 (Red Book of the Exchequer, i, 25); and in the Pipe Roll abstracts for 1160-1162 (ibid., ii, 698). A "Gospatricius," without title, appears in the 1166 return (ibid., i, 437).

Gospatric III, "earl of Lothian," was alive after 28th March, 1165 (St Andrews, p. 144).

Gospatric III is believed to have been the "Cospatricius, earl and monk," who is entered under 15th December in the obituary of Durham (S.S. **13**, 147). See L.A., 109. To him probably belongs the grave-stone inscribed "Earl Gospatric" at Durham; but in D.K., 5-6, and S.P., iii, 243, the obit and stone are supposed to have been those of Gospatric I. It is possible that Gospatric I became a monk during his last illness, recorded by Hoveden; but there is no evidence of this. See year 1072, note.

[2] Waltheof appears as earl before the death of king Malcolm, in Melrose, no. 39. Ferteth appears as earl [of Strathearn] in the same charter (28 Mar. × 9 Dec., 1165). It is possible that Waltheof received the earldom before his father's death.

[3] In B.R., xvi, 256-257; Giles's St Thomas, ii, 260. The letter begins: *Nuncium vestrum qui.*

[4] The writer of this letter does not give his name. He was possibly John of Salisbury. Cf. the letter quoted under 1165.

The quarrel between the kings went so far that William promised aid,

1167

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 81

In the year 1167, Ailred, of pious memory, the third abbot of Rievaulx, died; and Silvanus, the abbot of Dundrennan, succeeded him. . . .[1]

Matilda the Empress, the mother of Henry II, king of the English, died.[2]

1168

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 42, s.a. 1168

Robert, the earl of Leicester, died.[3]

Earl Patrick was slain.[4]

The moon was tinged with the redness of blood, for nearly a whole hour, on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of October,[5] about cock-crowing. Then blackness followed, and [the moon] returned to her own colour.

Ralph Malcaéél,[6] and Richard Baldwin's son, and master

and offered hostages, to king Louis; and bound himself to the French king [in ? July, 1168], before peace was made between Louis and Henry. See the letter (*Obligationis inter nos*) of John of Salisbury to master Lombard of Piacenza (afterwards archbishop of Benevento) in R.S. 67, vi, 458; B.R., xvi, 591-592; ed. Giles, ii, 144; L.A., 116-117.

[1] Here follow notes of successions in Hereford and Alnwick.

Bower, i, 459, says that this Ailred or Baldred had "composed the life of St David, king of the Scots."

[2] Here follows a description of how the emperor Frederick set up the anti-pope Guido (1164-1168) in Rome [22nd July, 1167]; in Rome; and of the death of Guido (noted by C.M. also under 1168) [† 20th September, 1168; Jaffé].

[3] Robert II's death is noted by C.M. also under 1168 (81): "Earl Robert the Just of Leicester died; and he is with the highest justice [so] called."

Robert was a half-brother of Ada, king William's mother. See pp. 155, 494.

[4] This was the 1st earl of Salisbury. He had married Ela, the daughter of William count of Ponthieu, and widow of king William's cousin William de Varenne, 3rd earl of Surrey.

[5] 19th September. This eclipse occurred at 2 a.m. (Paris time; L'Art).

[6] Ralph Malcheel witnessed a charter of king William, at Edinburgh, 1166 × 1168 (St Andrews, 218).

Imerus,[1] were slain by a deceit of the Scots, on the ninth day before the Kalends of the same month.[2]

Malcolm Macheth, the earl of Ross, died.[3]

1168

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 117; s.a. 1168[4]

William the Old, bishop in the Orkneys, died.[5]

Sverri [was] in the Orkneys.[6]

[1] *Im'us*, expanded *Imerus* by Bouterwek.

"Imerus, clericus" witnessed Melrose no. 151 (1165 × 1168).

[2] The published text does not show whether this date belongs to this or the following paragraph. It stands as above in the MS.

[3] *Malcolm Machbeth.* See year 1157.

[4] With dominical and paschal letters of 1168. Similarly also in A (Fl., iii, 517).

[5] A omits "Bishop." I (Annaler, 322) reads; "Death of William, bishop in the Orkneys."

O.S., MS. C., c. 55, i, 81; and Fl., ii, 436: "At that time [1116] William was bishop in the Orkneys. He was the first bishop there. The bishop's seat was then at Christ's-church in Byrgisherad [Birgisey, in Fl.]. William was bishop for six winters of the seventy." Cf. the Latin Life of St Magnus, in Metcalfe, Lives, ii, 256: "William was the first bishop of the Orkneys, for 66 years." See years 1154, 1095, notes.

St Magnus's remains were translated after 1137, from Birsay to Kirkwall, which had few houses at that time (O.S., c. 60, i, 90, 91). Thereafter Kirkwall became the seat of the bishopric (O.S., cc. 72, 80).

The previous seat was no doubt at Birsay. The modern name is derived from Byrgisey, while part of the name Byrgisherad has survived in the name of the adjacent parish of Harray (now united with Birsay). Adam of Bremen (II, 16) said in 1075 that no bishop in Orkney had a fixed see: therefore the 11th-century bishops sent from Hamburg were missionaries (H. & S., ii, **1**, 164).

For William the Old, see year 1154, note; for his successor, William, 1188. The nickname "the Old" was perhaps given to the first bishop William after his death, to distinguish him from the second of the name.

[6] So also in P (322).

Sverri, son of a Norwegian woman and king Sigurd Mouth, Harold Gilli's son, was born in [1151], and lived in the Faroes [1156-1176] (Sverri's Saga, cc. 1-4). KOCA say that he left the Faroes in 1174; but the saga says that he did not learn who his father was until [1175].

He went to Norway in 1176, and became leader of the Birchlegs in 1177 (KOCEA), on March 7th (Saga, cc. 8-9). They defeated and killed king Magnus Erling's son in 1184; and Sverri became king of Norway

1169

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 81

In the year 1169, Gregory, the bishop of Dunkeld, died[1]; and Richard, the king's chaplain, succeeded him.[2] . . .

Humbald, the prior of Wenlock,[3] brought the convent to Paisley, which is beside Renfrew.[4]

1169

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 160, s.a. 1169[5]

In the same year, Ruadri Ua-Conchobair, the king of Ireland, gave ten cows each year, from himself and from every king after him for ever, in honour of Patrick, to the lector of Armagh; for reading to be made to students of Ireland and Scotland.[6]

(EA). With king Magnus fell Magnus Mange, a grandson of earl Ronald Kali (Saga, c. 93. See year 1158).

Sverri was crowned king of Norway in 1194, and died in 1202 (KOCDEA).

[1] To this point, similarly in C.H., 42. Gregory became bishop of Dunkeld 1131×1147 (D.B., 48). He was still bishop after 9th December, 1165 (Rogers, Cupar, i, 324).

For his predecessor, Cormac, see D.B., 47-48. Cormac was bishop 1127×1129; cf. above, 1131×1132.

[2] Richard was consecrated at St Andrews by bishop Richard on 9th August, 1169, according to Bower, i, 460.

[3] This was Much Wenlock in Shropshire, where an abbey was enriched by Leofric and Godgifu, of Mercia, before 1057 (F.W., i, 216), and restored by Roger de Montgomery, earl of Arundel, before 1080 (W.M., 306; Doomsday Book, i, 252, verso). Wenlock abbey was occupied by Cluniacensian monks.

[4] The Cluniacensian house of St James at Paisley had, about 6 years before, been founded by Walter Alan's son, the Steward. See notes under years 1163, 1177, and 1219-21; and Bower, i, 460. Cf. the additions to Bower, ii, 538; and S.P., i, 11. For the foundation by Walter and establishment by Humbald see Paisley, 1-9.

[5] With f.n. and e. of 1169.

[6] A similar passage is in F.M., ii, 1170-1172, s.a. 1169.

Cf. A.U., ii, 176, s.a. 1174: "Florence [v.l. "Fland"; "Fland" also in A.L.C.] Ua-Gormain, chief lector of Armagh, and of all Ireland, died peacefully on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of April, [Wednesday, 20th March, 1174] the Wednesday before Easter [24th March], in the 70th year of his age: a man learned [and] distinguished in divine and secular wisdom, after studying for 21 years in France and England, and directing the schools of Ireland for 20 years." Similarly in A.L.C., i, 150.

1170

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 81-82, s.a. 1170

In the year 1170, Henry, the king of England, returned to England from Normandy. In this return, many perished by shipwreck.

William, the third abbot of Melrose, humbly resigned the pastoral charge, on the tenth day before the Kalends of May.[1] And on that day the prior Joceline succeeded him.

William, the king of the Scots, came to king Henry at Windsor.[2] His brother David was knighted by the king of England, on the octaves of Pentecost.[3] . . .

Richard, king William's chaplain, was consecrated bishop of Dunkeld by Richard, the bishop of St Andrews, in the cathedral church of St Andrews, on the vigil of St Laurence.[4]

1170

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 43, s.a. 1170

Fulk, of pious memory, the first abbot of St Mary at Coupar, died on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of January.[5] May he rest in peace. Amen, amen, amen.

And Ralph succeeded him.[6]

[1] 22nd April.

[2] William had been requested by pope Alexander III to use his interest on behalf of Thomas Becket, who was in exile from the archbishopric of Canterbury. P.L. 200, 506; Giles's Letters of St Thomas, ii, 143-144.

[3] I.e., Sunday, 31st May, 1170.

C.H., 42: "In 1170, David, the king of Scotland's brother, received arms from Henry the Elder, king of England, on the second day before the Kalends of January" (read "of June"; i.e., 31st May).

The next following entry in C.H. and C.M. describes the coronation of Henry the Younger, on the 14th of June, 1170: but C.M. dates the coronation on Sunday, the 22nd May, which day was Friday in 1170.

Edward I's letter to Boniface (Foedera, i, 2, 932): "Also, William, the king of the Scots, for the kingdom of Scotland; and David, his brother; and the earls and barons of the kingdom of Scotland, became the men of Henry, the son of Henry II, king of England, on the day after the coronation of the aforesaid Henry, the son of Henry II, while his father lived; and swore fealty to him against all men, saving the fealty due to his father while he lived."

Jordan de Fantosme (202; L.A., 119) says that king Henry II caused William to do homage to the younger Henry at his coronation.

[4] Sunday, 9th August, 1170. See year 1178.

[5] 20th December. See year 1164. This Fulk witnessed a royal charter

1170

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 82, s.a. 1170

Richard, the earl of Pembroke, son of earl Gilbert Strongbow, (son also of Isabel, the aunt of Malcolm and William, kings of the Scots; and of earl David, of good promise[1]) sailed over with a great force of knights and true men, and came to Ireland. And, relying upon the aid of a certain under-king of that land, whose daughter he had united to himself in marriage, he valiantly attacked certain cities, including the noblest in that land, namely Dublin; and obtained them at length, by God's providence.[2]

of 1165 × 1170 (St Andrews, 222-223). Cf. C. Rogers, Register of Cupar Abbey, I.

[6] Cf. C.M., below, year 1171.

This annal of C.H. may be thought to have been written at Coupar. If under 1171 Holyrood is called the monastery of "the dolorous mountain," it might be deduced that the chronicler had then left Holyrood, and gone to Coupar; but the conjecture is doubtful.

[1] *bone spei.* This seems to have been written before the birth of William's son (∴ 1171 × 1198), perhaps before William's marriage (∴ 1171 × 1186). There is a change of handwriting in the MS. after 1171; and in all probability this section of C.M. was written after 1174. See below, year 1171 and note. Since David is entitled "earl," the time of writing was probably 1178 ×, perhaps 1185 ×. See year 1178, note.

Strongbow's relationship to king William is mentioned i.a. in Grace's Annales Hiberniae, 12, s.a. 1169.

[2] Chronicle of Man, i, 74 (deriving from C.M.): "In the year 1171, Richard, the earl of Pembroke, sailed over to Ireland, and subdued Dublin and a great part of Ireland."

Richard Strongbow was the son of Gilbert de Clare, 1st earl of Pembroke († 1149; whose uncle, Robert, had married Matilda, half-sister of earl Henry), and of Isabella or Elizabeth (the sister of Robert II, earl of Leicester; and half-sister of earl Henry's wife Ada, the mother of king William). Cf. years ? 1114, 1139, notes.

Richard's mother had had a daughter by king Henry I (H.N.S., 307).

Richard's grandmother appears to have been the mother of Hervé de Montmorenci, the constable of Ireland (Round, Feudal England, 522-523; Giraldus Cambrensis, v, 230).

Not satisfied with the results of the creation by his predecessor of archbishoprics in Ireland, pope Adrian IV (an Englishman) gave king Henry II permission to bring Ireland under the authority of England and the control of Rome; so that he should introduce order, and extirpate vices. For Adrian's letter, see Giraldus Cambrensis, v, 317-318; Diceto, i, 300-301, s.a. 1154; R.W., i, 11-13, s.a. 1155. Foedera, i, 1, 19; of

December, 1155, according to Hardy, Syllabus, i, 4. See John of Salisbury, ed. Giles, v, 205-206; Giraldus Cambrensis, v, 315-319; E.H.R., viii, 18-52; A.E., 6-8.

Adrian's successor, pope Alexander III, gave his cordial support to king Henry in this enterprise, on 20th September, 1172 (Hearne's Black Book of the Exchequer, i, 42-48; Foedera, i, 1, 45; Syllabus, i, 5); and described the vices that prevailed in Ireland, and that he wished to suppress. Cf. under Turgot, year 1093, note; and 1151.

There is no valid ground for disputing the authenticity of Adrian's bull. John of Salisbury declares that he brought to Henry a letter in which Adrian granted to the king the island of Ireland, at John's request.

Considering the evil state of England during the 17-years' civil war in Stephen's reign, it may safely be assumed that the perennial civil wars that prevailed in Ireland before the English conquest had had a bad effect upon Irish civilization. King Henry had carried on the efforts of Stephen, and had successfully checked lawlessness in England; the pope may have thought him capable of doing the same in Ireland.

Henry's foreign policy was neither philanthropic nor disinterested.

For the beginning of the English conquest of Ireland, see the Irish annals; B.P., and Hoveden; R.T., and Continuation of William of Jumièges; W.N.; R.D.; G.C.; and especially Giraldus Cambrensis (Expugnatio Hibernica), and the Song of Dermot and the Earl. Cf. i.a. Orpen's Ireland under the Normans (Oxford, 1911), i, 141-286; J. H. Round, Commune of London (1899), 137-166; Miss Norgate, Angevin Kings, ii, 95-119; F. P. Barnard, Strongbow's Conquest of Ireland (1888).

Diarmait, Murchaid's son, king of Leinster, had been driven out of Ireland by his enemies in 1166; among whom was Tigernan Ua-Ruairc, king of Breifne [Leitrim and Cavan], whose wife Derbforgaill he had abducted (1152-1153) (Contin. T., 270, s.a. [1166]; A.U., F.M., s.a. 1166; Annals of Clonmacnoise, 206, s.a. 1164, and 199-200).

With the aid of a force from England, he recovered the kingship of South Leinster; but he was compelled to submit to Ruadri Ua-Conchobair, the king of Connaught and sovereign of Ireland; and to give compensation to Ua-Ruairc (in 1167: Contin. T., F.M.). He again brought aid from England, in 1169 (Contin. T.; F.M.; A.B.; addition to A.U.; cf. Annals of Clonmacnoise, 207-208).

In 1170, Robert Stephen's son and Richard Strongbow led an army to Ireland. They invaded Waterford and Wexford, Leinster, Dublin, and Meath (Contin. T.; A.I.; F.M.; A.U.; A.L.C.). Strongbow married Diarmait's daughter (A.B.; F.M.; A.L.C.; Gerald, 255; Dermot, 150; C.M.).

Diarmait was made king of Leinster and Dublin, acquiring greater territories than he had lost. He died in 1171 (on May 1st, according to Giraldus Cambrensis; see Irish annals, and addition in L.L., 39); and Strongbow assumed the kingdom of Leinster, but was recalled by king Henry (Gerald, 259). He left Miles de Cogan in charge of Dublin, Waterford, and the coast (Dermot, 162). Strongbow returned to Ireland with the king, and did homage to him for Leinster (Dermot, 188-190).

King Henry landed at Waterford, with 240 ships (A.U.; F.M.; A.L.C.),

1170

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 166, s.a. 1170[1]

Diarmait Ua-Ainbfeith, king of Ui-Meith and leader of the king of Ailech's horse, was killed by a fleet that had come from the Orkney islands, in an island which had been constructed by themselves, upon Loch[-Ruide; namely, in Inislachain].[2]

in 1171, in October (on the 18th, B.P., i, 25 ; 25th × 31st, Contin. T.). He obtained dominion over Leinster, Munster, and Meath ; Cavan and Leitrim, Monaghan and Louth, and the eastern counties at least of Ulster (Contin. T. ; A.U. ; B.P. ; G.C.). He passed the winter in Dublin (A.I. ; cf. B.P.) ; and left Ireland on Easter day, [16th April] 1172 (A.U. ; A.L.C. ; B.P. ; but Gerald seems to say, on the 17th) ; "after taking the southern half, and the east of the northern half," of Ireland (Contin. T.). He had given Meath to Hugh de Lacy ; Ulster, to John de Courcy, if he could conquer it (Dermot, 198). The Irish bishops had, in obedience to the pope's commands, accepted Henry as the overlord of Ireland.

The Annals of Multifernan, 9, s.a. 1171, say simply : "The English took Ireland."

The king called Strongbow to aid him in Normandy [in 1173] ; but after a time permitted him to return to Ireland, giving him charge of Waterford, Dublin, and the Irish coast (Dermot, 210-212 ; see Gerald, 298). Strongbow distributed baronies in Leinster among his supporters (Dermot, 222-226). He found Ireland in a disturbed condition, and suffered reverses (Gerald, 308-313). Raymond, Gerald's son, married Strongbow's daughter, Basilia.

King Ruadri accepted the overlordship of king Henry. By a short-lived agreement, made at Windsor on 6th October, 1175, Henry gave him dominion over Connaught, Munster, and Ulster ; taking from him a tribute of one hide in ten (Foedera, i, 1, 31-32).

In the following year, earl Richard Strongbow died.

Prophecies of Columba regarding Strongbow's invasion were alleged to have existed (Gerald, v, 342). Tigernach's Continuator (294 ; s.a. [1176]) attributed his death to the intervention of St Bridget.

[1] With f.n. and e. of 1170.

[2] The words within brackets are supplied in the text of MS. A, in a different hand (MacCarthy). The whole passage is in A.L.C., i, 142, s.a. 1170.

F.M., ii, 1178, s.a. 1170 : "Diarmait Ua-Ainbfeith, lord of Ui-Meith, and leader of the horse of the lord of Ailech, was killed upon Inislachain by a fleet that had come from the Orkney islands."

Inislachain, according to O'Donovan, MacCarthy, and Hogan, was Inisloughlin (in the Ordnance Survey spelling), on the borders of Antrim and Down.

The territories of the Ui-Meith were in Monaghan and Louth. Ailech (Greenan-Ely, near Londonderry) was the seat of the kings of the northern Ui-Neill.

1171

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, pp. 166-168, s.a. 1171 [1]

Askel, Thorkel's son,[2] the king of Dublin, and John [3] from the Orkney islands, were killed by the same Foreigners.[4]

[1] With f.n. and e. of 1171.

[2] For Thorkel's sons, cf. year 1148. Askel seems to have been Thorkel's grandson (see below).

[3] *Eoan.* These notes are added between the lines in MS. A, by a different hand: "the Mad"; and: "who had come in aid of Askel and the Foreigners of Dublin."

[4] I.e., the English (see year 1170, note).

The same passage is in A.L.C., i, 144, s.a. 1171.

The Continuator of Tigernach, 282, s.a. [1171] (with ferial and epact of 1071), and F.M., ii, 1184, s.a. 1171, read: "A battle at Dublin, between Miles Cogan and Askel, Ronald's son, [formerly for a time F.M.]. Slaughter was made on both sides; among the knights both of the English, and of the Foreigners of Dublin. F.M.]. And then Askel fell [there F.M.], and John the Scandinavian [*Eoan Lochlandach*] [from the Orkney islands F.M.]; and many others."

According to F.M., ii, 1176, Askel, son of Ronald, son of Thorkel, was "sovereign of the Foreigners of Dublin" in 1170. He is called *Hasculphus* by Gerald; *Hesculf* and *Esculf* (i.e., Anglo-Saxon Æscwulf), in Dermot. John the Mad came from Norway (Dermot, 166), and was "nephew of the rich king of Norway, according to the Irish."

According to Giraldus Cambrensis (Expugnatio Hibernica, I, 13-17; R.S. 21, v, 248 ff.), Raymond Gerald's son landed in Ireland in 1170, and joined earl Richard. They took Waterford, and proceeded to attack Dublin. While terms of peace were being discussed with Laurence, the archbishop of Dublin, Raymond and Miles de Cogan attacked the town, and killed many of the citizens: "but the greater number [of the citizens], with Askel [*Hasculpho*] as leader, went into ships and boats, taking with them the most valuable things that they possessed; and betook themselves by sailing to the northern islands" (257).

King Henry II forbade his subjects to have dealings with Ireland (I, 19; v, 259).

Diarmait, Murchaid's son [*Murchardi*], died at Ferns about the 1st of May, 1171 (263). "At nearly the same time, about Pentecost [16th May, 1171], Askel, formerly prince of the men of Dublin, his mind burning for revenge, landed on the shore of the Liffey, in order to attack the town [of Dublin]; along with Norwegians and islanders, in 60 ships. They sprang emulously out of their ships, led by John, surnamed the Mad [*the Wode*] (which in Latin means 'insane,' or 'vehement'): warlike men, clothed round with iron, after the Danish custom; some with long coats of mail, some with iron plates skilfully sewn together; also with round, red shields, strengthened in circles with iron: men of iron minds as well as iron

arms. They arrayed their ranks, and attacked the walls, at the eastern gate" (I, 21 ; v, 263-264).

Miles de Cogan, the keeper of the town, attacked them with inferior numbers. He was driven back to the gate of Dublin ; but his brother, Richard de Cogan, led a company from the town, took the invaders in the rear, and routed them. "Nearly all of them were killed. John the Vehement also—not without making a manly defence—was at last fought down, and killed, by Walter de Riddlesford and some others [according to Dermot, 178, John was killed by Miles de Cogan] ; and, to increase the victory, Askel, held back by the mud of the shore, through which he had been fleeing to the ships, was brought back alive to the town that he had formerly ruled" (264). Being insubmissive, he was beheaded (265. Cf. Dermot, 180). See also the Book of Howth (ed. Brewer and Bullen, Carew MSS., 1871), 53-54.

Giraldus Cambrensis, u.s., I, 22 ; v, 265-266 : "*The siege of Dublin, made by Ruadri [Rotherico] of Connaught and the islanders.*

"These things having thus been accomplished" (i.e., the defeat of the islanders, and the deaths of John the Mad and Askel), "seeing that the earl [Richard] and his followers were losing strength [*deficientes*], both through wastage of their men, and through lack of supplies (which the island [of Ireland] had till then been accustomed to have in plenty, through English abundance), the Irish princes collected their strength on all sides ; and invested Dublin with a siege, with an endless multitude drawn from almost the whole of Ireland : Laurence, the archbishop of Dublin, as it was reported, providing the means for this, through zeal for his own nation. Also letters were sent, both from the archbishop and from Ruadri of Connaught, inviting Godfrey, the prince of Man" (Olaf's son ; see year 1160. He is called "Prince of the North Islands" in the Book of Howth, 54), "and other islanders besides, to besiege the shoreward harbour of the town : offering both the persuasion of words, and a liberal promise of remuneration.

"[The islanders] were the readier [to consent], because they were afraid that the danger of subjection threatened them also, as a result of the successes of the English. And when the west-north-west wind blew [*circio flante*], they brought without delay about thirty ships, full of warlike men, to the harbour of the Liffey."

After Dublin had been besieged for nearly two months, Raymond Gerald's son, Miles de Cogan, and Maurice Gerald's son, suddenly attacked Ruadri, and defeated his army. "Many were killed, and all were routed ; and Ruadri (who happened then to be sitting in the baths) escaped with difficulty. They pursued the fugitives and the conquered, continuing the slaughter until the evening ; and at last returned, burdened and at the same time uplifted" (*onerati . . . honorati ;* a pun) "by supplies and transport-wagons, and also spoils and arms" (I, 24 ; v, 269).

Gerald's account of this siege of Dublin is not borne out by the Irish annalists. It is in many respects supported by the Song of Dermot and the Earl, 164-182 (q.v.) ; but both have a common source, if the Song is not partly derived from Gerald. Cf. the Book of Howth, 54.

1171

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 84, s.a. 1171

Nicholas, the chancellor of the king of the Scots, died.[1]

Conan, the duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, died.[2]

Ferteth,[3] the earl of Strathearn, died.

The sea was seen by many people in England to be on fire.

Ralph, a monk of Melrose, was elected father at Coupar; and was blessed as abbot by Richard, the bishop of St Andrews, at Coldingham, on the [day of the] Purification of blessed Mary.[4]

The tomb of our pious father, sir Waltheof, the second abbot of Melrose, was opened by Ingram, of good memory,[5] the bishop of Glasgow, and by four abbots called in for this purpose; and his body was found entire,[6] and his vestments intact, in the twelfth year from his death, on the eleventh day before the Kalends of June.[7] And after the holy celebration

[1] See year 1165.

[2] Cf. R.T., 249, s.a. 1171: "Conan, the duke of Britanny, died. And the whole of Britanny, and the county of Gippewis [Gingamp, Guingamp, ibid., 228, 280], and the honour of Richmond, passed through earl Conan's daughter (who had been married to Geoffrey, the king's son) into the dominion of king Henry."

[3] *Ferchet.* His name is spelt *Ferteth* in three charters of Malcolm IV (Scone, no. 5; Dunfermline, nos. 35, 40). In St Andrews, 129 and 132 (both. 1160×1161), it is spelt *Ferthet* and *Fercheth;* 144 (1170×1171), *Ferteht.* In charters of his sons and daughter-in-law, he is called *ferthet* (ca. 1198). *fferthet* (ca. 1200); *fertheth* (Inchaffray, nos. 3, 13; Lindores, nos. 29, 36). He is called *ferthet* and *fertheth* in Lindores, nos. 33 and 34. C.M., s.a. 1160, spells the name *Fereteatht.*

I do not know which is the correct form of the name. *Ferchet* might have been an Irish rendering of the Pictish equivalent of Old-Welsh *Gurcant.* I know no parallels of *Ferteth* or *Fertheth.*

Ferteth's wife was named Ethen (Inchaffray, nos. 3, 13: =Irish Ethne?).

Ferteth was succeeded by his son Gilbert, or Gillebrigte. Another son, Malisse, married an illegitimate daughter, Ada, of earl David (Lindores, no. 36). For a genealogical table of the earls of Strathearn, see Lindores, p. xxxiv.

[4] I.e., on 2nd February, 1171. See Rogers, Cupar, i, 2-3.

[5] This was written after Ingram's death in 1174. Cf. above, year 1170, note.

[6] "incorrupt and entire" Life.

[7] I.e., on 22nd May. See year 1159.

There is a marginal note in red ink: "Memorandum of the translation of the venerable Waltheof, abbot of Melrose."

See the account of this translation in the Life of abbot Waltheof, c. 9; A.S., Aug., i, 275.

of mass, the same bishop [Ingram], and the abbots whose number we have mentioned above, along with the whole convent of the same monastery, placed over the remains of his most holy body a new stone, of polished marble.[1] And there was great gladness; those who were present exclaiming together, and saying that truly this was a man of God. . . .

Simon de Toeni,[2] a monk of Melrose, formerly the abbot of Coggeshall, was elected bishop of Moray, and brought [to Scotland].[3]

Henry, the king of England, with a powerful company and great strength, was carried over and transported by wind and sails to Ireland, in order to visit it.[4]

Edward, the bishop of Aberdeen, died.[5]

1171

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 43

In 1171, — — William, the abbot of Mons Dolorosus, [died].[6]

[1] According to the Life, the wish of Joceline, the abbot of Melrose, to change Waltheof's tomb-stone led to the examination of his remains. Among the abbots called in by Joceline was Heardred, the abbot of Calder; and [John] the abbot of Kelso was also present; and Peter, the chanter [of Melrose].

[2] *de Tonei.*

[3] See year 1172.

[4] In S.A., 313, a grant of land in Pitmillie (*Petmulyn~*) is made by William de Hay, the *pincerna* of the king of Scotland, to the hospital of St Andrews, from Martinmas next "after the king of England entered Ireland."

[5] Edward was bishop of Aberdeen before 1150 (Dunfermline, 8). For him and his predecessor, Nechtan, see D.B., 97-99; and for Nechtan, above, 1131 × 1132. Edward's successor was Matthew († 1199), the principal consecrator of John the Scot, bishop of St Andrews, in 1180.

[6] *de monte dolofroso.* Nearly two lines are left blank before this entry.

Bouterwek interpreted Mons Dolorosus ("the dolorous mountain") to mean Stirling. William, the first abbot of Stirling (1147-1150 ×), had been succeeded by Alfred, × 1153; Alfred was still the abbot in ? 1167, but was succeeded by Nicholas before 1182. The only Scottish abbot called William at this time was the abbot of Holyrood. He had succeeded in 1152, and was still abbot in 1168; but John was the abbot in ? 1173-4 (Melrose, nos. 51, 52; 1173 × 1176).

C.H. does not elsewhere record the death of William, abbot of Holyrood. William is said to have ruled the abbey for 18 years (Holyrood, p. xx). The chronicler may have left Holyrood, and gone to Coupar (see above, year 1170). It is possible that he has expressed in the name Mons Dolorosus his dislike of the situation of Holyrood, above which Arthur's Seat rises in a threatening manner.

1171, December

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 85

In the year 1172, there was a very strong wind on the day of the Holy Innocents.[1]

1172

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 85, s.a. 1172

Simon, the [bishop] elect of Moray, received the honour of consecration at St Andrews in Scotland, on the tenth day before the Kalends of February.[2]

Matthew, archdeacon of St Andrews, was elected to the bishopric of Aberdeen; and was afterwards consecrated on the fourth day before the Nones of April, on the Lord's Passion.[3]

Henry, the king of England, returned from Ireland after Easter.

1173

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 43

In 1173, William, the king of the Scots, collected an army, and went to Carlisle. He destroyed various places with sword

[1] I.e., 28th December, 1171. Giraldus Cambrensis, Expugnatio Hibernica (R.S. **21**, v, 284), says that there were great storms throughout the winter of 1171-1172, so that no ships were able to go over to Ireland, where Henry II was.

Cf. A.I., 115, s.a. [1172] (with ferial and epact of 1172): "A great storm in this year, so that it killed very many of the cattle of the men of Ireland."

R.D., i, 350, and R.C., 16, (both s.a. 1172) report widespread thunderstorms "on the night of the Lord's Nativity" (24th-25th December, 1171). These extended over England and Normandy, according to R.C.; over Ireland, England, and the whole realm of the French, according to R.D. They are definitely stated by M.P. (R.S. **57**, ii, 285) to have been manifestations of divine anger over the death of Thomas Becket († 29 Dec. 1170).

[2] I.e., on the 23rd of January. Cf. R.C., s.aa. 1168, 1172 (in E.C., 245, 246; read there "sir Simon" instead of "master Simon"). He is called "Simon de Toney" in the Melrose lists: see above, year 1136. The family of de Toeni was connected with the royal family of Scotland. See year ? 1114, note; and cf. Bliss, i, 175.

For Simon (elected, 1171; † 1184), see Moray, 359; E.C., 259, 264; L.A., 202, 206-207.

[3] I.e., 2nd April. This was Passion Sunday in 1172.

and fire. He began [the invasion] on the second day of the week, within the octaves of the Assumption of S[t.] M[ary].[1]

1173

Annals of Egmond, in M.G.H., Scriptores, vol. xvi, p. 468, s.a. 1173

In the same year, [king] Henry's son, called [Henry], rose up against his father, assisted by many powerful supporters, namely:—Louis, the king of France; William, [the king] of Scotland; earl Robert [of Leicester]; Philip, the count of Flanders; and his brother Matthew, the count of Boulogne, who died in conflict of battle.[2] . . .

1173

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 86, s.a. 1173[3]

Also the king of the Scots, William, hoping to make old losses good by a new conflict, through wicked counsels renewed cruel wars against his kinsman and[4] lord, Henry, the king of

[1] *Feria ii. infra octavam assumptionis S.M. incepit;* i.e., on Monday, 20th August. Bouterwek suggests that this sentence means: "[The church of] St Mary of Coupar began to be built, on 24th August."

For the siege of Carlisle, see E.C., 248-250.

The Chronicle of Carlisle, s.a. 1174 (Palgrave, 73): "William, the king of Scotland, besieged Carlisle; and the citizens valiantly resisted him, and he was repulsed."

[2] Count Matthew was killed in Normandy, on 25th July, 1173 (R.D., i, 373).

Cf. the Chronicle of Peterborough, 101, s.a. 1173: "A serious quarrel arose between king Henry, the father, and king Henry, the son. And the son's part, against the father, was taken by all his brothers. Louis and Philip, kings of France, supported them, and William, the king of Scotland, and Philip, the count of Flanders. . . ."

For the outbreak of the rebellion, see the English chroniclers (B.P., i, 43-45; R.T., 257; Jordan de Fantosme; R.D., i, 371; W.N., i, 171; Coggeshall, 17; etc.). Cf. i.a. A.E., 165, 168-170; and especially A.K. (135-151). Cf. E.C., 247-248; L.A., 123-134).

[3] Previously are described the canonization of Thomas of Canterbury (at which ceremony the writer was present), and the warfare between Henry II and his son Henry.

This passage is copied in folio 53 (ibid., p. 234).

[4] Fo. 53 omits "and."

England; and with a mighty army pitched his camp before the castle that is called Wark, and stayed there for some little time. But he effected nothing further.

And the king proceeded from [Wark]; and the Scots cruelly burned with fire a great part of Northumbria, and they savagely pierced with the sword its populace.

Thence they deflected their march to Carlisle, and attacked the city with their whole strength. But some men feigned the arrival of the army of England, and communicated it to them: and they speedily betook themselves to flight.[1]

Many and unheard-of miracles happened in England, through the blessed martyr, archbishop Thomas.

[1] According to Fantosme (226-274; L.A., 123-133, 135-141, 143-147), the young Henry offered king William Carlisle and all Westmoreland for his support. William asked for Northumberland from the older Henry, offering him in return the support of a large army; and renouncing his allegiance, if he should be refused. King Henry rejected his petition. William then joined young Henry in war, notwithstanding the opposition of bishop Ingram [of Glasgow] and earl Waltheof [of Lothian]. King Louis confirmed to William the territories that he had demanded (242). [These territories are named by B.P. "the whole of Northumbria as far as the Tyne" (E.C., 246).]

The Scottish forces mustered at Caddonlee (242), and included men from Ross and Moray, and earl Colban [earl of Buchan]; [Gillebrigte] the earl of Angus, with more than 3,000 Scots. "Such a host never came from Scotland, since the time of Elias."

William marched to Wark. The castellan, Roger de Stouteville, obtained from him a truce of 40 days. Within that time, he collected forces in England to resist William's army, which had now been reinforced by Flemings. William proceeded to Alnwick, where he was resisted by William de Vesci; thence to Warkworth, which was not defended; thence to Newcastle; but that town was held by Roger Richard's son. Then William fought at Prudhoe, and proceeded to Carlisle.

"The king of Scotland well knows how to make war upon his enemies; and to harass and injure them often in war. But he was too much accustomed to change his plans [*de cunseilz noveler*]. He cherished, loved, and had affection for, foreigners: his own people, who ought to have advised him and his kingdom, he would never love" (258).

Robert de Vaux resisted him in Carlisle. A messenger reported the approach of a great English force. William was persuaded to return to Roxburgh, in order to avoid defeat.

Richard de Lucy, justiciar, and Humphrey de Bohun, defended king Henry's cause. Richard captured Berwick, and burned it. Hearing of the arrival of [Robert] the earl of Leicester, they made a truce with king William, until the summer.

Horrible thunder roared on the seventeenth day before the Kalends of September.[1]

A bad and unheard-of cough attacked almost every one, far and wide; in which pestilence, or as a result of it, many people died.

Robert, the earl of Leicester, was captured in the territories of St Edmund, along with his wife; and was placed in the strictest custody.[2] And also innumerable people of the Flemings, who had left their own territories in order to occupy the territories of England, in the same place as the earl, fixed their course and ended their lives. Blessed be God who has destroyed the wicked, so that they should not destroy the good!

1174

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, pp. 176-178, s.a. 1174[3]

Maelpatraic Ua-Banain, the bishop of Connor and Dalaraide, (a reverend man, full of holiness, and of meekness, and of purity of heart) died very righteously in Iona of Columcille, after reaching excellent old age.[4]

1174

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 86

In the year 1174, Ingram, of good memory, the bishop of Glasgow, died, on the day of the Purification of the blessed Mary.[5]

On the Kalends of March,[6] Ascelinus, the first abbot of Kinloss in Moray, died. And Rayner,[7] a monk of Melrose, succeeded him in the place of his ministry.

[1] I.e., on 16th August.

[2] Earl Robert was captured on 16th October (B.P., ii, 62; the 17th, in R.D., i, 378).

[3] With f.n. and e. of 1174. Similarly also in A.L.C., i, 150.

[4] Similarly in F.M., iii, 12, s.a. 1174.

[5] I.e., 2nd February, 1174. See D.B., 297-298.

[6] I.e., 1st March, 1174. This date is connected in the MS. with the previous sentence; but undoubtedly it belongs to the following one.

[7] *Reinerius;* probably A.S. Regenhere, Old Danish Regnær. This abbot received from pope Alexander III confirmation (dated 18th February, 1175) of the possessions and privileges of the monastery (Stuart's Records of Kinloss, 105-108). See years 1150, 1189.

Osbert, the first abbot of Jedburgh, died[1]; and Richard, his cellarer, succeeded him.

Joceline, abbot of the monastery of Melrose (in number, the fourth), a man mild and affable, gentle and moderate, was elected bishop of the church of Glasgow, at Perth, in Scotland, on the tenth day before the Kalends of June,[2] by demand of the clergy, and of the people; and with consent of the king himself.

1174

Continuation of Ralph Niger's Chronicon a Christo Nato; Caxton Society edition, p. 176; s.a. 1174

Flemings, summoned by earl Hugh [Bigod], came again to England. And [Hugh Bigod], supported by a very great host, ravaged the whole province [of Norfolk] around him; and also he stormed, at the first assault, the noble city of Norwich, putting some of the citizens to death; and he took away the richest spoils from there.

Meanwhile, earl David, the brother of the king of Scotland, fortified the castle of Huntingdon sufficiently with knights, and with supplies of food. Coming from there to Leicester, he allied the townsfolk to himself; and he molested the whole province with sword and fire, with spoilings and plunderings.

And William, his brother, the king of Scotland, was carrying on the same things in Northumbria, with a strong army.[3]

1174

Giraldus Cambrensis, Life of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, book I, c. 3; Rolls Series, no. 21, vol. iv, pp. 365-368

How [Geoffrey, bishop-elect of Lincoln,[4]] conquered the castle of [Kirkby] Malzeard, and drove the king of the Scots from the territory of York.

[1] Osbert became prior of Jedburgh 1139×1147. He was prior in 1153; but appears as abbot in 1155. Cf. under De Domibus Religiosis; below, s.f. Osbert appears as witness of Melrose, no. 112, which, if genuine, would be 1175×1177; but it is more probably spurious. Cf. year 1178, note. For Richard's death, see year 1192.

[2] 23rd May. See Glasgow, i, 33-34. Joceline's election was confirmed on 16th December, 1174 (Glasgow, i, 35). He was consecrated in 1175. See years 1175, 1182, † 1199.

[3] The Chronicle of Peterborough, 101, borrows from this passage.

[4] Geoffrey's election to the bishopric of Lincoln was confirmed in the

Soon afterwards,[1] Randolph de Glanville (then sheriff of York, and not long afterwards justiciar of all England), [came to Lincoln,] having been sent there on behalf of Roger, the archbishop of York, and also on behalf of all the loyal subjects of the king and kingdom in those regions [of York]; earnestly requesting, and humbly imploring, prostrate at the knees of the bishop-elect, that he would come to their assistance with a force against the king of the Scots, William, who had then invaded the northern territories of England as an enemy, with a host of barbarians.

And although he was very much exhausted by his previous effort (after the severity of which, consider that he had scarcely recovered breath), yet with unbroken spirit, performing more than his promise, he brought together in a short time a strong band of men-at-arms; although Randolph had then returned, without definite cause for hope.

Setting out without delay, and hastening with a fine army to the territories of York, while still ten miles from the town

council of Woodstock, which began on 1st July, 1175 (ibid., note; B.P., i, 93). Geoffrey was consecrated on 9th July (R.D., i, 401).

[1] I.e., after Geoffrey had defeated a local insurrection in favour of king Henry the Younger, and had taken Roger de Mowbray's castle of Axholm (Giraldus, u.s., 364-365, and note). The castle surrendered on 5th May, 1174 (R.D., i, 379).

Giraldus Cambrensis, u.s., iv, 363-364: "Geoffrey, son of king Henry II, and named after his noble grandfather, the count of Anjou, was brought up among his legitimate brothers—Henry the Third, and also the counts of the Poitevins and of the Bretons—, although he was a natural son, and older than they, with no less care and affection. . . . While he had still scarcely completed the fourth lustre of his age, by his father's consent, and with the unanimous approval of his brothers, when the see of Lincoln became vacant, he was elected to the episcopate of that place.

"After the course of but a few years, since fortune shifts, and ever mixes sad with joyous things, when through the counsel of wicked men the three sons above-mentioned took arms against their father, and made a deadly attack upon him, having as accomplices and supporters Louis, king of France, the father-in-law of the eldest;" (i.e., of Henry; his wife was Margaret, daughter of Louis VII) "also William, the prince of the Scots; and the earls, both of Leicester and of Chester; and Hugh Bigod, with many other barons, both from over-seas and from England: [Geoffrey] alone bore anxiously his father's wrongs and injuries, as though they had been his own; and, not degenerating from the nature of a son, he set on foot all kinds of efforts to defend [his father's] honour."

he received messengers sent to him by the archbishop, urgently requesting on behalf of their lord that for the love of God, and as a great benefit and reward, [Geoffrey] would turn aside to him that night, to lodge. And the archbishop came nearly four miles from the town, to meet him in proper person; eagerly asking and imploring that he might be able to obtain in his own person what he could not obtain through his messengers.

And at last the bishop-elect yielded to him, overcome by his importunity and persistency; and moved also by the advice of his followers, in order thereby to attach [the archbishop] more strongly and loyally to his father's service.

So the archbishop hastened his return; and, joyously, having achieved his desire, he came with a very beautiful procession of his church as far as the middle of the town, to meet him. And the populace strove continually to kiss [Geoffrey's] shield, as the deliverance of their country, and the salvation of the people, and a seal of peace; some shouting: "Blessed are the feet that carry peace"; while others said: "Blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord."[1] And so he was conducted to the cathedral church with hymns and chants, and was received with great joy and triumph by the whole clergy and people in common.

On the following day, rumours were received that the king of Scotland had heard of the arrival of the bishop-elect, and had immediately turned back homewards. And although it would have been the counsel of many that [Geoffrey] should return, content for the present with this honour: yet the high-spirited man, compelling fortune and always following up his successes (regarding nothing as done while anything remained to do), diverted his standards—of the palm of victory—by way of a new castle, recently built near there, to Roger de Mowbray's castle, called Malzeard, by which the whole province had been given up to plunder and depredation; about twenty miles distant from York.

When he had reached the fortress [of Malzeard], and had besieged it, pitching his tents all round, in the same night the garrison set fire to and burned the outer skirting wall by which they were enclosed, although it was fortified by deep trenches,

[1] Cf. Isaiah, LII, 7; Mark, XI, 9; etc.

and a strong fence: and from the first, through lack of confidence, retired within the walls. But the bishop-elect placed guards around his forces, and armed sentinels, because of attacks that he feared of Scots by night. And he compelled [the garrison] to surrender within a few days, though not without very great effort and risk, by vigorously continuing his attacks with engines of war, which he had caused to be drawn there—both ballistas and subterranean engines: and he destroyed the castle, taking in it thirty knights, and sixty armed bowmen.[1]

He compelled also Hugh of Pudsey, the bishop of Durham, to come to him, and adhere alike to his oath, and his loyalty, although he was unwilling; for he seemed to be on the point of wavering from his oath, and of swerving from loyalty to the king, to the opposite side.

When he had concluded these things according to his wishes, [Geoffrey] heard also a rumour that the king of Scotland had now laid siege to a certain castle, called Bowes, distant about twelve miles from Richmond; and immediately, unconquered by labour, he moved his standards in that direction, in order to remove him from that place. But when he had advanced some little distance towards those parts, he heard that the king had again retired, without awaiting his arrival; and [Geoffrey] returned with double, indeed with manifold, victory—the province of York having been delivered both from the invasion of barbarians, and from the molestations of traitors and robbers.

Indeed (to include many things to his praise in a short discourse), no serious danger arose in the kingdom, no pressing misfortune, in which the man's innate bravery did not shine forth with vigour. Everywhere, as in the capture of the king of the Scots at Alnwick castle, not long afterwards, and in many other things; in his own person, and through his followers, the son stood by his father loyally, as was fitting, and naturally: in so much, indeed, that when, supported by an army of seven score knights, besides very many other men-at-arms, he had joined his father at the castle[2] of Huntingdon (which was

[1] For the fall of the castle of Malzeard, see B.P., i, 68-69; R.D., i, 384.

[2] *municipium.* For the capture of Huntingdon, see E.C., 254-255.

destroyed soon afterwards), the king, rejoicing, is reported to have said in the hearing of many men: "My other sons have shown themselves to be in reality bastards; this one alone has shown that he is legitimate and true."

1174

Giraldus Cambrensis, De Principis Instructione, book I, c. 4; Rolls Series, no. 21, vol. viii, pp. 163-164[1]

When about two years had passed after our martyr [Thomas Becket] had obtained the palm of victory, [king Henry's] son (the oldest of his surviving [sons]), who, by [king Henry's] own contriving, had already received the crown of the kingdom, went away from his father, and into a faction,[2] openly, with his two brothers—the counts of the Poitevins, and of the Bretons—, to Louis, the king of the French, his father-in-law; having as accomplices and supporters many great nobles, both of overseas and of England. And in this conflict, deserted by almost all his kinsmen, the king began to be so desperately beset that no hope of his restoration was entertained, either by himself, or by any other. . . .

Trials, however, gave him perception; and tribulations, for a time at least, contrition: and the king proceeded devoutly to Canterbury, going with bare feet from the place where his eyes first fell upon the church of the Holy Trinity, to the tomb of the noble martyr. And there he passed the night in prayer, in vigil, with fortunate result: since the Lord, who is the faithful and swift rewarder of good deeds, and the long-suffering spectator of sins, for the honour of his martyr rewarded the incontinent king—temporarily, at least—for his devotion; and on the following day, about the third hour, gave up to him, captured at Alnwick castle, and a prisoner, the king of Scotland, William, who had cruelly invaded with a host of barbarians the regions in the north of the kingdom. And upon this success, the whole disturbance in England ceased immediately; and soon afterwards, that beyond the sea: because like every good

[1] In the Anglia Christiana Soc. ed. (1846), 19-21.

[2] *a patre et in patrem discessit:* read *in partem* (a pun).

deed, so also this example of great devotion could not pass unrewarded.

1174

Robert of Torigni, Chronica; Rolls Series, no. 82, vol. iv, pp. 264-265; s.a. 1174[1]

Then [king Henry] took with him only a few of the barons of Normandy—indeed, scarcely any—, and crossed over into England, with his Brabançons.

And it is to be noted with what humility he visited the tomb of the blessed martyr Thomas. As soon as he saw the church of Canterbury, he leapt from his horse, and proceeded to it on foot, over marshes and sharp stones, with the greatest devotion; in woollen raiment, and with bare feet. He was so devout, with tears, in prayer beside the tomb of the glorious martyr, that those who saw him were compelled to weep.

He had come there on the sixth day of the week. He kept vigil there during the whole night, without having dined. And when morning came, he went to the chapter of the monks, and submitted himself to their scourging; following the example of the Redeemer, who gave his back to the lash. But He did it for our sins; this [king] for his own.

And upon the same day on which [king Henry] returned from the holy place, William, the king of Scotland, was taken prisoner at Alnwick, by the barons of York. During the whole summer, that king had, along with Roger de Mowbray and other accomplices, been wasting the northern regions of England, which extend towards Scotland.

On the following fourth day of the week, the king heard the news of this great joy. King Henry, cheered by this great news, made peace with earl Hugh Bigod, and placed in close custody William, the king of Scotland, and Robert, the earl of Leicester; and he sailed with his earls across to Normandy, leaving England at peace: which land, almost lost, he had recovered in thirty days.

[1] Also in M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 523.

1174

Giraldus Cambrensis, Expugnatio Hibernica, book I, c, 45; Rolls Series, no. 21, vol. v, pp. 299-300[1]

After the heavy blow of the capture of Dol[2]; after the flow of St Edmund's favour in the realm; after the night's penance of the prince, in pilgrimage at Canterbury: by propitiation of the noble martyr, Thomas — now pacified with tears and devotion—, upon the morrow, England obtained joy for a day, and for many days, at the castle of Alnwick (presided over by Randolph de Glanville, a trusty and prudent man, very loyal both in good fortune and in bad). The king of Scotland was taken; the earls of Chester and of Leicester were taken[3]; moreover, on either side of the sea of France, by similar fortune, so many nobles were taken, so many dukes, so many men of knightly rank, that chains enough were scarcely found for the vanquished, nor prisons enough for the captives.[4]

1174

Chronicle of Holyrood, pp. 43-44

In 1174, king William entered his army a second and a third time, and went out[5] to destroy Northumbria. And on the second day before the Ides of July, a Saturday,[6] he was taken prisoner at Alnwick.[7]

[1] The same passage is repeated in Giraldus' De Principis Instructione, VIII, 4; R.S. **21**, viii, 164-165.

[2] The earl of Chester, Hugh, had surrendered to king Henry at Dol in Brittany, on 26th August, 1173 (B.P., i, 57; Hoveden, ii, 52).

[3] The earl of Leicester, Robert, had been captured in the battle near Bury St Edmunds, on 16th October, 1173 (see above).

[4] Giraldus Cambrensis quotes (ibid., v, 300-301) a prophecy attributed to Merlin, concluding thus: "Blood shall rise against the man of blood, until Scotland shall weep over the pilgrim's penance."

With the prophecy quoted by R.W. (E.C., 252, note), cf. the Chronicle of Carlisle (73); and see an earlier quotation and application of the same prophecy in the Letters of John of Salisbury, ed. Giles, i, 285 (written in 1166).

[5] *inito exercitu . . . exiit.* I have not accepted Bouterwek's emendation of the text (*invito:* "against the wishes of his army"), because the phrase seems to be the equivalent of C.M.'s *immo ipse duxit;* and the verbs appear to be chosen for antithesis.

[6] I.e., Saturday, 14th July. Saturday, 13th July, is the true date. See E.C., 254.

[7] Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version M (Skene's P. & S., 301):

"And this king William was captured at Alnwick by the nobles of the county of York, and brought to Richmond; and then was conducted to the king of England, and paid the penalty of his perfidy."

MS. B of A.C., 54, s.a. 1175: "David the king of Scotland was taken prisoner by king Henry's friends."

Cf. the Chronicle of Huntingdon (P. & S., 212), below, s.a. 1189. The capture is mentioned by other chronicles of 1291 (Palgrave, 62, 77-80, 120, 121). Cf. Edward's letter to Boniface (below, 1175, note).

Chronicle of Saint-Aubin of Anjou to 1200, in Labbe's Nova Bibliotheca, i, 279-280, s.a. 1173 [-1174] (B.R., xii, 483-484):

"War arose between Henry, the king of England, and his three sons—namely Henry the Younger, whom he had appointed king of England; and Richard, count of Aquitaine; and Geoffrey, count of Brittany. These three, with the greater part of the knights of the whole country [of England], went out into [the provinces of] France, and had Louis, king of France, as their patron and helper. [Louis] collected the armies of France, Flanders, and Burgundy, and invaded Normandy, and surrounded the castle of Verneuil with a siege; and after labouring there for a month, but vainly, and after abandoning his engines of war, he departed more quickly than he had come, so that he should not be driven away.

"Soon afterwards, the aforesaid king Henry the Elder, upon the expedition to Dol, made there a very great slaughter of men, and compelled Ralph of Fougères [*Surgeriarum*] and the earl of Chester [*Sceptrensem*] (who [both] had vigorously ravaged Britanny and Normandy), with a hundred other knights, to surrender; and he completely destroyed the castles of those who were fomenting the war.

"In the same year, three thousand Flemings (who had invaded England by counsel of the earl of Leicester, because of the same disturbance) were destroyed, in a defeat in battle, so that not one escaped; and the earl himself was taken prisoner, and given up to the king.

"In the second year [1174], the same disturbance increased again; and a conspiracy was made among the nobles of France, to invade England, and subdue it to Henry the Younger. After preparing their ships, they desisted from the expedition.

"And king Henry the Elder crossed over to England. With humble countenance, and in costume ill befitting royal majesty, (led by penitence) he prostrated himself at the tomb of the blessed Thomas, the martyr; and there he kept vigils, in tears and prayers, for a day and a night. When morning came, before he had departed from the church, it was announced to him that the king of Scotland (who had invaded England on his own behalf) had been defeated, and was held prisoner. And so after a short interval the whole disturbance in England was quelled; and the king returned, in good spirits, to Normandy.

"When Louis, king of France, was aware of his arrival ([Louis] had, with the nobles who had remained in the conspiracy, and with an innumerable army, been besieging Rouen), he fled away unexpectedly by night; because his followers were heavily oppressed by hunger.

"After a short time, the French abandoned their project; and the

younger [king] with his brothers acknowledged his father again, and made peace with him, according to his pleasure."

Cf. the chronicles of Saint-Aubin of Angers, in Marchegay and Mabille, Chroniques des Églises d'Anjou (S.H.F., 1869), 42-43.

Other versions are given by various writers. Cf. the Continuation of Ralph Niger's Chronicon a Christo Nato, 176, s.a. 1174 (continued from the text, above): "*How king Henry II approached the blessed Thomas; and how he triumphed over his enemies.*

"King Henry II, hearing that all England was thus disturbed, sailed over to England from Normandy with a large army, on the seventh day before the Ides of July [i.e., 9th July]. And immediately he went to Canterbury; and very well recognizing that all these evils had befallen because of the sins that he had committed against the holy one of the Lord, he prostrated himself humbly and with tears before the tomb of the blessed Thomas; devoutly sought pardon for the injuries done to the holy martyr by him and his subjects; offered gifts, and promised greater gifts. And hence it occurred miraculously that upon the same day William, the king of Scotland, was taken prisoner at Appleby, by the knights of the aforesaid king [Henry]. The kingdom having thus in a short time been brought back to a state of peace, he went to Normandy again. For his son, king Henry the Third; Louis, the king of France; and [Philip,] the count of Flanders, had surrounded Rouen with a siege. But when they had heard of the king's unexpected arrival, and perceived that their attempts were foiled, they raised the siege, and departed again—their army almost perishing of hunger and famine. Peace was afterwards restored between the father and son. And also the king's other sons, who had supported their brothers' cause against their father, were reconciled with him; namely Richard, count of Poitou, and Geoffrey, count of the Bretons." Cf. the Chronicle of Peterborough, 101-102 (derived from this passage).

William's capture is noticed by the Chronicon Fiscanense ad annum 1246, in Labbe's Nova Bibliotheca, i, 327, s.a. 1174; in the Annals of Multifernan, 10, s.a. 1174.

Cf. i.a. the account in Archbishop Thomas's Saga, R.S. **65**, ii, 172-180. Time and space do not permit me to include here the very interesting and dramatic account given by Jordan de Fantosme. It may be seen in F. Michel's translation; extracts, in L.A. (156-166, 170-178, 182-184, 188). Cf. Stevenson's edition of Michel's translation, in Church Historians, iv, 1, 269-288.

According to Fantosme, king William attacked Wark after Easter, and was opposed by Roger de Stouteville. He left Wark, and sent men to Bamborough and Belford; they ravaged and plundered, and came to Newcastle-on-Tyne. He returned to besiege Wark. He lost many men; and after a long siege, withdrew to Roxburgh.

William then proceeded, with Roger de Mowbray and Adam de Port, to Carlisle. Robert de Vaux held Carlisle; he was challenged to surrender it: but he referred the decision to king Henry, and asked respite that he might consult him. William went to Appleby, and took the castle. Brough also surrendered to his assault.

1174

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 86-87, s.a. 1174

William, the king of Scotland, sent his army again to Alnwick; or rather, he led it himself. He put many to flight, and laid many low.[1]

Henry, the elder king of England, came to England during these turmoils.[2] Repenting of his sins, and begging for peace, he visited as quickly as he could, immediately upon his arrival in the kingdom, the tomb of the blessed Thomas at Canterbury, with compunction in his heart, and contrition in his mind; clothed in woollen garments, and walking with bare feet, accompanied by a large number of bishops and nobles.

And indeed, when morning broke,[3] William, king of the Scots, was made prisoner at Alnwick; and he was led in grief to Richmond, and kept there honourably for a time, in custody. But after the affair was made known to the king of England,

William returned to Carlisle. Robert de Vaux had heard that king Henry was returning to England; he promised to surrender if help did not reach him within a certain time. William attacked Prudhoe unsuccessfully; destroyed its corn-fields, and barked its apple-trees. He sent Scots to devastate the coast, and Galwegians in another direction; and went with his French and Flemish mercenaries in advance, to besiege Alnwick. Odinel de Umfraville, with William de Stouteville, Randolph de Glanville, Bernard de Balliol, William de Vesci, and 60 knights of the archbishop of York, rode to Newcastle, and surprised king William before Alnwick, at dinner. There was a stubborn battle. The king was thrown; his horse fell on him. He was captured, with all his boldest knights. Many of his Flemish soldiers were killed. Roger de Mowbray and Adam de Port fled. Alan de Lanceles, William de Mortimer, Ralph le Rus, and Richard Malluvel, fought well on king William's side. More than a thousand men of the Scottish army were badly wounded.

The king was well treated, and taken to Newcastle. On the morning of the day on which king William was captured, king Henry had been reconciled with Thomas Becket. The news reached Henry after he had gone to bed; he rose, and woke all his knights.

William was taken to Richmond, and by Southampton to Normandy. Henry took David with him, and went to Rouen. Peace was made there; king Henry went to France; and Fantosme says, "The war is now finished."

Although his narrative is of high colouring, it has historical value.

[1] This paragraph is copied on folio 53 (p. 234).

[2] *tonitrua* (literally "thunderings").

[3] Here is a marginal note: "Capture of the king of the Scots."

by his command [William] was transferred to Normandy, and put for keeping, like a precious treasure, in the tower of Falaise.[1]

When earl David, [William's] younger brother, had learned this, he swiftly left Leicester, for which he was fighting; and betook himself, with his followers, to Scotland, as best he could.

1174

Geoffrey of Vigeois, Chronica, c. 67; Labbe, Nova Bibliotheca, vol. ii, p. 319

After the father and son had raged against each other for two years, the king [Henry II] was so disgusted with the exhaustion of his many treasures that he sent to the Brabançons who served him, in pledge of wages, a spathe of the royal crown.[2]

[1] L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, i, 48-49, ll. 1319 ff., notices the presence of the king of Scotland with a large following at a tournament that was held "between Saint-Jamme and Valennes" (ibid., 44, l. 1202), shortly after the battle of Driencourt, or Neufchâtel-en-Bray. This tourney was fought between Angevins, Manceaux, and Poitevins, on the one side; and French, Normans, and English, on the other side. William Marshal overcame sir Philip de Valognes, the best equipped and most notable of the Scottish party with king William.

The Scots were among the opponents of the English. The treaty of Valognes had perhaps not yet been made (cf. year 1181, note). This jousting probably took place at the time when king William "received some consolation at Falaise, being visited by his friends in great numbers" (R.D.; E.C., 258). Some chroniclers have exaggerated the severity with which William was treated.

The disturbance in Galloway that followed king William's capture (E.C., 256-258) is mentioned in the 1291 chronicle of Crowland (Palgrave, 80; from B.P.). In this disturbance Uhtred, son of Fergus (for whom see year 1161), was killed. Uhtred was the father of Roland, for whom see year 1185.

Uhtred witnessed a charter of king David, Kelso no. 375 (ii, 298; 1141 × 1147).

[2] *ut . . . pro mercede Spatham regiae coronae in gagium mitteret.* Possibly read "the royal coronation sword"?

The word *spatha* "sword" occurs previously in Geoffrey's work. Cf. ibid., 316:—"A recently-formed band of [knights fighting in Spain against the Saracens] bore a sword of red cloth upon a white habit, in indication of their warlike powers."

At last the king spoke with a certain bishop of Normandy, from whom he was habitually accustomed to receive [the imposition of] penance; and he received from him this reply: "If thou become a humble pilgrim of Thomas of Canterbury, I believe that peace will be given thee by the Lord." And [the king] said to him: "If thou shouldst deign to come with me, I would willingly go." The bishop replied: "I will go gladly."

After crossing the sea, [the king] went to the place assigned. And while, devout and fasting, he was celebrating vigils, he was gladdened by a sign performed in his presence by the archbishop and holy martyr.

When mass was ended, as he went forth from the church, messengers went to him, and said: "Rejoice, king of the English! for triumph is given thee from heaven. Thy son, the bastard," they said, "yesterday took prisoner, and placed in custody, thy enemy, the king of the Scots, with many thousand men."

With exultant mind, the king said to the bystanders: "Know that peace has been restored to me by the merit of archbishop Thomas, whose aid I have diligently implored."

Immediately he crossed the sea, and came to Rouen. And when his arrival was known, the citizens sounded for joy the signals of their churches—the trumpets of all the towers blaring together.

Hearing this, king Louis, and Philip, count of Flanders, who with the younger king of the English had been besieging Rouen, learning the cause of so great rejoicings, were amazed; especially when on the following day they saw the king go outside the town, to hunt. . . .

1174

Chronicle of Holyrood, Bouterwek's edition, p. 44, s.a. 1174

King Henry the Younger made peace with his father [king Henry II]; so also did William, the king of Scotland, and [Louis,] the king of France.

PART IX

Scotland in Feudal Subjection to England, 1175-1189

1175

Robert of Torigni, Chronica; Rolls Series, no. 82, vol. iv, pp. 267-268; s.a. 1175 [1]

The king of Scotland made peace with the king of England in this manner. He gave him homage, and allegiance for all his land, as to his proper lord; and he conceded that all the bishops of the land, in number ten, and the abbots, and earls, and barons, should do the same.

The bishops and abbots, however, did not do homage; but they bound themselves with an oath that they would give it,[2] and that they would be subject to the church of York, and the archbishop; and would go there for the purpose of being consecrated, so often as it should be necessary.

Moreover, king William gave up his fortresses—Roxburgh, and Maidens' Castle, and a third[3]—to the king of England; and he placed in them his keepers, for whom also the king of Scotland shall find the necessaries.

Moreover, the king of England shall present the honours—bishoprics, abbacies, and other honours—in Scotland; or, to say less, he shall be consulted in their presentation.[4]

1175

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 87

In the year 1175, William, king of Scotland, with his [vassals], returned home from imprisonment.

[1] Also in M.G.H., Scriptores, vi, 524; Delisle's ed., ii, 56-57.

[2] *se hoc observaturos.*

[3] Annotations are added in the Cotton MS. (between the lines), and in the Paris MS. (in the text). These MSS. read: "Maidens' Castle, i.e., Edinburgh; and a third, i.e., Berwick."

[4] *consilio ejus dabuntur.*

1175

Chronicle of Holyrood, Bouterwek's edition, p. 44

In 1175, in the month of February, king William returned to his country, having made peace[1]; and in the month of August, the king with his [vassals] met the king of England at York.

1175

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 87-88, s.a. 1175

The earls and barons and all the greatest and most powerful men of the kingdom of Scotland, in presence of their king, William, acknowledged allegiance,[2] and gave hostages; and the bishops of the same kingdom swore fealty upon the Word of truth, to Henry, king of England, in the city of York.[3]

[1] William's release in 1175 is mentioned by the Huntingdon Chronicle (P. & S., 212; see below, year 1189); and by the 1291 chronicles of Bridlington (on 15th February; Palgrave, 63), of Burton (before 26th February; 73), and of Reading (121).

Fordun (c. 13) says that he was released about the 2nd of February.

Edward I's letter to Boniface (Foedera, i, 2, 932): "And in the 20th year of the reign of the aforesaid king Henry II, the said William, king of the Scots, beginning to rebel, came into Northumbria with a large army, and made great slaughter of the people; and the knights of the county of York met him at Alnwick, and took him prisoner, and gave him up to the said Henry, king of England. And in the following year, on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of March, the same William was permitted to go away in freedom" (i.e., on 15th February, 1175. This date is not given by the earlier English chronicles, which record that William was removed from prison in Normandy to less strict custody in England, on 11th December, 1174; see E.C., 258).

Scalacronica (41) says that the Bissets went with William, when he had returned from captivity at Falaise, from England to Scotland.

[2] *ligantiam fecerunt.*

[3] Cf. Edward I's letter of 7th May, 1301, to pope Boniface VIII, in Foedera, i, 2, 932-933. It is there stated that, after William's liberation, "in the same year, at York, on the seventeenth day before the Kalends of September, the same William, king of the Scots, by consent of the prelates, earls, barons, nobles, and other magnates of the kingdom of Scotland, is known to have certified by his letters patent to his lord, Henry, the king of England, the aforesaid son of Matilda the Empress, that he, and his heirs and successors, kings of Scotland; [and] the bishops and abbots, also the earls and barons, and the other vassals of the kingdom of Scotland, from whom the lord king should wish to have it, would do to the

1175

Giraldus Cambrensis, De Principis Instructione, book II, c. 1; Rolls Series, no. 21, vol. viii, pp. 156-157

And so ([God's] favour assisting him) [Henry II] not only pacified with power his hereditary lands, but also triumphed with victory over realms remote and alien, which pertained to none of his predecessors, from the arrival of the Normans, or

kings of England homage, fealty, and allegiance, as to their liege lord, against all men.

"And, in token of this subjection, the same William, king of Scotland, offered his head-gear [*capellum*], his lance, and his saddle, upon the altar of the church of the blessed Peter at York: and they remain, and are preserved in the same church, down to the present day."

See the 1291 chronicles which mention the convention of 1175:—of Bridlington (giving the date, Sunday, 17th August; Palgrave, 63-65); of Burton (67-68); of Crowland (81-84; from B.P.); of London (106). Cf. Hall's Red Book, i, p. xxxi.

Langtoft, in his account of the affairs of 1174-1175 (ii, 10, 18-20), falsely says that in the agreement Henry restored the Scottish castles. See year 1189.

Chronicle of Peterborough, 102, s.a. 1175:

"William, the king of Scotland, and David, his brother, the earl of Huntingdon; the bishops, earls, and barons [of Scotland], swore fealty anew to Henry, king of England, the father. And thus they were allowed to return home."

The Commissioners' record of the contents of the 1291 chronicles, after noting the convention of 1175, reads (Palgrave, 135): "In the year of the Lord 1175, Roland, the lord of Galloway, did homage to Henry, the king of England, at Carlisle, for all the possessions that he had [*de omnibus quae tenebat*]."

The Scottish church evaded the claims to superiority of the English church, by promising to give such obedience as had been, and ought to be, given (E.C., 260). On 30th July [1176], at Anagni, pope Alexander directed a letter to the bishops of Scotland, telling them that he had bidden the archbishop of York to refrain from exercising metropolitan rights over them, until and unless the controversy should be decided in his favour before the pope. L.A., 213-214; E.C., 267-268.

On 24th December [1177], at Anagni, the same pope wrote to R[ichard], bishop of St Andrews, and the other bishops of Scotland, confirming to them their ancient liberties and defensible customs. Any encroachments upon their rights were to be judged by the pope or his legate only. P.L. 200, 1093-1094; Wilkins, Concilia, i, 461.

These papal letters seem to prove that the letter of 13th May 1176, in which William was alleged to have surrendered his claims to freedom for the Scottish church, was a forgery (E.C., 267-268; H. & S., ii, 244-245; Bain, i, no. 147; L.A., 212).

even of the Angles. Crossing the deep sea, he visited Ireland with a fleet, and gloriously subdued it; Scotland also he vanquished, capturing its king, William: and adding to the English crown an increment so noble beyond precedent, he remarkably extended the kingdom's limits and boundaries, [until they reached] from the ocean on the south to the Orkney islands on the north; with powerful grasp including the whole island of Britain in one monarchy, even as it is enclosed by the sea: a thing which we read in no authentic writing that any one had done, from the time when the Picts and the Scots first occupied the northern parts of the island, after the days of Claudius Caesar—who not only added Scotland to the kingdom of Britain, but also added the Orkney islands to the Roman empire.[1] But, alas, so great and so glorious an honour fell from the English crown, being sold with irreparable loss, for a paltry return,[2] by his next successor; and, for the sake of a passing price, an eternal and priceless glory perished.

The Scots, however, say, and for the honour of their land positively assert,[3] that their prince, [after] his capture at Alnwick, and his liberation, did [homage] to the king of the English for the land that is called Lothian only, as far as to the Firth of Forth,[4] which from ancient times has separated Scotland (making it almost into an island) from the English kingdom; with the three noble castles that are contained in it —Roxburgh, [Berwick, and Edinburgh]—, at that time rendered up. But it seems to be truer, and much more probable, that their prince, having been captured in battle, and imprisoned, could have been forced to submit to any decision whatsoever, or even, by law of war, [to accept] the misfortune of any kind of servitude, in order to be released from iron chains, and the darkness of prisons.

[1] This is derived from Bede, I, 3; who dates the subjection of the Orkneys in A.D. 46.

[2] *vili commercio.*

[3] *assertive proponunt.*

[4] *quod princeps eorum tantum de terra quae Leonis vocatur usque aa mare Scoticum . . . regi Anglorum primo captionem apud Aunewic et liberationem hominum fecit.* The reading is almost certainly corrupt. I have emended the text in a bolder manner than is permissible in dealing with historical texts; reading *post . . . hominium* instead of *primo . . . hominum.* This emendation may be correct, but must not be relied upon.

1175

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 87, s.a. 1175

Joceline, the elect of the church of Glasgow, was consecrated as bishop, by mandate of the lord pope Alexander III, in Clairvaux; by sir Eskil,[1] the archbishop of Lund, legate of the apostolic see, and primate of all Denmark.[2]

Our monk [of Melrose], Laurence, formerly abbot in Orkney, was elected on the second day[3] before the Ides of May; and was blessed as abbot[4] of [Melrose] with honour, in our church, by Joceline, bishop of Glasgow, on the day[5] after the Lord's Ascension.

1176

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 88

In the year 1176, Vivian, presbyter cardinal, entitled of St Stephen in the Coelian Mountain, a legate of the apostolic see, entered Scotland, trampling down and crushing all opposition; sent to take, and undeterred from taking by violence.[6]

Earl Richard, surnamed Strongbow, died in Ireland.[7]

A dispute arose between Walter, abbot of Tiron, and John, [abbot] of Kelso, with regard to subjection; [the question being] which of them should be considered the greater.

1176-1177

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 76

In the year 1176, John de Courcy subdued Ulster to himself.

In the same year, Vivian, a cardinal, the legate of the

[1] *Eskilus* is a Latinized form of the Old-Danish *Eskil* (the same name as Icelandic *Áskell*).

[2] There is here also a marginal note: "Joceline, bishop of Glasgow."

Chronicle of Holyrood, 44, s.a. 1175: "The bishop of Glasgow, Joceline, was consecrated."

[3] I.e., the 14th of May.

[4] There is here a marginal note: "Fifth abbot of Melrose."

[5] I.e., 23rd May.

[6] *expeditus capere, nec impeditus rapere.*

Chronicle of Holyrood, 44, s.a. 1177: "Cardinal Vivian came to Scotland, and visited Ireland." 1176 is the true date. Nothing is entered under 1176 in C.H.

[7] See year 1170.

apostolic see, came to Man; and in performing the office of his legation, he caused king Godfrey to be lawfully married to his wife, named Findguala,[1] the daughter of Mac-Lochlaind Muirchertach's son, the king of Ireland; namely the mother of Olaf, who was then three years old.

Silvanus, the abbot of Rievaulx, married them. On that day, king Godfrey gave as an offering to the venerable abbot Silvanus part of the land at Mirescog.[2] He immediately built a monastery there; but in process of time the whole land, with the monks, was conceded to the abbey of St Mary of Rushen.

1177

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 88, s.a. 1177

Cardinal Vivian, returning from Ireland, convoked the prelates of the kingdom of Scotland at Maidens' Castle, and sat in council.[3]

Roger, the first abbot of Dryburgh, resigned the charge of the sheep; and the prior Gerard succeeded him in the ministry.

Walter Alan's son, our associate,[4] the steward of the king of the Scots, died. May his blessed soul live in glory.[5]

[1] *Phingola.* Her father may have been a son of Muirchertach Ua-Lochlaind, Niall's son, king of Ireland (× 1157; † 1166). This king's sons were Niall, Mac-Lochlaind's son (leader, perhaps king, of Cenel-Eogain in 1167; † 1176); Maelsechlaind, Mac-Lochlaind's son (king of Cenel-Eogain; † 1176); Muirchertach, Muirchertach's son (king of Cenel-Eogain and heir to the kingdom of Ireland; † 1196).

[2] I.e., Ballamona? (Oliver, Monumenta, i, 41, 142; Goss).

[3] Chronicle of Holyrood, 44, s.a. 1178: "Vivian returned from Ireland to Scotland, and held a council at Maidens' Castle. And afterwards he returned to Rome." 1177 is the true date.

[4] I.e., a lay associate of the monastery of Melrose. Walter Steward had founded Paisley priory (1161 × 1164; see 1163, note). He was in reward made brother, and participator in the prayers, of the Cluniacensian order, by Stephen, the abbot of Cluny:—"And if (*quod absit*) he end his life without our habit, let there be [offices] for him as for one of our brothers, in tricennaria, and masses, and psalms, and all other benefits" (Paisley, 3).

[5] C.H., s.a. 1178:—"Walter, the king's steward, died." His title is *dapifer* ("butler"), instead of the more dignified *senescallus* ("seneschal"), which became later the invariable designation of the office and family of the Stewards. This change was made about the time when this Walter's grandson, Walter, raised the priory of Paisley to the rank of an abbacy (1219 × 1220). See 1219-1221, note.

Before the death of Walter Steward, Walter de Berkeley appears to

1178

Bower's Scotichronicon, VIII, c. 27 (Goodall's edition, vol. i, p. 478), s.a. 1178

Also in this year,[1] the church of Arbroath was founded, and commended to the monks of Kelso.[2]

have succeeded to Philip de Valognes as chamberlain of the king of Scotland. He seems to be the Walter, "king's chamberlain, of Roxburgh," in Holyrood, no. 17, 1177 × 1179.

[1] Previous events recorded are an inundation of Holland, and a settlement of Carthusians in England.

[2] John, abbot of Kelso († 1180) quit-claimed obedience to Reginald, who had been elected abbot of Arbroath, and had been blessed as abbot (while the see of St Andrews was vacant) by Matthew, the bishop of Aberdeen. This charter is dated 1178 (1178-9; Arbroath, i, no. 2). In the following year, abbot John quit-claimed obedience to Henry, abbot of Arbroath; king William and his brother David are among the witnesses (Arbroath, no. 3; 1179-80). These charters place Reginald's consecration after the death of Richard, bishop of St Andrews (see below). In Scone, no. 30, Henry, abbot of Arbroath, witnesses along with bishop Richard of St Andrews; but "Richard" is an error for "Roger."

For the possessions of Arbroath abbey in 1182 and 1200, see Arbroath, i, nos. 220, 221. King William gave several charters to the abbey; some of them within the last few years of his reign.

Cf. C.L., 11, s.a. 1213 (after an account of the translation of Thomas Becket [in 1220; Coggeshall, 188]): "And William, the above-mentioned king of the Scots, founded the abbey of Arbroath in his honour, and endowed it with revenues, after his renowned martyrdom had been proclaimed on earth, and approved in heaven; because of the intimate affection contracted between [William] and St Thomas, while [Thomas] was still in the court of king Henry."

Cf. Fordun, c. 29, i, 280.

In his confirmation charter, king William calls the abbey-church of Arbroath "the church which I have founded to the honour of God, and of St Thomas, archbishop and martyr, at Arbroath."

It is remarkable that the Melrose Chronicle does not record this foundation. The honour to Kelso may have been thought to be a slight upon Melrose. The Melrose chronicle does, however, record the dedication, in 1233.

The foundation of this abbey, in 1178, in honour of Thomas Becket, cannot be dissociated from the fact that William's capture in 1174 had been attributed to the influence of that saint.

1178

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 88

In the year 1178 died Richard, the bishop of Dunkeld; and Richard, the bishop of St Andrews.[1]

Master John, surnamed the Scot, was elected to the bishopric of St Andrews. But king William opposed his election with all[2] his might; and, supported by his authority as king, caused his chaplain, Hugh, to be consecrated bishop, as he wished to be, in the church of St Andrews. On both sides a serious dispute arose, and a dangerous dissension.[3]

1178

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 89, s.a. 1178

The sun at mid-day was clad in pallor, and almost wholly obscured, on the Ides of September.[4]

[There was] a submersion of Holland.

Countess Ada, the mother of Malcolm and William, kings of the Scots, [and] of earl David, died.

Laurence, of pious memory, the fifth abbot of Melrose (a man of marvellous humility and gentleness, and most learned in the divine writings), died.

Geoffrey, the abbot of Dunfermline, died[5]; and Walter de

[1] Chronicle of Holyrood, 44, s.a. 1179:—"Richard, the bishop of Dunkeld, died in Lent [14 Feb. × 31 Mar. 1179]; and afterwards, in summer, died Richard, the bishop of St Andrews." Cf. Bower, VIII, 25, s.a. 1178.

For Richard, bishop of Dunkeld, cf. E.C., 259, 260, 264.

The Liber Vitae of Durham, 143, places the death of Richard, bishop of St Andrews, under 13th May (*iii id.*); Bower, VI, 35, dates it on 5th May (*iii non.*), 1177. See D.B., 8.

[2] Reading *totis* for *totius*.

[3] Chronicle of Holyrood, u.s.: "A schism arose concerning the election of John, and the consecration of Hugh" (in MS. *Hií* "of Iona," erroneously).

For the course of this controversy, see English Chroniclers, 271-305; and below, years 1180, 1182, 1183.

[4] I.e., 13th September, 1178. According to L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, there was a total eclipse, visible in Europe between latitudes 18° and 46° N., at noon on this day (Paris time).

[5] See year 1154. During Geoffrey II's abbacy, king Malcolm IV granted to Dunfermline the church of Perth (Dunfermline, no. 40; before 1160).

Bidun, the chancellor of the king of the Scots, [and bishop] elect of the church of Dunkeld, [died].[1]

1179

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 89

In the year 1179, Arnold, the sixth abbot of Melrose, was blessed in our church by sir Joceline, the bishop of Glasgow, on the day of the Lord's Epiphany.[2]

A great council was held at Rome by the lord pope Alexander III, on the day of *Laetare Hierusalem*, in the church that is called the Constantinian, on the fifth day before the Ides of March, in the twentieth year of his pontificate.[3] . . .

1179

Annales Stadenses, in M.G.H., Scriptores, vol. xvi, p. 349, s.a. 1179

In the aforesaid Lateran council, two English bishops and two Scottish bishops were consecrated by the pope [Alexander III]: [of the Scots,] one had come with a horse only; the other, with only his crook.

[1] Walter's successor in the bishopric was John the Scot, consecrated in 1183. See D.B., 50-51.

Walter de Bidun was still chancellor after the consecration of bishop Hugh (Glasgow, no. 40).

The uncertainty in dates between the years 1177 and 1179 affects very many charters, and may be removed by an examination of datable charters of the period.

King William gave the earldom of Lennox (during the minority of Alwin II) to his brother David, in Lindores no. 1 (1178×1182); David appears as earl in Glasgow, no. 40 (1177×1178). Therefore both these charters belong to 1178. It appears from these that Colban earl of Buchan was alive in 1178.

David seldom used the title of earl, until he became earl of Huntingdon in 1185. He appears as earl in Melrose, no. 112 (1178×1174), which, if genuine, would be 1175×1177, but is probably spurious. Cf. year 1174, note. Alwin II appears as earl of Lennox 1208×1214 (Glasgow, no. 101). He was succeeded, within the same period, by Maldovenus (Kelso, 222).

For the descendants of earl Alwin, see the Paisley register.

[2] I.e., 6th January, 1179.

[3] I.e., in 1179 (Alexander III was pope Sep. 1159-1181), on the 11th of March (Mid-Lent Sunday in 1179; the day when *Laetare* was sung).

This was the Lateran Council (11th general council), held 5th, ?7th, and 19th March, 1179 (Jaffé).

1179

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 89-90, s.a. 1179

Reynold, the first abbot of St Thomas the Martyr in Scotland,[1] died; and Adam, the parson of Dunbar.

Also Eanfrith,[2] the second abbot of Newbattle, died, on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of September[3]; and the prior, Hugh, succeeded.

Alina, the countess of Dunbar, died on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of September.[4]

Great thundering and lightning occurred on the day of St Bartholomew the apostle, through the whole of Holy-Island shire.[5]

William, the king of Scotland, and David, his brother, along with the earls and barons of the land, went into Ross, with a great and strong army; and there they strengthened two castles: the name of one being Dunscath, and the name of the other, Ederdover.[6]

[1] I.e., Reginald, abbot of Arbroath. See year 1178.

[2] *Amfridus.* See the privilege directed to this abbot by pope Alexander III, and dated at Ferentino, on 20th April, 1174 (Newbattle, 315). He witnessed one of the Melrose charters, where his name is spelt in full (Melrose, no. 12). According to the Life of abbot Waltheof (A.S., August, i, 269), Eanfrith was abbot of Newbattle in 1159: so also in the charter prefixed to the chartulary of Kelso.

[3] I.e., on 19th August.

[4] I.e., on 20th August.

For the death of Waltheof, the husband of Alina, see year 1182.

[5] I.e., on the 24th of August, in the district near Lindisfarne.

[6] *Dunscath . . . Ewerdover* (a misprint) in Stevenson's text; *Etherdover*, in Fulman's, and in MS.

Ederdover is rendered "Edderton" by some MSS. of Fordun (Skene's ed., i, 268). This is an error. It was the Eddyrdor, or Edirdowyr, near Beauly, which was owned by Andrew de Bois in 1278 (see his charter, in Batten's Beauly, 63-64. Cf. P.S.A.S., viii, 439), and by Hugh de Ross in 1294 (see his charter, in C. Innes's Family of Rose of Kilravock, 109-111). The latter charter conveys to David de Graham the dabach of land called Culcolly, in the tenement of Edirdowyr. Culcolly has been satisfactorily identified with Kilcoy Castle, situated in Killearnan parish about a mile inland from the north shore of Beauly Firth, near the head of the firth.

J. B. Brichan has established the identity of Ederdover with Redcastle, less than two miles by road from Kilcoy. Redcastle is on the north shore of Beauly Firth, and near Killearnan church (Origines Parochiales, ii, 2, pp. xxi, 525-531).

The site of the castle of Dunscath (later Dunskaith and Dunskeath)

1180

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 90

In the year 1180, John, the abbot of Kelso, died.[1] Osbert, the prior of St Machutus,[2] succeeded.

A great controversy which was being discussed between the monastery of Melrose and Richard de Morvi[ll]e,[3] concerning the forest and pasture between the Gala and the Leader,[4] was

was in the farmlands of Castlecraig, now in Nigg parish, to the north of the strait at the mouth of Cromarty Firth (cf. Origines Parochiales, ii, **2**, pp. xxi, 458). This castle commanded the ferry from Cromarty.

Fordun would identify this campaign with that which, according to B.P. and Hoveden, did not take place until late in 1181 (E.C., 278, 279). Fordun says (c. 16; i, 268; L.A., 227, 270-271):—"In the year of the Lord 1179, William, the king of Scotland, along with his brother, earl David, and a large army, went into Ross, [to fight] against Mac-William (but, by his true name, Donald Bán). And there he strengthened [*firmavit*] two castles, namely Dunscath and Edderton [*Ederdone*]; and after strengthening them he returned to the southern regions of his kingdom. But after seven years had passed, because [Mac-William] continued in his accustomed wickedness, the king set out into Moray with a numerous army, and in very great force, against his same enemy, Donald Bán; who [declared] that he was sprung from royal stock, and that he was the son of William, son of Duncan the bastard, who was the son of the great Malcolm, king of Scotland, called Cendmor.

"Supported by the treason of some treacherous men, [Mac-William] had first wrested from his king by the importunity of his tyranny the whole of Ross; and afterwards, holding for no short time the whole of Moray, he had occupied, with slaying and burning, the greater part of the kingdom—aspiring to the whole. . . ."

See below, year 1187.

[1] The obituary of Durham (S.S. **13**, 138) contains this note: "Upon the death of sir John, the abbot of Kelso, there shall be one plenary service for him in the convent, as is usual in the case of a brother who dies outside the church. Thirty masses shall be given for him by the priests; and in the next tricennarium that is said after his death, it shall be done for him as for one of our brethren. Each person of lower rank shall chant for [him] fifty psalms; the others, who do not know the psalms, [shall repeat] fifty times *Pater Noster*, or *Miserere mei, Dominus:* and his name shall be placed in the martyrology, among the names of our brethren." This appears to have been an agreement made between the monasteries of Durham and Kelso during the life-time of John.

[2] I.e., of Lesmahagow.

[3] In text *de Moreuia.* See year 1184.

[4] *inter Galge et Ledre.* The Gala Water and the Leader Water fall into the Tweed from the north; the first to the west, the second to the east of Melrose.

decided in presence of William, king of the Scots, and earl David, his brother, and before innumerable other persons, both ecclesiastical and secular, at Haddington, on the middle Sunday of Lent.[1] And by God's aid, the monks retained their rights in this matter, so that possession was adjudicated to them, through the merit of their charters, and by authority of the privileges of the Roman church.[2]

1180

Chronicle of Holyrood, Bouterwek's edition, pp. 44-45, s.a. 1180

The legate Alexis came from Rome; and by his mediation, master John was consecrated at Maidens' Castle, on the octave of Pentecost.[3] And after a few days, through king William's opposition,[4] [John] was exiled again; and a schism arose.

1180

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 90-91, s.a. 1180

Alexis, sub-deacon of the holy Roman church, and ambassador of the apostolic see, in order to learn the truth concerning the case of the church of St Andrews, entered Scotland with John, the [bishop] elect; although king William scarcely permitted it. And he disturbed very many men, and provoked the king's heart to anger.

John, the [bishop] elect of St Andrews, was sent [to Scotland] by the lord pope Alexander [III].[5] [John had been] confirmed in the papal court, but, for the dignity of the church of St Andrews, and for the honour of the king, he was [sent] to be consecrated in the episcopal see by such bishops as he wished. After many consultations, and more annoyances—some of the king's clerics being even excommunicated, and the bishopric of St Andrews moreover laid under an interdict—, the aforesaid Alexis at last assembled the bishops, abbots, and religious

[1] I.e., 30th March.

[2] The decision was embodied in a charter, which defines the boundaries of pasture in dispute: Melrose, no. 111 (1179 × 1182).

The monks had difficulties with their neighbours at the other end of the pasture also—the men of Wedale, or Stow. See below, year 1184.

[3] I.e., 15th June.

[4] *rege Willelmo resistendo.*

[5] Cf. pope Alexander's letters, in L.A., 230-233 (P.L. 200, 1274-1276).

men, at Maidens' Castle; and in the church of Holyrood, on the octaves of Pentecost, namely the sixth day before the Ides of June,[1] he caused this John to be consecrated with splendour as bishop to the above-named see, by mandate of the lord pope Alexander, by the hands of Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen. But John, after being consecrated, finding that he was without the bishopric, immediately through fear of the king, and because of the anger of the king's supporters, left the province in grief, and betook himself to a safer place.

1181

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 91, s.a. 1181

William, king of the Scots, and earl David, his brother, betook themselves to regions beyond the sea, to king Henry the Elder, upon their own affairs.[2]

[There were] great lightnings and thunderings, and storms, and inundations of waters, in various places in England. . . .

A comet appeared, in the month of July.[3]

Bishop Joceline extended the episcopal see [of Glasgow], and gloriously enlarged[4] the church of St Kentigern.

Pope Alexander III, of pious memory, died, on the third day[5] before the Kalends of September, in the twenty-third year

[1] I.e., Whitsunday, 8th June, 1180.

[2] *pro suis negotiis.*

L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchale (i, 167, ll. 4619 f.) records the presence of David, earl of Huntingdon ("the earl David, carrying the banner" of the English party) at the tournament of Lagni-sur-Marne.

The rebellion of Donald, son of William Duncan's son, took place before king William's return (see E.C., 278). The king was at Selkirk on 25th October, 1181 (Glasgow, no. 30).

[3] Cf. Pingré, Cométographie, i, 395. Ludovicus Cavitellius, there referred to, connects this comet's appearance with the death of the pope (J. G. Graevius, Thesaurus Antiq. et His. Italiae, iii, 1316): but this writer is of the late 16th century.

[4] *magnificavit.*

Joceline was excommunicated by Alexis because he had received from Hugh, as bishop of St Andrews, after Hugh's election had been quashed by the pope, the church of Dairsie; which church Alexis restored to the canons of St Andrews (M.Cl. **28**, 14). Joceline went to Rome (see 1182).

[5] I.e., 30th August, 1181; so in Jaffé. But Benedict of Peterborough says that Alexander III died on the 20th of September, 1181, in the 22nd year of his pontificate (B.P., i, 282. Cf. Hoveden, ii, 264. R.W., i, 128,

of his pontificate. His successor was Lucius III, who was also [called] Hubaldus, the bishop of Ostia.

Roger, the archbishop of York, died, on the tenth day [1] before the Kalends of December, in the twenty-seventh year of his episcopate.[2]

? 1182

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, pp. 76-78

In the year 1172,[3] Reginald, Echmarcach's son,[4] a man of royal family, came to Man with a great company of men, while the king was absent. And in the first encounter he routed certain men who were guarding the coasts; and slew about twenty of them.

But later in the same day, the Manxmen assembled together, and valiantly attacked him; and killed him, with almost all his followers.

1182

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 92

In the year 1182, Joceline, bishop of Glasgow, and Arnold, abbot of Melrose, and Osbert, abbot of Kelso, along with other honourable men, went to Rome, upon the affairs of the king and the kingdom. And by God's assistance they carried through their mission cautiously and prudently; and returned home from there, in good health and spirits.[5] By them also pope Lucius III sent with his paternal blessing to William, the king of the Scots, a golden rose.

says that Alexander died after 22 years in the pontificate). Alexander had been elected on 7th September, 1159.

[1] I.e., 22nd November, 1181. According to B.P., i, 283, Roger died on Saturday, 22nd November, *in ipso noctis crepusculo*, after 27 years and 6 weeks in the episcopate (cf. Hoveden, u.s. R.W., i, 126, following B.P., says, upon the 20th November). But the 21st November was Saturday in 1181. "Dusk" of Saturday might have been about 5 p.m. of Friday, 20th November, or of Saturday, 21st November.

[2] C.H., 45, s.a. 1181: "Pope Alexander III, of pious memory, died; and Lucius III succeeded. And Roger, the archbishop of York, died."

[3] This stands between annals numbered 1176 and 1183.

[4] *filius Eacmarcat.* For this name, see year ? 1152, note.

[5] *sani et alacres.*

Henry the Elder, king of England, sailed over [the channel]; and with God's support made peace between king Philip of France and count Philip of Flanders.

Waltheof, the earl of Dunbar, died; and Patrick, his son, succeeded him.[1]

1182

Chronicle of Holyrood, Bouterwek's edition, p. 45, s.a. 1182

William, the king of Scotland, held a general council for three days, along with the legates of the lord pope Lucius, with regard to [the making of] peace between bishops John and Hugh.

1183

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 92

In the year 1183, William, the king of the Scots, gave with honour to Robert de Bruce his daughter, Isabel, whom he had had by the daughter of Robert Avenel.[2]

1183

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 45, s.a. 1183

The bishops, master John and Hugh, returned to Rome.[3]

The younger king of England died.[4]

[1] See S.P., iii, 251-252; and L.A., 249.

[2] Robert Avenel died in 1185. After the death of Robert de Bruce, Isabel married Robert de Ross: see year 1191.

Cf. Bower, VIII, 79, i, 535; L.A., 250.

[3] See E.C., 285-286. John was now made bishop of Dunkeld (cf. D.B., 51); but the affair was not yet at an end. See E.C., 290-293, 296-298, 301-305. John died in 1203.

As a condition of peace between the bishops, some churches, subject to the church of St Andrews, were given to John, bishop of Dunkeld, for administration during his life-time. On 11th January, 1185, pope Lucius III announced that these were to return to St Andrews when bishop John died or ceased to hold office (St Andrews, 84).

[4] The Chronicle of Melrose, s.a. 1183 (continued from the text above): "A base and perverse quarrel arose between the uterine brothers, the sons of Henry, king of England. And through it many evils sprang up; and more men lost the present life.

"Henry the Younger, king of England, died, in the fourteenth year of his coronation, at the town that is called Martel, on the third day before the Ides of June" (i.e., on 11th June).

For the death of Henry the Younger, see B.P., i, 300-301; and Hoveden, ii, 278-279.

1184

Chronicle of Holyrood, Bouterwek's edition, p. 45, s.a. 1184

The convent came to Ruthven.[1]

1184

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 92-93, s.a. 1184

William, the king of the Scots, gave his daughter Ada to earl Patrick.[2]

Simon, the bishop of Moray,—one of our congregation—died, on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of October.[3]

The controversy that had existed between the church of Melrose and the men of Wedale[4] concerning the pasture of the king's forest [was decided], with God's help, in presence of the king, William, and of earl David, his brother; and in presence of the bishops, earls, barons, and many other good men, on the day of St Luke the Evangelist,[5] above Crosslee, by Richard de Morville, the king's constable, and by other twelve loyal subjects, who on that day, the king being present, swore with fear and trembling over the relics of our church, and truthfully affirmed that the king's forest extended as far as to the road that goes to the east side of the church of the blessed Mary of Wedale; and that the pasture of the church of Melrose extended as far as to the boundaries of Wedale, and as far as the stream that is called Fasseburne[6]; [and had been] confirmed, and irrefragably established, by the gift of three kings[7]—namely

[1] *ad Rothin;* which, according to Bouterwek, "is perhaps to be read *Rothfan.*" Ruthven is in Strathmore, on the Isla; north of Meigle, east of Alyth.

[2] This was Patrick I, 5th earl of Dunbar. See years 1182, 1232. Their great-grandson, Patrick, 3rd earl of March, was a competitor for the crown in 1291. Foedera, i, 2, 775.

[3] I.e., on 17th September. See year 1172; and for his successor, Richard, 1187.

[4] *homines de Wedhale.* Wedale was the old name of the parish of Stow, between Edinburghshire and Selkirkshire. See Groome's Gazetteer of Scotland (1903), 1530-1531.

[5] 18th October.

[6] So also in Melrose, no. 112.

[7] A word has been erased in the MS.

The charters referred to are Melrose, nos. 1 (June; 1143×1144), 3 (1153×1165), 13 (?1177). The perambulation was made by king David

David, Malcolm, [and] William—; and by the privileges of four or five Roman pontiffs.[1]

1184

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 93

In the year 1185, Andrew, of pious memory, the bishop of Caithness, died at Dunfermline, on the third day before the Kalends of January.[2]

1185

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 93-94, s.a. 1185

William, of pious memory, formerly abbot of Melrose, died at Rievaulx.

Robert Avenel, our novice-associate, died, on the eighth day[3] before the Ides of March. He gave to God, and to St Mary and the monks of Melrose, his land of Eskdale, as his charter testifies[4]; may his blessed soul ever live in glory.

Heraclius, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and prior of the

and earl Henry on 29th May, 1142. David's charter has been engraved in facsimile (Melrose, before p. 3; National MSS. of Scotland, no. 17; Anderson's Diplomata, fo. 14). It is no. 141 in L.C.

David granted to the monastery the lands of Old Melrose, Eildon, Darnick, and Gattonside, with the rights of pasture, wood-gathering, timber-cutting, and pig-feeding, in the king's forests at Selkirk, Traquair, and between the Gala and the Leader. Malcolm and William reaffirmed these rights, and specified more definitely the extent of the pasturage conceded between the Gala and the Leader.

[1] Cf. the charter (Melrose, no. 112; also in facsimile) of a settlement made in the presence of the king, dated on 18th October (1175 × 1177, if genuine). Cf. Melrose, Appendix to Preface, no. 2, with a significant note (in a 13th-century hand): "And it is to be known that at that time Wedale did not belong to the bishop, but to Gillissa [*Gilisius*] of Wedale, to whom succeeded bishop William—Malveisin [i.e., a bad neighbour], in every way." Cf. year 1180.

[2] I.e., on the 30th December, 1184.

Chronicle of Holyrood, 45, s.a. 1185: "On the fourth day before the Kalends of January, Andrew, the bishop of Caithness, died" (i.e., the 29th December, 1184).

This bishop is named as a witness in the charter of king David to Deer (no. 7; 1131 × 1144). See above, 1131 ×. For his successor, John, cf. 1198, 1201, notes.

[3] 8th March.

[4] Cf. the charters of Robert Avenel, and his son Gervase († 1219); the

Hospital of Jerusalem, came to England, to king Henry, with labour and sorrow, humbly begging from him aid and counsel; but he did not receive them with as much glory and devotion as was fitting, and as he ought.[1]

Henry, king of England, at Windsor, restored the earldom of Huntingdon to William, king of the Scots, as honourably and fully as [William] had had it before the war.[2]

There was a great earthquake throughout England in the month of April.[3]

An eclipse of the sun occurred on the Kalends of May, on the fourth day of the week, after noon; and the stars appeared.[4]

There was a battle in Galloway between Roland[5] and

confirmations by king William; and the proclamation by Herbert, bishop of Glasgow, in Melrose, nos. 38-42, 5. Vincent, a son of Robert Avenel, appears in St Andrews, 258 (1204 × 1220).

[1] Cf. B.P., i, 335-336, 338; Hoveden, ii, 299-302, 304; R.D., ii, 32-34; R.W., i, 134-136.

[2] This paragraph is copied on folio 53 (p. 233). Cf. E.C., 288. The earldom was restored to William after the death of earl Simon de Senlis III (see ? 1114, note).

Brompton says in his Chronicle, s.a. 1075 (Twysden, Scriptores, 975), that William had held the earldom of Huntingdon after Malcolm's death, until he joined the rebellion against king Henry II; and that Henry then destroyed the castle of Huntingdon, and gave the earldom of Huntingdon to Simon, the earl of Northampton, and grandson of Simon of Senlis. After the death of this Simon, king Henry restored the earldom of Huntingdon to king William.

Hoveden says that king William immediately gave the earldom to his brother David (E.C., 288, note). David held it of king William; William, of king Henry. See Close Rolls, i, 406; cf. ii, 183, and Palgrave, 1-2.

See Pipe Rolls, xxxiv, 60 (Bain, i, no. 176).

[3] This was on Monday, the 15th of April, according to B.P., i, 337, and Hoveden, ii, 303-304. Cf. R.D., ii, 37.

[4] I.e., on Wednesday, 1st May. Cf. B.P., i, 338 ("about mid-day"); and R.D., ii, 37 ("after noon"). A total eclipse occurred in 1185 on May 1st, at 1 p.m., Paris time (L'Art).

Chronicle of Holyrood, 45, s.a. 1185: "On the Kalends of May, about the hour of noon, an eclipse of the sun occurred, under king William of the Scots." The eclipse is noted by the Chronicle of Man, s.a. 1185 (from C.M., but reading: "On the day of the apostles Philip and James"; i.e. 1st May).

[5] This was Roland, Uhtred's son († 1200). Cf. E.C., 288. He was later a justiciar of king William, and a benefactor of Melrose. See Melrose, nos. 18, 65. He became constable of Scotland after the death of William de Morville. See year 1196.

Gillepatric, on the fourth day before the Nones of July, the fifth day of the week[1]; and in it more men fell on the side of Gillepatric: and he himself perished, with many others.

Again, Roland fought a battle against Gillecoluim; and in it Roland's brother fell, and Gillecoluim perished.[2]

Pope Lucius III died, and Urbanus III succeeded him.[3]

1186

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 94-95, s.a. 1186

Geoffrey, count of Brittany, the son of Henry, king of England, died at Paris.

— —[4], the abbot of Cîteaux, died; and William, the abbot of Pratea, succeeded him.[5]

In the month of August, Henry, the king of England, with a great army came to Carlisle, against Roland. But under the safe-conduct of William, the king of the Scots, Roland came to [king Henry], and did him homage.

On the Nones of September—the sixth day of the week, and eighteenth of the moon[6]—, the king of the Scots, William, espoused a kinswoman of king Henry of England, Ermengarda by name, with great splendour, in the presence of the king, in the king's chapel of the Park, at Woodstock: she was a daughter of the viscount of Beaumont, who was a son of the elder daughter of a son of William Bastard.[7]

[1] I.e., Thursday, 4th July.

[2] For the rebellion of Roland in 1185, and his submission and fealty to king Henry in 1186, see E.C., 288-290. Cf. the 1291 chronicle of Bridlington, s.a. 1185 (Palgrave, 65-66); and Langtoft, ii, 20-22.

[3] Pope Lucius III died on 25th November, 1185 (Jaffé). Urban III was elected on that day, and consecrated on 1st December, 1185 (Jaffé).

On 18th January [1185], pope Lucius had confirmed to the canons of St Andrews their possession of the church of Haddington (St Andrews, 83; M.Cl. 28, 10). See L.A., 257-259.

According to R.D., ii, 38, s.a. 1185: "Pope Lucius was buried at Verona on the seventh day before the Kalends of December" (i.e., on 25th November; so Jaffé). B.P. (i, 339) says that Lucius died "about the festival of St Nicolas" (i.e., about 6th December); Hoveden (ii, 305), "in the month of December." The succession of Urbanus is placed in 1186 by R.W., i, 137.

[4] A blank in the MS. This seems to have been abbot Bernard.

[5] See Gallia Christiana, ii, 207. [6] I.e., Friday, 5th September, 1186.

[7] Chronicle of Holyrood, 45-46: "In the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1186, William, king of Scotland, received from the hand of Henry,

Christian, of pious memory, bishop of Whithorn, died at Holme Cultram, on the Nones of October.[1]

1186

Chronicle of Holyrood, Bouterwek's edition, p. 46; s.a. 1186

In the following winter,[2] on the fifteenth day[3] before the Kalends of December, the peace of the holy church was outraged at Coupar, by the violence of Malcolm, earl of Athole; because Adam (surnamed also Donald's son), who was the king's outlaw, was seized, and one of his associates—a nephew[4]—was beheaded, before the altar; and the rest, fifty-eight in number, were burned and killed in the abbot's dwelling.

1187

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 95-96

In the year 1187, Richard, king William's clerk, was elected to the bishopric of Moray, on Sunday, the Kalends of March.[5] And on the Ides of the same month,[6] in the Lord's Passion, he

king of England, and espoused, Erminigilda, on a certain sixth-day in the autumn. Master Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, performed for him at Woodstock the office of espousal; and sir Joceline, bishop of Glasgow, completed the benediction over the king and queen in their chamber."

Cf. E.C., 289, 293-294. The marriage is noticed in the Chronicle of Carlisle, s.a. 1186 (Palgrave, 73). Fordun reads erroneously (i, 275; Bower, i, 492): "the daughter of the viscount of Beaumont, who was a son of William Bastard's eldest son—that is, of Robert Curthose."

The lady was Ermengarde, daughter of viscount Richard of Beaumont, the son of viscount Roscelin and of Constance, an illegitimate daughter of Henry I. "The viscountess Constantia" is named in a donation by her husband to the abbey of Cluny. See Delisle's R.T., ii, 3, note But Constance is called Matilda by R.T. (u.s.; and R.S. **82**, iv, 235; s.a. 1168). She may possibly have borne both names. She is referred to, but not named, by O.V., XIII, 18 (Le Prevost, v, 45); and by R.T. in his continuation of William of Jumièges (VIII, 29, in B.R., xii, 580; P.L. **149**, 898-899).

[1] I.e., on 7th October. For Christian, cf. 1154, note.

His successor, John, was consecrated in 1189 (E.C., 306; D.B., 355), and died in 1209.

[2] I.e., the winter following king William's marriage with Ermengarde.

[3] I.e., 17th November.

[4] An interlinear gloss.

[5] I.e., 1st March, 1187.

[6] 15th March, Passion Sunday in 1187. See year † 1203.

was consecrated at St Andrews in Scotland by Hugh, the bishop of that church.

In Brittany, Arthur, the son of count Geoffrey, was born of Constance, daughter of Margaret, the sister of Malcolm and William, king of the Scots; on the fourth day before the Kalends of April, the night of holy Easter.[1] . . .

William, king of the Scots, with a great army went into Moray, against Mac-William. And while the king was at the [fortified] town of Inverness, with the army, the earls of Scotland sent their men to plunder. And they found Mac-William with his followers upon the moor that is called Mamgarvia, near Moray[2]; and presently they fought with him, and by God's help slew him, with many others; on the day before the Kalends of August, the sixth day of the week.[3] Blessed be God, who has betrayed the wicked![4]

On the fourth day[5] before the Kalends of November, pope Urban III died. On the twelfth day before the Kalends of the same month[6] Gregory VIII, who was chancellor, was elected. And he is called the Ragged, according to the interpretation of abbot— —[7]. And he was consecrated on the eighth day before the Kalends of the same month.[8]

On the sixteenth day[9] before the Kalends of January, pope Gregory VIII died. And on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of the same month,[10] Clement IV was elected; and he was consecrated on the following day.

[1] 29th March, Easter in 1187. Easter night was the night of 28th-29th March.

This is followed by the defeats of the crusaders in Palestine.

[2] *Mam Garvia prope Muref.* This is probably a Latinized form of the Gaelic *màm garbh* "rough rounded hill."

[3] I.e., Friday, 31st July, 1187.

[4] Cf. the verses in S.S. 70, 82-83.

[5] For "fourth" read "fourteenth," i.e., 19th October (as in G.C., i, 388). Pope Urban III died on 20th October, 1187 (Jaffé).

[6] 21st October. So Jaffé. See G.C.

[7] A space for the name is left blank in the MS.

[8] 25th October. So Jaffé.

[9] 17th December. So Jaffé. Cf. G.C., i, 392.

[10] 19th December. Clement III was elected on the 19th, and consecrated on the 20th (Jaffé).

1187

Chronicle of Holyrood, Bouterwek's edition, p. 46

In the year 1187, on the second day before the Kalends of August, the sixth day of the week,[1] Donald, William's son, the adversary of William, king of Scotland, was slain in Ross[2]; and many powerful adversaries fell with the others. And peace, long disturbed, was restored to the king and the kingdom, through God's mercy and virtue.

1187-1188

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 78

In the year 1187, Jerusalem was captured by the pagans; and the holy cross was removed to Damascus.[3]

In the same year, Godfrey, the king of the islands, died, on the fourth day[4] before the Ides of November, on St Patrick's island in Man. And in the beginning of summer, his body was carried over to the island that is called Iona.

He left three sons: Reginald, Olaf, and Ivar.[5] Reginald, at that time a sturdy youth, was in the island regions; while Olaf, still a boy of tender age, abode in Man.

While Godfrey was yet alive, he had appointed his son Olaf as heir to the kingdom; because the inheritance rightly fell to him, since he was born of lawful wedlock. And [Godfrey] had commanded all the Manx people to appoint [Olaf] king, as was fitting, after his own decease; and to preserve inviolable to him their oath of fidelity. But after Godfrey's death, the Manxmen had sent their messengers to the islands for Reginald, because he was a vigorous man, and of a hardier age; and they appointed him their king. They feared Olaf's weakness, since he was a boy but ten years old[6]; and considered that he who

[1] I.e., Friday, 31st July, 1187.

[2] *apud Ros.*

[3] Cf. C.M., s.a. 1187. V. i.a. R.S. **66**, 209-262.

[4] 10th November.

[5] Godfrey's daughter, Affrica, married John de Courcy. See year 1204.

[6] *utpote decennis pueri.* This annal implies that Olaf was born after the marriage of his parents. The same chronicle's annal of 1176 says that Olaf was already 3 years old when the marriage took place; he would then have been illegitimate, and 14 years old in 1187. In view of this discrepancy, it might be conjectured that in the annal of 1176 "Reginald" should be read instead of "Olaf": but the annal of 1187 implies that Reginald was more than 14 years old in 1187.

knew not, by reason of his tender youth, how to rule, could by no means have governed a people made subject to him. And this was the cause for which the Manx people appointed Reginald their king.

1188

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, pp. 78-80

In the year 1188, Reginald, Godfrey's son, began to reign over the islands.

In the same year Muirchertach,[1] a man vigorous and powerful in the whole kingdom of the islands, was killed.

1188

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 120.[2]

William, bishop in the Orkneys, died.[3]

1188

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 96-97

In the year 1188, Philip, the king of the French; and Henry, the king of the English; and count Richard, of Aquitaine; and Philip, count of Flanders; and the archbishops, and bishops, and earls, and barons, and innumerable people of the rich and the poor, [and] nobles of either sex, moved by internal inspiration, devoutly received the sign of salvation.[4]

[1] *Murcardus.*

[2] With dominical and paschal letters of 1188.

[3] DP read (180, 324): "The death of William, bishop in the Orkneys"; A (Fl., iii, 519): "Bishop William [died]" (all with d.l. and p.l.).

This William was the successor of William the Old [† 1168], and predecessor of Biarni [† 1222], according to the List of Bishops of Norway (Langebek, vi, 619; B.Cl. **19**, iii, 181).

Fl., ii, 515: "When bishop William the later was dead, Biarni, the son of Kolbein Hruga, was consecrated as bishop after him. And he was the greatest chieftain, and a dear friend of earl Harold. Bishop Biarni had a great number of relatives [*frændbaa[l]ẽ*] in the islands."

[4] Chronicle of Holyrood, 46, s.a. [1188] (there is a gap after 1187; the next year is 1189): "On a Sabbath-day [Saturday], a decisive battle [*discrimen belli*] was fought between the Christians and the pagans; and the true cross was captured at Jerusalem: and Christianity was grievously confounded.

"In the same year, Henry, bishop and cardinal, formerly the abbot of Clairvaux, was sent by the lord pope to king Philip, and to Henry, the king

Henry, king of England,[1] held a conference at Ge[dding]ton, after the Purification of the blessed Mary,[2] with the bishops, earls, barons, and his true men (both clergy and laymen), with regard to diverse causes and affairs. And there many received the cross (although not unconditionally). And the king appointed and firmly decreed that tenths of all their properties[3] throughout England should be given to succour the land of Jerusalem, which God has appointed for our redemption.[4]

The cardinal Henry, bishop of the church of Albano, formerly abbot of Clairvaux, died in that place.[5]

Richard de Morville, king William's constable, and his wife Avice, and their heir William, gave to God and St Mary and the monks of Melrose, in perpetual alms, the land that is called

of England. [These kings], hearing the apostolic command, and learning the necessity of the entire holy Church, inspired by God, both together took the cross ; and many others, with them. But immediately afterwards, Henry, king of England, laid aside the cross, and waged his accustomed machinations of war against Philip, king of France. And in the following year, [king Henry] died ; namely in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1189. And Richard, his son, succeeded to the throne."

King Henry received the cross on 21st January, 1188, according to B.P., ii, 29-32 ; Hoveden, ii, 334-337 ; R.D., ii, 51-54 : about the 22nd of January, according to G.C., i, 406 Cf. Coggeshall, 23-24 ; W.N., i, 272-274 ; and M.P. (R.S. **57**, i, 330-331).

Events leading up to the crusade are mentioned in C.M., 95, 97, s.aa. 1187 and 1189.

[1] "of England" is struck out by *puncta delentia*.

[2] I.e., after 2nd February, 1188. The conference at Geddington (*Gæitún* in C.M.) is placed on 11th February by G.C., i, 409-412. Cf. B.P., ii, 33 ; Hoveden, ii, 338 ; W.N., i, 275 ; and Canterbury Letters, no. 186 (R.S. **38**, i, 167).

Henry tried to impose upon Scotland the tenth exacted for the crusade. See E.C., 300-301.

He had been asked by pope Clement to use his power in favour of John, bishop of St Andrews (on 16th January, 1188 ; E.C., 301-302). Cf. Edward's letter to Boniface, in Foedera, i, **2**, 933.

[3] *decimas omnium rerum suarum.*

[4] *redemtioni . . . praevidit.*

[5] I.e., in Clairvaux. But he died, according to B.P., "at Arras in Flanders" (ii, 56 ; "in Francia" ibid., ii, 55) : cf. Hoveden (ii, 355). Henry had been sent by pope Clement III to conciliate Henry II and Philip II, near the end of 1188—after November 18th—; see B.P. (ii, 51) and Hoveden (ii, 355). He had been made cardinal, and bishop of Albano, in 1179, in the council of 5th-19th March (see E.C., 270 ; B.P., i, 238 ; Hoveden, ii, 171 : cf. R.D., ii, 10).

Park, as their charter testifies.[1] May their propitious alms ever be in eternal memory!

Hugh, the bishop of St Andrew the apostle, died.[2]

Silvanus, the fourth abbot of Rievaulx, humbly and unreservedly resigned his stewardship to God, at Dundrennan.[3]

1188

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 212, s.a. 1188[4]

Olaf Ua-Daigri went to Iona on pilgrimage. And he died in Iona, after excellent repentance.[5]

ca. 1188

Giraldus Cambrensis, Topographia Hibernica, book II, c. 11; Rolls Series, no. 21, vol. v, p. 94

Of the northern islands, over nearly all of which the Norwegians have dominion.

In the northern ocean, beyond Ulster and Galloway, are various islands—namely the Orcades, and the Incades, and many others—, over nearly all of which the Norwegians have obtained dominion and mastery. For although [these islands] lie far nearer to other regions, yet this nation [of Norway], the

[1] See the Chartulary of Melrose, no. 108 (1175 × 1189). Richard died in the following year; Avice, in 1191. This grant was confirmed by their son, William.

Other grants by Richard de Morville to the monastery of Melrose will be found in the same chartulary, nos. 94 (given at the same time as 108), 106, 107, 110.

[2] Hugh died in August, 1188 (E.C., 298). According to Bower, i, 358, 496, Hugh died on 4th August, within 6 miles of Rome; apparently upon his homeward way.

For the papal letters of 1188 concerning the St Andrews controversy, see E.C., 296-305; L.A., 273-274; P.L. **204**, 1287-1291; or Mansi, Concilia, xxii, 544-547. Hugh's successor was elected in 1189.

On 13th March, 1188, pope Clement III gave his privilege to the Scottish church, which he declared to be immediately subject to the Roman see (E.C., 299-300; P.L. **204**, 1318; or Mansi, xxii, 548). This privilege was confirmed by pope Celestine III, on its fourth anniversary (P.L. **206**, 921; Mansi, xxii, 613).

[3] Silvanus had been a papal envoy to Scotland in 1182. See E.C., 282-286. He died in 1189. See year 1167.

[4] With f.n. and e. of 1188. Similarly also in A.L.C., i, 178.

[5] Similarly in F.M., iii, 80, s.a. 1188.

explorer of the ocean, is accustomed to lead a life of piracy more than any other nation. Hence too all their expeditions and wars are fought in naval warfare.[1]

And it is to be noted that both Isidore and Orosius describe that there are thirty-three islands among the Orkneys; and that of these, twenty are uninhabited, thirteen are inhabited. To-day, however, the majority of them is inhabited.[2]

ca. 1188

Giraldus Cambrensis, Topographia Hibernica, book I, c. 26; Rolls Series, no. 21, vol. v, p. 59

Ireland has badgers, but not beavers. [Beavers] are, however, found in Wales; only in the river Teifi at Cardigan. They are also found in Scotland, equally rarely.

ca. 1188

Giraldus Cambrensis, Topographia Hibernica, book III, c. 11; Rolls Series, no. 21, vol. v, pp. 154-155[3]

Concerning the [musical] instruments of Ireland, Wales, and Scotland.

It is to be noted that Scotland and Wales, in emulous discipleship, strive to imitate Ireland in melodies: [Wales] through influence,[4] [Scotland] through intercourse and affinity. But while Ireland employs and delights in two instruments only—the harp, and the psaltery[5]—, Scotland [uses] three:—the harp, the psaltery, and the crowd; and Wales:—the harp,

[1] *navali certamine fiunt.*

[2] According to Groome's Gazetteer, the Orkney group contains "29 inhabited islands, 39 smaller islands used for grazing purposes (locally known as *holms*), and a large number of waste rocky islets or skerries."

The passages referred to by Gerald are in Isidore's Etymologiae, XIV, 6 (P.L. **82**, 513); and Orosius, Historiae, I, 2 (Corpus Scr. Eccl. Lat., v, 29; P.L. **31**, 690). Isidore has copied from Orosius.

[3] The "Topography of Ireland" was written probably in 1188. This chapter begins by describing the "incomparable skill in musical instruments" of the Irish.

[4] *propagationis . . . gratia.*

[5] *cithara . . . et tympano:* i.e. the old harp of Ireland (perhaps still lyre-shaped), and a dulcimer in which the strings were sounded by plucking (cf. Galpin's Old English Instruments of Music, 67-70; London, 1910).

reed-pipes, and the crowd.[1] Also [the Irish] use strings made of copper, not of skin.[2] But in the opinion of many, Scotland to-day has not only equalled Ireland, her instructress, but even far surpasses and excels her in musical skill. And therefore they now seek there also as it were a fountain-head of the art.

ca. 1188

Giraldus Cambrensis, Topographia Hibernica, book III, c. 33; Rolls Series, no. 21, vol. v, p. 179

Of bells, and croziers, and other similar relics of the saints, held in great reverence by the Irish and Scottish people, as well as by the Welsh.

This also I think ought not to be passed over, that the people and clergy of Ireland and Scotland, as well as of Wales, are accustomed to hold in great reverence the portable bells,[3] and staffs of the saints—bent over in the upper part, and covered with gold and silver, or with copper—; to such an extent that they dread to take an oath upon them, and break it, far more than upon the evangels. Indeed, by some occult power, implanted in them as it were by God; in addition also by the vengeance after which those saints seem especially to thirst, despisers [of these relics] are very often punished, and heavy penalties are inflicted upon [their] violators.

1189

Giraldus Cambrensis, De Promotionibus Gaufridi Eboracensis Archiepiscopi, c. 7; Rolls Series, no. 21, vol. iv, pp. 374-375

And when [Geoffrey] had deliberated about this[4] very long and very earnestly with the clerics and parsons of his church, he at last conceded to the instancy and very urgent petition of all, that he consented to be ordained, although unwillingly and regretfully. For it had been his purpose and fixed intention not to consent to be ordained or consecrated by any other than the chief pontiff. Overcome, however, by the insistence of his

[1] *cithara, tibiis, et choro* (see Galpin, u.s., 157-159; 73-79).
[2] *aeneis . . . chordis, non de corio factis.*
[3] *campanas bajulas.*
[4] The question of his election to the archbishopric of York.

[clergy], he received the rank of the archiepiscopate by the laying-on of hands of his suffragan, John, the bishop of Galloway: altogether refusing that this should be done by his principal—and almost single—suffragan, Hugh, the bishop of Durham; since [Hugh] had opposed [Geoffrey's] election to the extent of his power, and had hitherto been his opponent in almost everything that he did.

1189

Giraldus Cambrensis, De Promotionibus Gaufridi Eboracensis Archiepiscopi, c. 8; Rolls Series, no. 21, vol. iv, pp. 375-376

Meanwhile, when the king of England had called the king of Scotland to his court, by letter and envoys, for the serious causes of the dissension that had long ago sprung up concerning the boundaries of the kingdoms, [the king of Scotland] refused to come at all, unless he had the elect of York to meet and conduct him. And so when the [archbishop-]elect had, at the king's command, conducted him, not without great expense, first to London, and afterwards to Canterbury, meanwhile the king, his brother, suddenly caused him to be deprived and despoiled of the two castles mentioned above, namely Baugé and Langeais[1]; and other lands that he had had, by his father's gift, in those territories.

Hearing this, the [archbishop-]elect [Geoffrey] sent a message to [William,] the king of Scotland, saying that since this injury and loss had occurred to him in the conduct that he had afforded him, [William] should by every means obtain by request from [Geoffrey's] brother that, for [William's] sake, restitution should be made. But, although [William] promised definitely that he would attend to this sooner than to his own affairs, yet when he had concluded his own affairs according to his wishes, (since injuries sink deeper than benefits) perhaps recalling and reflecting upon former humiliations, stored away in the depth of his mind, he made no mention at all of the affair of the [archbishop-]elect, but returned toward Scotland from Canterbury, as quickly as he could.

[1] "Baugé in Anjou, and Langeais in Touraine" ibid., c. 4, p. 368.

1189

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 97

In the year 1189, Arnold, the abbot of Melrose, was elected to the charge of souls of Rievaulx, on the sixth day before the Nones of March, the fifth day of the week.[1] And Rayner,[2] the abbot of Kinloss, a monk of our church, was elected abbot at Melrose, on the tenth day before the Kalends of April, the fifth day of the week[3]; and Ralph, his prior, received the charge of souls of Kinloss after him.

Roger, a relative and the chancellor of king William, was elected to the bishopric of St Andrew the apostle, at Perth, on the Ides of April, the sixth day of the week.[4] . . .

Henry, the king of England, and duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, died, at the [fortified] town of Chiron, on the day before the Nones of July, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign[5]; and he was buried at Fontevrault, in the abbey of the nuns serving God there. To him succeeded Richard, his son, the count of Aquitaine, on the third day before the Nones of September, a Sunday[6]; being crowned at London, with great honour, by Baldwin, the archbishop of Canterbury; and by the other bishops and prelates of England.

Ralph, the second abbot of Coupar, died, on the Kalends of August, the fifth day of the week[7]; and Adam, the sub-prior of Melrose, succeeded him.[8]

[1] I.e., Thursday, 2nd March, 1189.

[2] See years 1174, 1194.

[3] I.e., Thursday, 23rd March.

[4] I.e., Friday, 13th April; but 13th April was a Thursday in 1189. Roger was a son of Robert, 3rd earl of Leicester († 1190), and of Petronilla de Grentemesnil; therefore a cousin of king William. He was consecrated in 1198, and died in 1202. Cf. D.B., 10-12.

Roger was succeeded in the chancellery by Hugh de Sigillo (in 1189; not in 1188, as Hoveden says: E.C., 305; L.A., 278).

[5] I.e., 6th July, 1189. Henry II succeeded on the death of Stephen (25th October, 1154); and was crowned on 19th December, 1154.

[6] I.e., Sunday, 3rd September, 1189.

[7] I.e., Thursday, 1st August; but the 1st of August was a Tuesday in 1189.

For this Ralph (who succeeded in 1171), see Rogers' Cupar, i, 2-3.

[8] Chronicle of Holyrood, 46 (also in facsimile on the frontispiece), s.a. 1189; "On the Kalends of August, Ralph, the abbot of Coupar, died; and Adam succeeded him." See year 1194.

Silvanus, of pious memory, formerly abbot of Rievaulx, died, on the seventh day [1] before the Ides of October, at Byland; and he was buried with honour there.[2]

Richard de Morville, king William's constable, our associate, died.[3]

The emperor Frederick died, drowned in a river.[4]

[1] I.e., 9th October.

[2] See year 1188.

[3] Richard de Morville had been one of the hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty of York (1175); and had been excommunicated in the course of the St Andrews controversy (1181).

[4] Frederick I (Barbarossa) set out upon the crusade in 1189, and died in 1190. See R.S. **49**, ii, 61-62; **51**, ii, 358-359; **66**, 24; **68**, ii, 64, 83-84; **84**, i, 159, 184; **57**, ii, 344, 365; **82**, i, 284, 329: and the Itinerary of Richard I (R.S. **38**, i, 43, 54-55). Cf. Ansbertus, ed. Tauschinski, Codex Strahoviensis, 14-15, 72 (ed. Dobrowsky, 21, 103-104); Arnoldus, Chronica Slavorum, M.G.H., Scriptores, xxi, 171-175; and other writers, ibid., xx, 321-322; xxi, 476-477, 566; xxii, 339-340, 345-346; xxiii, 110, 161-162.

PART X

Latter Part of William's Reign

1189, December

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 98

In the year 1190, William, the king of the Scots, gave to Richard, the king of the English, ten thousand marks of gold and silver for his dignities, and liberties, and honours, which he had had before the war; and for Berwick and Roxburgh, which king Henry had forcibly retained during sixteen years. And so, by God's assistance, he worthily and honourably removed [Henry's] heavy yoke of domination and of servitude[1] from the kingdom of the Scots.[2]

[1] *ejus dominationis et servitutis jugum grave.*

[2] This passage is copied in folio 53 (p. 233).

See the original treaty, in Foedera, i, 1, 50; National MSS. of Scotland, i, no. 46; L.A., 282-284; Hearne's Black Book, i, 36-40; etc. Cf. Bain, i, no. 196; E.C, 307-309; Fordun, i, 271-273; Langtoft, ii, 32.

In Melrose no. 16 (at Restalrig; ? 1190), king William says:—"It has behoved me to pay money both for the restoration of my whole kingdom to its former liberty, and for myself, and my ransom from captivity"; and promises that no prejudice shall result to the Cistercian order because of what they have voluntarily done for the relief of the kingdom.

Richard's charter (1) restored to William "his castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, as his own, to be possessed in perpetuity, by hereditary right, by him and by his heirs." (2) "Moreover, we have quitted to him all compacts which our good father, Henry, king of England, extorted by new charters, and by [William's] capture; on such terms, that he shall do to us, entirely and fully, all that the king of Scotland, Malcolm, his brother, did by right to our predecessors, and ought by right to have done; and that we shall do to him whatever our predecessors did by right to the aforesaid Malcolm, and ought by right to have done: namely, in conduct, in his coming to the court, and in his dwelling at the court, and in his returning from the court; and in procurations, and in all liberties, dignities, and honours, rightfully due to him, according to what is accepted by four of our nobles selected by king William himself, and by four of his nobles selected by us." (3) March-lands of Scotland were to be restored, "and brought back to the state in which they were, before his capture." (4) All

1189

Chronicle of the Canons of Huntingdon, in Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 212

This William was captured near Alnwick in the ninth year of his reign; and was released in the following year. And in the twenty-fifth year of his reign,[1] Richard, the illustrious king of England, restored to him his [fortified] towns.[2]

1190

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 99, s.a. 1190

The blood of Jews was poured out like [that of] cattle, in many places through England; and especially in York, where they mutually slew one another. And therefore they were all expelled.[3]

Earl David married the sister of Randolph, earl of Chester,

lands held in Huntingdon, and in other English counties, were to be restored to William and his heirs; they were also to retain the lands granted to William by Henry. (Cf. 1190, note.) (5) The allegiance of his vassals was restored to him, "and all the charters which our father had from him through his capture"; "but the oft-mentioned king William shall become our liege man, for all the lands for which his predecessors were the liege men of our predecessors; and has sworn fealty to us and to our heirs."

William wished clause (4) to apply to the northern counties of England—Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire—, but failed to carry the point, either with Richard or John (E.C., 311, 320-321, 325, 329).

[1] I.e., after 9th December, 1189.

[2] *opida;* i.e., Roxburgh and Berwick.

The other chronicles of 1291 and the Commissioners' abstracts omit to mention the release. The chronicle of London quotes from B.P. the statement that the king of Scotland became the liegeman of king Richard I (Palgrave, 107). King Edward in his letter to Boniface (Foedera, i, 2, 933) says: "And after the decease of the said king Henry, the same king William, coming to Canterbury, did homage to Richard, king of England, the son and heir of the said Henry."

One of the competitors (? Bruce) held the release to have been illegal (Palgrave, 21-22).

[3] For the massacres of the Jews, see R.D., ii, 75-76. The massacre at York took place on 16th March, 1190 (see also B.P., ii, 107; but W.N., ii, 308-322, says on 17th March). There had been an outbreak against the Jews in the previous year, in London, at king Richard's coronation (3rd September).

by name Matilda, on the first Sunday after the Assumption of St Mary.[1]

[1] I.e., on Sunday, 19th August, 1190. Stevenson says, erroneously, the 26th: other writers have followed him.

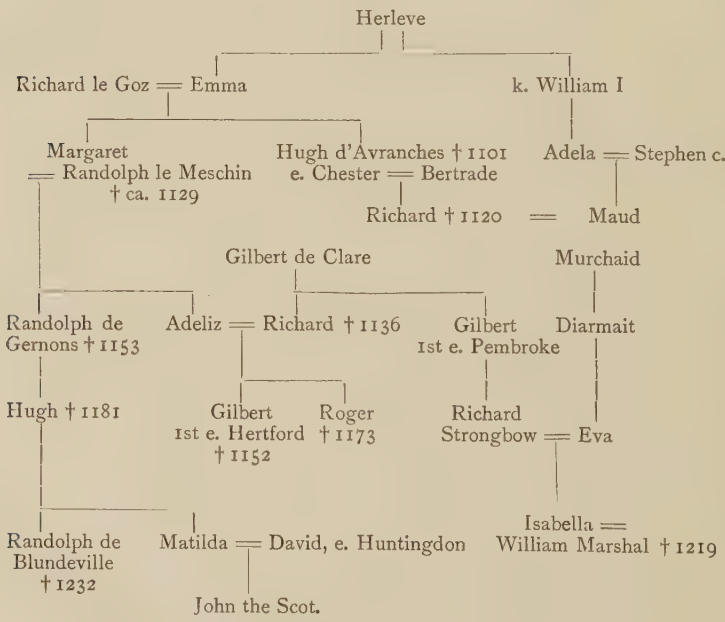
Cf. B.P. and Hoveden, s.a. 1190 (E.C., 310; L.A., 286).

Matilda's mother appears in the 1185 inquisitions, Rotuli de Dominabus, 8: "Matilda, countess of Chester, is in the donation of the lord king, and was the daughter of Robert, earl of Gloucester, the son of king Henry I; and she is 50 years old, and more. . . ."

Fordun names Randolph's sister: "the most noble girl, Matilda, daughter of Hugh, the former glorious earl of Chester, son of the most famous Randolph, the most famous earl of the same" (c. 30; i, 281). Fordun gives also a list of earl David's possessions (ibid.). Cf. years ? 1114, 1219, 1233.

On 24th June, 1190, the liberties, etc., of the honour of Huntingdon were confirmed to earl David by king Richard, as king David had had them in the time of king Henry I (Foedera, i, 1, 48; L.A., 284-286; Bain, i, no. 205).

David's son, John the Scot, inherited the earldom of Chester through his mother, in 1232. For earls of Chester cf. notes under years 1072, 1098, 1124, 1153. Their pedigree may be shown in a table:—


Herleve
Richard le Goz = Emma
k. William I
Margaret = Randolph le Meschin † ca. 1129
Hugh d'Avranches † 1101 e. Chester = Bertrade
Adela = Stephen c. Blois
Richard † 1120 = Maud
Gilbert de Clare
Murchaid
Randolph de Gernons † 1153
Adeliz = Richard † 1136
Gilbert 1st e. Pembroke
Diarmait
Hugh † 1181
Gilbert 1st e. Hertford † 1152
Roger † 1173
Richard Strongbow = Eva
Isabella = William Marshal † 1219
Randolph de Blundeville † 1232
Matilda = David, e. Huntingdon
John the Scot.

See the table in L.A., 287.

1190-1191

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 98, s.a. 1190

Philip, the king of France; and Richard, the king of England; and Philip, count of Flanders; and Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury[1]; and many others—archbishops and prelates, princes and dukes, nobles and wealthy men, and innumerable people—humbly abandoned for Christ their kingdoms, and countries, and dignities, and set out for Jerusalem. And they came as far as the city of Messina in Sicily; and there they delayed, the entire winter, until the month of April.[2] . . .

1191

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 99-100

In the year 1191, on the Kalends of January,[3] died Avice, the wife of Richard de Morville, king William's constable.

The king of the Scots gave his daughter Isabel, who had been the wife of Robert de Bruce, to Robert de Ross, at Haddington.[4] . . .

On the fourth day[5] before the Nones of April, pope Clement

[1] Baldwin died at Acre in the same year; on 20th November, according to C.M., 98 (cf. the obituary of Christ Church, Canterbury, in Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i, 57); on the 19th, according to the more trustworthy authority of G.C., i, 488. See R.D., ii, 88; Coggeshall, 255-256; and Richard I's letters, in R.S. **38**, ii, 329-330 (cf. G.C., i, 493-494).

[2] Cf., for this crusade, B.P. (and Hoveden) s.aa. 1190, 1191; and i.a. G.C. (i, 485, 489), Coggeshall (29), R.D. (ii, 86), W.N. (i, 324-325). According to B.P., the crusaders were in Messina from 14th September, 1190, to 10th April, 1191 (ii, 124-162). Cf. also Ansbertus (1863 ed.), 76.

The departure of kings Richard and Philip is used as a means of dating, in Kelso, no. 256.

[3] 1st January, 1191.

[4] For Isabel's earlier marriage, see year 1183. Her great-grandson by her later marriage, William de Ross, was a competitor for the crown in 1291. Foedera, i, **2**, 775.

[5] 2nd April. The day of Clement III's death is variously given by continental sources; see Jaffé, ii, 576 (1888). Benedict (ii, 161, 206) says that it was the fourth before the Ides of April, the Wednesday before Coena Domini, the day of Richard I's departure from Messina: i.e., Wednesday, 10th April, 1191. Benedict says that Hyacinthus was elected on the same day.

Perhaps in the Melrose Chronicle we should read "Ides" instead of "Nones."

[III][1] died; and he was succeeded on the following day by Celestinus III, who was also [called] cardinal Hyacinthus.

On the third day[2] before the Kalends of April, the king of France entered his ships, upon his voyage to the land of Jerusalem; and the king of England, and the count of Flanders, conducted him, with great glory, upon their galleys.

On the fourth day[3] before the Ides of April, the king of England entered his ships with his army[4]; with a hundred and fifty-six ships from his own land, and twenty-five freight-ships.[5] And he took with him his sister, Joanna; and the maid of Navarre, to be made his wife.[6]

The king of England appointed Arthur, duke of Brittany, his heir, of England as well as of his other lands, if he should die without children. And he caused this to be confirmed by the oath of his bishops, and earls, and barons.[7]

There was an eclipse of the sun upon the eve of St John

[1] In the text, "IIII."

[2] 30th March.

[3] 10th April. This and the previous date are given also by Benedict (ii, 161), from whom they may here be derived.

[4] At Messina. Cf. above, 1190-1191, note.

[5] *cum CL. navibus terre sue, et vi., et buccis xxv.;* perhaps some word has fallen out, after *vi.*

[6] This was Berengaria, daughter of Sanchius, king of Navarre. See Benedict, ii, 157, 161, 166-167. The marriage took place on Sunday, 12th May, 1191.

Joanna had married William, king of Sicily (Benedict; i, 158, 167; ii, 101-102, 202-203). Upon the death of William, in 1189, Tancred usurped the kingdom. Richard demanded from Tancred Joanna's possessions and dowry. The dispute was settled by a payment of money, and the contract of marriage between one of Tancred's daughters and Arthur of Brittany (Benedict, ii, 132-138).

[7] Arthur († 1202 ×) was the son of Geoffrey, Henry II's son; and was thus the legal heir to the throne. His mother was Constance († 1201), daughter of Conan, duke of Brittany, and of Margaret, a daughter of earl Henry of Northumberland († 1152). See D.K., 68.

According to W.N. (i, 335-336), William, king of Scotland, was drawn into a treaty to secure the succession of Arthur (cf. Hemingford; and Devizes, 12, 27, 28).

Arthur (born 29th March, 1187) was considered by the Bretons to be a re-incarnation of king Arthur (W.N., i, 235). He was declared king Richard's heir (15th October × 11th November) in 1190 (R.D., ii, 85-86; R.W., i, 183; B.P., i, 135, 137). Cf. Foedera, i, 1, 52-53. This part of C. M. was perhaps written in 1197.

the Baptist, the ninth day before the Kalends of July, a Sunday, at the sixth hour.[1]

1192

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 80

In the year 1192, a battle was fought between Somerled's sons, Reginald and Angus. Many were wounded and fell in that battle; but Angus obtained the victory.

1192

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 100

In the year 1192, Richard, abbot of Jedburgh, died; and Ralph, a canon of the same church, succeeded him, on the fourth day before the Kalends of June.[2]

Sir Everard, of pious memory, the first abbot of Holme Cultram, died; and Gregory, his under-cellarer,[3] succeeded him.

Philip, count of Flanders, died in the land of Jerusalem.[4] And after his death, Philip, king of the French, returned to France without delay, through greed of the land of promise.[5] And contrary to the peace and compact and justice and oath that he had sworn, he (like a pagan, not a Christian) unjustly invaded, seized, and cruelly destroyed, the king of England's lands, manors, towns, and castles, in Normandy.[6]

[1] I.e., between 11 a.m. and noon on Sunday, 23rd June, 1191. There was an annular eclipse, visible in Europe, on this day, at 11½ a.m. (Paris time; L'Art). This eclipse is recorded by many chroniclers; and in words very similar to those of the Melrose Chronicle, in the Annals of Anchin, and in Andreas Silvius (B.R., xviii, 542, 557).

[2] I.e., on 29th May, Richard was elected in 1174; Ralph died in 1205.

[3] *subcellerarius* in MS. (*subcellarius* in Stevenson's text). Similarly Richard, whose death is noted above, was cellarer of Jedburgh before he was promoted to the abbacy. Cf. also year 1214.

Everard was appointed in 1150. Adam, a successor of Gregory, died in 1223.

[4] Philip died a short time before the surrender of Acre (cf. W.N., i, 357), on 1st June, 1191, according to B.P., ii, 167-168 (cf. Hoveden, iii, 111).

[5] G.C. says that Philip was "led by greed of Flanders" (ii, 88; cf. i, 512-513; Coggeshall, 34; W.N., i, 356-358).

Cf. Ansbertus (1863 ed.), 78.

[6] Cf. Hoveden, iii, 205; W.N., 389-390; and the Itinerary (R.S. 38, i, 443).

1192

List of Cistercian Foundations to 1234; J.B.A.A., vol. xxvi, p. 290, s.a. 1192

In the same year, on the twelfth day before the Kalends of February,[1] the abbey of Glenluce[2] [was created].

1193

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 100-101

In the year 1193, William, king of the Scots, gave his daughter Margaret to Eustace de Vesci, at Roxburgh. He had got her by the daughter of Adam de Hythus.[3]

King William sent from Roxburgh two thousand marks of silver, for the ransom of Richard, king of England.[4]

[1] I.e., on 21st January, 1192.

[2] *de Valle Lucis.*

The Cistercian Foundations to 1247 (363) places s.a. 1190 the foundation of Glenluce (*de Glenlus*) ; and again s.a. 1192 (*de Valle Lucis*).

[3] See E.C., 320, 334. Her grandson, William de Vesci, was a competitor for the crown in 1291 (Foedera, i, 2, 775 ; where Margaret is called Margery).

[4] This paragraph is copied on fo. 53 (p. 234).

Cf. the same Chronicle of Melrose, 101 : "Many men eagerly laid snares, in various places, for Richard, king of England ; that he might be taken and betrayed, while he was returning from the land of promise in the month of November, after the king of France. At last, by God's will, he was taken prisoner by the vassals of Leopold, [duke] of Austria" (*Limpoldicis Austrie ;* read *Limpoldi ducis*), "and was taken unwillingly where he would not, and placed in custody, in grief. And he was afterwards sent to lord Henry, the emperor of Germany ; and he kept him reverently in his power for a year, and longer, until he gave hostages, and ransom. . . ."

Fordun says (Annals, c. 21 ; Skene's ed., i, 274) : "William the king of Scotland, altogether voluntarily [*ex sua mera voluntate*] sent for this purpose" (i.e., as a contribution to king Richard's ransom) "from Scotland, gratuitously [*libere*], from the royal treasures, 2,000 marks." Thenceforward, he continues, there was great concord and amity between the two kings, and between their kingdoms. But if a generous act of the Scottish king had had so great effect, the English chroniclers would surely have recorded that act ; and they do not mention William's contribution to the levy.

For the circumstances of Richard's capture and release, see Ansbertus (1863 ed.), and Hoveden, R.D., and W.N.

Richard was taken prisoner by Leopold, duke of Austria, on the 20th of December, 1192 (according to R.D., ii, 106 ; followed by the Itinerary ;

R.S. **88**, i, 442-443. See emperor Henry's letter to Philip Augustus, king of France, written on the 28th December, 1192, in Hoveden, iii, 195-196; Philip's letter to Leopold, in Ansbertus, 83-84; and the letters written to pope Celestine III by Eleanor, and by Walter, archbishop of Rouen, in Giles's Peter of Blois, ii, 58-63, i, 186-187; also in B.R., xix, 277-279, 334-335; and in P.L. **206**, 1262-1265; **207**, 187-190).

Leopold made conditions, before handing Richard over to the emperor (see Leopold's letter of 14th February, 1193; in Ansbertus, 80-83). Leopold's principal terms were that Richard should pay 100,000 marks, to be equally divided between the emperor and the duke; should marry Eleanor of Brittany to one of Leopold's sons; and should give the emperor military service against Tancred, king of Sicily.

An agreement with the emperor and Richard was reached on 22nd March, 1193 (Hoveden, iii, 199; Newburgh, i, 387-388. Cf. Richard's letter of 26th March, in R.S. **88**, ii, 361-362). The emperor declared that he was ready to make a defensive and offensive alliance with Richard (see his letter to Richard's subjects, written on the 19th April, 1193; in Hoveden, iii, 210). The emperor undertook also to make peace between Richard and Philip (Coggeshall, 60).

In a letter written by him on the 19th of April, 1193, Richard professed to be very well satisfied with the bargain (Hoveden, iii, 210).

A later agreement, made on 29th June, 1193, is reported in full by Hoveden (iii, 214-216. Newburgh says that it was made on the 28th of June; i, 387-388). In this treaty, the former provisions were renewed; but for military service against Tancred, an additional payment of 50,000 marks was substituted. Of the 100,000 marks, the emperor was to have got 70,000 (see Richard's letter, in Hoveden, iii, 210): Leopold's 50,000 marks were now to be made up with 20,000 of the additional 50,000 (see Newburgh, i, 398; Hoveden, iii, 216).

The emperor undertook also to crown Richard king of Provence, and to give him lordship over other lands. These were lands over which the emperor had no authority. (See Hoveden, and letters of the emperor and of Richard, written on 20th and 22nd December, 1193; Hoveden, iii, 225-227.)

Hoveden says that Richard had acknowledged the overlordship of Henry over England (iii, 202-203), and had promised a yearly tribute of 5,000 pounds of sterlings. Some of the conditions enforced upon him were considered unjust (Diceto, ii, 113). The pope, Celestine III, on June 6th, 1194, wrote a mandate authorizing the absolution of Leopold (who seems to have been excommunicated; see Ansbertus, 82), on condition that he promised obedience, gave up Richard's hostages, and abandoned other demands (Diceto, ii, 119). The emperor remained under excommunication till his death.

Richard was released on 4th February, 1194 (see the letter of Walter, archbishop of Rouen, in R.D., ii, 112). C.M. (101-102, s.a. 1194) gives an account of Richard's return to England, on 13th March; his coronation, on 17th April; and his subsequent campaign against Philip Augustus.

The total ransom was fixed at 150,000 marks of pure silver, after

Joceline, bishop of Glasgow, gave to God and St Mary and the monks of Melrose the church of the bishop St Kentigern, at Hassendean, in perpetual alms, for the salvation of his soul, and the souls of his predecessors and successors; in presence of many witnesses, as his charter testifies.[1] May his blessed soul ever be in eternal glory, and happy memory!

Duncan, Gilbert's son, of Galloway, gave to God and St Mary and the monks of Melrose a certain part of their land in Carrick, that is called Maybole, in perpetual alms, for the salvation of his soul, and of the souls of all his relatives; in presence of bishop Joceline, and many other witnesses, as his charter testifies.[2] . . .

the Cologne standard of weight. For the last 50,000, hostages were accepted.

150,000 marks (of 8 oz.) were 100,000 pounds (as in Diceto, ii, 110; Newburgh, i, 398), or 400,000 Tournois or Angevin pounds (containing 3 oz. of fine silver). Rigordus, followed by the Chronicle of S. Denis, says that the ransom was 200,000 marks (B.R., xvii, 37, 378), or 400,000 Paris pounds; erroneously. For the currency, v.i.a. E. W. Robertson's Historical Essays (1872), 44, 73.

The levy was raised in Richard's French dominions as well as in his kingdom of England (Hoveden, iii, 225). William of Newburgh describes the levy thus (R.S. **82**, i, 399): ". . . The king's collectors [*executores*] therefore pressed the matter in all the territories [*finibus*] of England, sparing none; and no distinction was made between cleric and layman, secular and religious, townsman and rustic: but all without distinction were compelled to pay for the king's ransom the prescribed amount of money [*indictum . . . pecuniae modum*], either according to the extent of their wealth [*juxta vires substantiae suae*], or according to the amount of their revenues [*reddituum quantitatem*]. . . ."

William, king of Scotland, contributed to the aid of his overlord a sum of 2,000 marks. If the number is correctly recorded, and if these marks were of the Cologne standard, it would follow that the dominions held by William in allegiance to Richard were estimated at not less than one seventy-fifth part of the value of all Richard's dominions. Since Richard's dominions exceeded 150,000 square miles, the deduction might be drawn that William's fiefs were not less in extent than 2,000 square miles. His contribution seems to have been paid for at least four Scottish counties, as well as for Huntingdon and his other English possessions.

[1] See Melrose, nos. 121, 122, and 124 (1195). Cf. Morton's Monastic Annals, 272; and the note below.

[2] For a royal confirmation of this charter, see the Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, ii, 28, no. 142 (of January, 1430).

The churches of Hassendean and Maybole are named in the papal

? 1193

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 80

In the year 1193,[1] Michael, the bishop of the islands, died at Fountains; and Nicholas succeeded him in the bishopric.[2]

1192-1194

Eirspennill's Sverri's Saga, cc. 110-116; Unger's Konunga Sögur, pp. 122-128[3]

Of Hallkel.

Hallkel, son of John, Hallkel's son, married Ragnhild, daughter of earl Erling [Skakki], and of Kristín, king [Sigurd Crusader's] daughter. Hallkel had a plot in hand, in the secret of which were many men with him. Hallkel had received from Sverri[4] baron's rank, a little while before.

Sigurd was the name of a son of earl Erling [Skakki]. He was an illegitimate son.[5] He had then been long with king Sverri, in good favour. He was aware of this plot, along with Hallkel.

Olaf, a kinsman-in-law of earl Harold [Matad's son], was also in this plot along with them.

Sigurd was named the son of king Magnus, Erling's son, and son of Gyríd, Dag's daughter.[6] Sigurd was then with

privileges to Glasgow of 1170, 1175, 1179, 1182, 1186 (Glasgow, nos. 26, 32, 51, 57, 62).

Duncan, Gilbert's son, appears to have obtained the rank of earl of Carrick, 1214 × 1216: see Melrose, nos. 193, 192.

[1] The previous annal is of 1193, and describes the capture of king Richard, and his ransom for 100,000 marks. The succeeding annal is of 1204.

[2] Cf. the List of Bishops in the Chronicle of Man, i, 114: "After [Cristinus], [† ? 1186; see year 1154, note] Michael, a Manxman by race, received the bishopric; a man of venerable life, and renowned for his merits; a monk in action no less than in habit. And he ended the last day of his life in good old age, and lies in honour at Fountains." For Nicholas, see years 1210, 1217.

[3] Parallel passages (with different headings) are in Fl.'s Sverri's Saga, c. 104 (ii, 538-643); and in MS A.M. 327, 4° (F.S., viii, 280-292; cc. 118-120): also in Sk., 154-161.

Fl. has the heading:—"Here begins the tale of the Islanders" (*Thaattr Eyiaskeggia*).

[4] "a fief, and" add F.S. and Sk

[5] "and was at that time king Sverri's foster-son" add Fl., F.S., Sk.

[6] "and of Gyríd, daughter of Aslak the Young" Fl., F.S., Sk.

Hallkel.[1] It was their plan, that they gave Sigurd into the hands of Olaf Earl's-kinsman. Olaf took him with him west beyond the sea in the autumn.[2] Then eight winters had passed, since the fall of king Magnus. Earl Harold received Sigurd King's-son well.[3]

[In the following spring,[4] Olaf and Sigurd went south to the Orkneys, to earl Harold; and they received a good welcome there.[5]]

That same spring,[6] Hallkel went west beyond the sea to earl Harold. They brought this up before the earl, whether he would give some support to king Magnus' son, who had come there.[7] The earl took up [Sigurd's] affair well, and gave him a

[1] "[Sigurd] had then come into the protection and support of Hallkel and Ragnhild" add Fl., F.S., Sk.

[2] Fl. and F.S. read instead:—"[Olaf F.S., Sk.] took the boy with him in the autumn west to Shetland. [Olaf Sk.] had there great possessions."

Before this sentence, this curious passage stands in Fl. and F.S.: "[And Olaf took him with him to Bergen. Olaf was constantly in speech with king Sverri; F.S.] and no suspicion was then aroused.

"But on one occasion, when Olaf's ship was ready, king Sverri said (and they had been conversing previously); 'Thou oughtest now to be true to me, Olaf.' He replied, 'Why speakest thou thus, sir?' King Sverri had a knife in his hand, and he made a thrust with it before him, and said: 'Our enemies' attendant spirits [*fylgiur*] are now hovering here [beside us F.S.].' And when Olaf went into the ante-chamber" ("went from the room" F.S.), "the boy, the king's son, ran there. Olaf said: 'We had a narrow escape there, foster-son.'"

It is possible that Eirspennill might have omitted the passage by an error of *saut du même au même*, jumping from before "and Olaf took him with him to Bergen" to "and Olaf took him with him west." The same passage, however, is absent from Sk. The common ancestor of E. and Sk. cannot have had it; and their common ancestor was very remote. The passage is, therefore, probably a later addition in the versions followed by Fl. and F.S.

[3] This sentence is not in Fl., F.S., Sk.

[4] I.e., in spring of 1193.

[5] This passage is in Fl., F.S., and Sk. That some similar passage has been omitted by E., through a copyist's blunder, is shown by the first words of the following sentence:—"That same spring."

[6] So also in F.S., no doubt correctly. But Fl. and Sk. read: "That [same Sk.] summer." The rest of the sentence reads thus in Fl., F.S., and Sk.: " . . . Hallkel, John's son, made ready, and declared that they must go into western piracy; he had a long-ship, well manned; and he sailed [after that F.S.] west to the Orkneys."

[7] Fl., F.S., and Sk., read instead: "And when [Hallkel] and Olaf

good long-ship; because king Magnus had been the greatest friend to the earl. Earl Harold permitted also every man who would to go with them, from his whole dominion.[1]

[c. 111] *Beginning of the Islanders.*

Hallkel and Olaf then gave the king's name to Sigurd. Many men then did him homage, and swore him oaths of fealty. There collected to him a crowd of men, both Orkneymen and Shetlanders.[2] They betook themselves to their ships, and prepared to go east in the summer.

And when they came to Norway, they sailed east along the coast, to the Vik; and they came unexpectedly to Tönsberg. There they found John, the sister's son of king Sverri. They slew there John, and Helgi Bringr, who had formerly carried king Sverri's standard. There fell many of the Birchlegs.[3] After that, they held an assembly there; and Sigurd was taken as king.

This party was called the Islanders.[4]

They went in to Oslo, and all the people of the land submitted to them, through nearly all the Vik.[5] They proceeded peacefully, and let every one enjoy his own property: but because they had a great host,[6] they went with all their force

Earl's-kinsman met, this matter was laid before earl Harold, that a son of king Magnus had come there; and they begged that the earl would give him some support."

[1] "from . . . dominion" not in Fl., F.S., Sk. Fl. and F.S. read: "to go to Olaf and Hallkel and their company."

[2] "Many men, from the Orkneys and from Shetland" Fl.; F.S. and Sk. read "many men—[both Sk.] Orkneymen and Shetlanders."

[3] Or "Birkibeinar." The Birchlegs were a forest militia who supported the descendants of Harold Gilli against the descendants of Sigurd Crusader. They had first appeared in the reign of Magnus Erling's son, (in 1176; H., Magnus Erling's son, cc. 37-44) as the opponents of Magnus and Erling; and they were the devoted supporters of Sverri, and of Hakon, Hakon's son.

[4] Or "Eyiaskeggiar." The name includes the Norwegians who joined the party. "Or Goldlegs" adds Fl.

[5] "and so too in the Vik, wherever they went" Fl., F.S.; "and so too in the Vik" Sk.

[6] "and had but little from the land, they became short of money. They took this plan, to go with all their force . . . " add Fl., F.S., Sk. This omission in Eirspennill may possibly be an error of homoioteleuton; the writer having jumped from *létu hvern sínu ráða* to beyond *tóku their that ráð*.

south to Denmark. And they came as far as Trafn. And they won there merchant-ships, and took there an endless amount of treasure[1]; and then they turned back to Norway, when it was autumn.

[c. 112] *Of the Birchlegs.*

When king Sverri heard of this, he was in Trondhjem. Then he sent a force by the inland route to the Vik; and some leaders were there already. And when they learned that the Islanders were coming from the south to the Vik, the Birchlegs collected together in [Sarps]borg. They were commanded by Sigurd Lord[2]; Philip, son of earl Birgi; Hakon Galinn, sister's son of king Sverri[3]; Peter Steypir[4]; [and] Hiarrandi Hvida.[5] They had between two and three hundred men.[6]

The Islanders heard of this, and proceeded up along the river.[7] They went ashore, and drew up their army. The Birchlegs thought that they had not numbers enough to oppose them, and fled.[8] The Islanders met with no resistance in the Vik; and they went in the autumn[9] north to Bergen, and remained there during the winter.[10]

They wished to have themselves called Gold-legs.

[1] "most of it in clothes, but much in gold and silver" add Fl., F.S.; "in gold, and silver, and clothes" Sk.

[2] A son of king Sverri, and the father of king Guthorm.

[3] Hakon Galinn was the son of Bard, Guthorm's son, and of Cecilia King's-daughter. He was a brother of king Ingi. Cf. Hakon Sverri's son's Saga, in F.S., ix, 59; Eirspennill's Hakon, Guthorm, and Ingi, c. 4 (F.S., ix, 8).

[4] In Fl., *styggr*. Peter Steypir was a son of one of Sverri's step-sisters (see Sverri's Saga, c. 1 in Fl. and F.S.; c. 2 in E.), and therefore first-cousin of Hakon Galinn. Peter married Ingibiorg, daughter of king Magnus Erling's son. Cf. Ingi Bard's son's Saga, in F.S., ix, 99.

[5] "and many companies' leaders besides" add Fl., F.S., Sk.

[6] "had three hundred men" Fl.

[7] "and came to land at [Sarps]borg's Fields" add Fl., F.S., Sk.

[8] Fl., F.S., and Sk., read instead: "But when the Birchlegs saw how great an army the Islanders had, they fled; and the Islanders pursued them, and slew some of them. The Birchlegs fled up into the land. The Islanders met with no resistance thenceforward in the Vik."

[9] "when autumn was well advanced" Fl., F.S., Sk.

[10] Fl., F.S., and Sk., add:—"And they laid all the land south of Stadr under themselves, with its taxes and dues."

[c. 113] *Of the building of a fortress.*

King Sverri had caused a fortress to be built in Bergen, on the rock above Bishop's-garth. The Birchlegs had great companies there during the winter; and their commander was Sigurd Fortress-rock. The Islanders often attacked the fortress-men, and constantly had the worse.[1]

Many men collected to the Islanders during the winter, and did homage. Sigurd Earl's-son had gone over to them from the Birchlegs[2] in the autumn; and he was then the leader of a company, and was a wise man.[3] It happened in spring, one holy day in Lent,[4] that Olaf Earl's-kinsman was standing outside by Olaf's-church, at Bakkar[5]; and he had rested his arm up against the church-[door] pillar. And a certain man in the fortress drew his cross-bow, and struck him in the arm, so that the shaft stood fast in the pillar.[6]

The Islanders sent their host from them in various places, into the bailiwicks.[7] King Sverri sat during the winter in Trondhjem, and had summoned forces from the country-districts. He made preparations always[8] as if the Islanders would come from the south.[9] He went from the north in the

[1] Fl. and F.S. read: "The Islanders often [constantly F.S.] attacked the fortress-men, and yet they could do little but shoot at them. The fortress-men shot in return, and the Islanders most often got the worst of it." Sk.: "The Islanders often made a great attack upon the fortress-men, with shooting; and the fortress-men shot in return. And the Islanders often got the worst of it."

[2] Fl. reads: "from king Sverri." F.S. and Sk. add: "in the Vik."

[3] "was then one of their commanders, and was called a wise man" Fl., F.S.; similarly Sk.

[4] "one holy day, in the beginning of Lent" Fl., F.S., Sk. The first Sunday within Lent was 27th February in 1194; the last, April 3rd, the day of the battle of Floruvágar, and Olaf's death.

[5] Fl., F.S., and Sk., read: "that Olaf Earl's-kinsman attended mass at Olaf's-church in Bakkar, and was standing [outside F.S., Sk.] during the mass, beside the church."

[6] "That was a great wound" add Fl., F.S., Sk.

[7] "into the bailiwicks and various places, because they did not expect king Sverri before the spring was well on" Fl., F.S.; so too Sk., omitting "and various places."

[8] "always" not in Fl., Sk.

[9] "quickly" adds F.S.; Fl. and Sk. read:—"would come [thither, Fl.; from the south, Sk.] at any moment." Fl. and F.S. continue: "The army [of the Birchlegs—many of them—Fl.] lay out in the guild-hall, during the

spring, in Lent; and he had no ship larger than a twenty-bencher, and from that downwards. He went with great speed, south to Bergen; and the Islanders got no news of it, before king Sverri came near the town,[1] on the Saturday[2] next before Palm Sunday. The Islanders[3] held an assembly in the town,[4] and Olaf Earl's-kinsman spoke before the host: "Now we have heard of[5] king Sverri's movements, that he will quickly come upon us; we must now make our plans, whether we are to remain here, and fight, with such force as we have now; or whether you will that we take another plan.[6] Sigurd Earl's-son is now south in Stavanger, with six ships;[7] Eystein Korpr, with three, is in Sogn: that force will be of little assistance to us."[8]

Then Hallkel, John's son, answered: "We have expectation of this," he said, "that we are not lacking in numbers at this time [to meet] with Sverri, if we become not more shiftless, and if evil fate be not more bent upon our downfall in our encounters, than there seems prospect of. Most men seem to me to have been wanting in good plans, [in fighting] with Sverri; and I forebode that we shall conquer him, unless we blunder in carrying out our plans. And this is to be guarded against, because we are no less liable to [blundering] than those to whom it has happened [before[9]]."

winter, until [the king F.S.] went from the north in the spring, in Lent, [from the market-town Fl.]." Similarly Sk., beginning: "He lay in great force in . . ." Here E. may have missed a line.

[1] "before . . . town" not in Fl., F.S.; "near at hand" in Sk.

[2] I.e, 2nd April, 1194. This date is part of the following sentence, in Fl., F.S., Sk.; being there given as the date of the assembly.

[3] "But when the Islanders got news of the king's movements, they" Sk.

[4] "in the town [Bergen]" not in Fl., F.S., Sk.

[5] "the truth about" Sk.

[6] "because many of our army are away" add Fl., F.S., Sk.

[7] "with seven ships" Fl. Here Fl., F.S., Sk., add: "he has to come [sail F.S., Sk.] away from there, to oppose them!" Stavanger is 100 miles south of Bergen. The passage is translated thus in Oldnordiske Sagaer, viii, 198: "and we could sail away, in order to seek them out." The context, however, seems to require the meaning, "we cannot count upon his returning in time to meet them."

[8] "inside Sogne[fiord]" Fl., F.S., Sk. The entrance to Sognefiord is some 50 miles to the north of Bergen. Sverri's army was between.

[9] "before" Fl. Here Fl., F.S., and Sk. add: "Many also were more eager to fight."

Then they went to the ships, and made preparations[1]; and in the evening they put out upon Floruvágar, and lay there during the night.[2] King Sverri came the same evening near to the town, in Bergen, and rowed in to the town in one skiff, while the rest of his army[3] rowed south to Grafdalr by the outer way. The king then got true[4] information of the Islanders. The king went up[5] to Christ's-church; and there the news was that bishop Paul had died in the evening[6]; and his body was then lying in state there, in the church. King Sverri went up to the fortress, and said to the fortress-men that they must get him a force for battle. The king remained but a little while in the town, and rowed to his army. Then he proceeded with his army south to Hvarfnes; [and] then king Sverri went in a boat out to Floruvágar, to spy upon the watch of the Islanders. And there he heard the conversation of the men, and the intentions of Hallkel and his followers, that they should fight, and as soon as it was morning.[7] "This is my advice," said Hallkel, "that we should tie our boats together; then will our host keep together best. Let us give them first a shower of stones,[8] and next let off our arrows[9]; and then let each do his manliest; and then may God defend us."

Then king Sverri went back to his army, and told them the intentions[10] of the Islanders. "We must set on them quickly, and they would be unprepared for us.[11] We must now" said he, "mark all our ships, [and][12] bind linen bands about the prows,

[1] Sk. adds: "and put up the battle-bulwarks on their ships."

[2] "Then . . . night" not in Fl.

[3] "rowed . . . army" omitted in Sk.

[4] "complete true" Fl., F.S.

[5] "ashore upon Hólmr, and up" Sk. The old Christ's-church was built upon the island of Hólmr.

[6] "during the day" Fl., F.S., Sk.

[7] "Hallkel said that they should fight as soon as it began to dawn" Fl., F.S.

[8] "as long as the supply lasts" add Fl., F.S., Sk.

[9] Here Fl. adds: "and after that, let us give them a hand-to-hand fight, and then it will be decided." F.S. reads: "and after that, we must give them an attack that they will remember; then it will quickly be decided." "Let us then give them an attack, and a hand-to-hand fight" Sk. (a conflate reading).

[10] "and disposition" add Fl., Sk.

[11] "instead of their being before-hand with us" add Fl., F.S., Sk.

[12] "now mark . . . and" not in Sk.

in case we set on them before it is light. We must also protect ourselves in the grappling, which we shall have to take part in against the superior height of their gunwales: let us keep our ships free at first, while they are most vehement; look to yourselves at first, and protect yourselves; let then their weapons drive over-board. Let men look to their oars[1]; we shall need them, whichever side conquers."

King Sverri had twenty ships, rather small[2]; while the Islanders had fourteen[3] ships, most of them large.

[c. 114] *Of the Islanders.*

In the morning, at dawn,[4] the Islanders lay tent-less[5]; and next they loosed their cables, and rowed out from the bay. They laid cords between their ships, both fore and aft, and rowed all in line, and intended to look then for king Sverri. But because it was dark, they did not see anything before king Sverri's ships were running at them; and both sides raised the war-cry. Then the Islanders seized the cords,[6] and pulled the ships together. But the ships were running without sail[7]; and each ran upon the other's oars, and broke them across. They drew all their ships into the ropes. Then the Birchlegs' ships ran against them: the battle[8] began then at once. The Islanders attacked vigorously, while the Birchlegs put their shields above them so closely that they were nowhere visible uncovered. They let their ships move about, and made feints also; it was evident that they were accustomed to this work, so skilfully did they go about it.

[c. 115] *The king's urging on of the Birchlegs.*

But when the Islanders began to grow tired, and the sharpest affray[9] abated, the king urged on the Birchlegs, and said:

[1] "to their weapons, and to their oars" Fl., F.S.

[2] "most of them rather small" Fl.; "all small" Sk.

[3] "thirteen" Fl.

[4] I.e., on 3rd April, 1194.

[5] I.e., with their decks cleared for action; "in Floruvágar" add Fl., F.S., Sk. This bay is "now Florevaag, upon Asköen, west of Bergen" (G. Storm).

[6] "most vehemently" add Fl., F.S., Sk.

[7] *at viðum* "under bare poles."

[8] "a hard battle" Sk.

[9] "the sharpest of the shooting-affray" Fl., F.S., Sk.

"Stand up, and make good your names[1]: be now Birchlegs, and let it be seen how your weapons bite."

Then they rose up under their shields, and made a second affray; some threw stones, some shot [arrows]; and they laid their ships so close that some thrust, and some hewed.[2] The Islanders received them manfully; they had now the advantage of their higher gunwales. They came with grappling-hooks against the king's ship; and they slew the forecastlemen, and took the standard, and cleared very nearly all the ships, to the front of the mast. But when they began to board, the king urged on his men. Then the Birchlegs pressed forward against them so boldly that the Islanders drew back; some were slain and some betook themselves back to their ships. Then the Birchlegs got their ship free. The same thing happened to all those who had laid in so close to the large ships, and with whom the Islanders had come to grips[3]; so that they cleared some ships of the Birchlegs. And this encounter was deadly to both sides, but by far the more fell on the king's side.

Then the Birchlegs drew off their ships. Then the king said: "Bear up well, good fellows! Few such affrays can they make us, because[4] they must be no less tooth-sore than we."

But when the Islanders saw that the Birchlegs drew off, they imagined that they must be intending to fly. Then Olaf Earl's-kinsman said: "Let us now do well, because now they are disheartened. And[5] I see that most men fare so, if they go

[1] Instead of "make . . . names," Fl. reads: "take your weapons"; F.S., "raise your weapons"; Sk. (corruptly), "raise your names." According to the Heimskringla (Magnus Erling's son, c. 36), the Birchlegs got their name from using birch-bark to supply deficiency of clothes. The present passage of Eirspennill, if the reading is correct, would imply that there was another interpretation of the name—"firm-footed."

[2] This is probably the true reading. Fl. reads ". . . some shot, some thrust, some hewed; and they laid their ships close in." F.S. reads similarly, but omits "some thrust, some hewed." Sk. agrees with E.; but for "so close that," reads "forward; then."

[3] "so close that the Islanders had come to grips with them; and they cleared" Fl.; "so close to the large ships; and the Islanders cleared" F.S.; "so close, with such ships as the Islanders held on to; but [the Islanders] cleared" Sk. (corruptly).

[4] "because" not in Fl., F.S.; they and Sk. add here: "let us reply well."

[5] "now they . . . And" not in Sk.

against superior force. Let us now follow up the victory, and cut the ropes, and drive them manfully."

All were eager for this, and so now was it done. But when the ships were loosed asunder, and they were to begin rowing forward, they missed the oars; then the ships drifted before the stream.[1] Then the Birchlegs rowed against them, and laid two ships or three to one.

At that moment the fortress-men came out from the town; and they had a long-ship, with a hundred[2] men on board; and they all had coats of ring-mail: that force came well at need.[3] Then the ships of the Islanders were cleared; and as each was cleared, the Birchlegs went from their small skiffs and into the larger ships.

The Islanders had set up king Sverri's standard, the Lure-of-victory, upon the fore-part of their leader's ship; and the Birchlegs saw quite plainly where it was to be looked for. Then the Birchlegs pressed on there, until they got the standard; and next they cleared the ship, from stem to stern.

[c. 116] *Death of many men.*

Sigurd King's-son leapt over-board,[4] and was killed in the channel. Then Lodin, son of Paul Small-eye, and Hallvard Bratti, rowed away on two ships. Olaf Earl's-kinsman leapt over-board,[5] and swam to land. Birchlegs waded out against him, and killed him.[6] Hallkel[7] fell on board his ship, and nearly all his company.[8] Then fell the greater part of[9] the army of the Islanders, [all] except those to whom quarter was given.

The king had said that high-mass should not be sung in the

[1] "each by itself" add Fl., F.S., Sk.

[2] "ninety" Fl., F.S., Sk.

[3] "came to their support well" Fl., F.S., Sk.

[4] "when his ship was cleared" adds Fl.

[5] "when his ship was cleared" add Fl., F.S.; "because . . . " Sk.

[6] "before he came to land" add Fl., F.S., Sk.

[7] "Hallkel's ship was cleared the last, because it had the highest gunwale, and was the best manned. Hallkel . . . " Fl., F.S., Sk.; their reading is probably correct. Here again Eirspennill has probably taken a *saut du même au même.*

[8] "his ship's crew" Fl.

[9] "nearly all" Fl., F.S., Sk.

town until he came from the battle.[1] Now the king rowed in to the town, and caused all the ships to be conveyed in along with him. Then too it was mass-time; and the mass was sung at once.

A little while after the battle died Bard, Guthorm's son[2]; and Benedict the Little; and many men of the [king's] army besides. And when the bodies of Sigurd and Olaf were found, king Sverri caused the body of Sigurd to be exhibited publicly [to show][3] that that was the body of the leader whom this party had had at its head. The body was buried[4] to the south of the choir, in Mary's-church-yard. Hallkel's body was buried in Christ's-church-yard. In Mary's-church-yard[5] a great grave was made, and in it were laid many bodies of the Islanders, and the body of Olaf Earl's-kinsman uppermost.[6]

It is the talk of men that the battle has never been, in which men have conquered against so great gunwale-odds as there were in Floruvágar. There was great difference between them in skill, in the assault[7]; the Islanders were valiant with their weapons, but rather incautious in protecting themselves.

When Sigurd Earl's-son heard these tidings, he sailed south[8] to Denmark. Some of the army followed him, but some scattered various ways, and some took truce.

Eystein Korpr sailed west beyond the sea.[9]

[1] "until . . . battle"; Fl., F.S., and Sk., read instead, "unless it were long past time."

[2] Bard, Guthorm's son, was the husband of Sverri's sister, Cecilia King's-daughter; and the father of king Ingi. Cf. Eirspennill's Hakon, Guthorm, and Ingi, c. 4 (F.S., ix, 8); and Guthorm Sigurd's son's Saga, in F.S., ix, 97.

[3] "and said" Fl., Sk.

[4] "And he bade them bury the body" Fl., F.S., Sk.

[5] "Hallkel's body . . . Mary's-church-yard" not in Fl., F.S., Sk.; omitted through an error of homoioteleuton.

[6] "and . . . uppermost" not in Sk.

[7] Fl. and F.S. add: "and the principal cause of this was that the Birchlegs were more accustomed to fighting." E. has perhaps missed a line. Sk. reads: "in skill; and the principal cause of this was the king's fate, and the assault; because the Birchlegs were more skilful, and more accustomed to fighting."

[8] "he went south along the coast, and as far as Easter Vik, and south to Denmark" Fl., F.S.; similarly Sk., omitting "Easter Vik, and."

[9] "Eystein . . . sea" not in Fl.

1194

William the Breton, De Gestis Philippi Augusti, c. 74; ed. Delaborde, vol. i, p. 197, s.a. 1194[1]

Meanwhile,[2] John Lackland, with earl David [of Huntingdon], and [William] the earl of Arundel, and the citizens of Rouen, and an endless host of Normans, besieged Le Vaudreuil.

Hearing this, the brave king Philip made very great marches from Bituria, where he was, with a few men-at-arms; and arriving in three days unexpectedly, he broke into their camp, and routed them all into the neighbouring woods: capturing and killing many while they fled.[3]

1194

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 102, s.a. 1194[4]

Sir Rayner, the seventh abbot of Melrose,[5] with his seal humbly assigned the pastoral charge to abbot Arnold of Rievaulx, on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of October, a Sabbath[6]; and sir Ralph, abbot of Kinloss,[7] succeeded him,

[1] Also in B.R., xvii, 72.

This is partly derived from Rigord (i, 129-130); who does not mention the presence of earl David.

[2] This happened while king Philip was journeying in the land of count Louis of Blois, where he suffered loss in an ambuscade planned by Richard, king of England (cf. Rigord, i, 129).

Richard's campaign is mentioned by C.M., s.a. 1194.

[3] Cf. Chroniques de Saint-Denis (in B.R., xvii, 381), where it is said that Philip arrived "eight days after they had invested the castle"; and William the Breton's Philippis (ibid., 172; ed. Delaborde, ii, 124-126), which says that Philip "completed in three days a journey of eight days." The Philippis mentions the presence of earl David, but omits the earl of Arundel.

Earl David was witness to a treaty between John, lord of Ireland and count of Mortain, and Baldwin, count of Flanders, for mutual aid against the king of France; at Rouen, 8th September, 1196 (8 Richard I). B.R., xviii, 549, note.

[4] This follows an account of king Richard's return to England, coronation, and campaign in France. King William's presence at the coronation is not mentioned. See E.C., 311-314.

For the terms of conduct confirmed on 7th April, 1194, to Scottish kings in England, see L.A., 294-296. They are copied from Hoveden (E.C., 311-312) in a 1291 chronicle of London (Palgrave, 106-107).

[5] See year 1189.

[6] I.e., Saturday, 17th September, 1194.

[7] See years 1189, 1202.

on the second day of the week, the fourteenth before the Kalends of October.[1]

Adam, abbot of Coupar,[2] resigned; Arnold, prior of Newbattle, succeeded.[3]

1195

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 102

In the year 1195, Gregory, bishop of Rosemarkie,[4] died. After him, sir Reynold, a monk of Melrose, was elected at Dunfermline, on the third day before the Kalends of March, the second day of the week[5]; and he was consecrated on the fourth day before the Ides of September.[6] Oh marvellous disposition of God, from which has proceeded such an election!

Hugh, bishop of Durham, died, on the fifth day before the Nones of March, the sixth day of the week[7]; in the forty-third year of his episcopate.

Reynold, the elect of Rosemarkie, received the award of consecration with honour, from sir John, the bishop of Dunkeld, at St Andrews in Scotland, on the fourth day before the Ides of September, a Sunday.[8]

The church of St Andrew the Apostle at Peebles was dedicated by sir Joceline, the bishop of Glasgow, on the fourth day before the Kalends of November, a Sunday.[9]

William, king of the Scots, renewed his coinage.[10]

[1] I.e., Monday, 18th September: but the 18th was Sunday in 1194.

[2] See year 1189; and C. Rogers, Register of Cupar, i, 3-4.

[3] For Arnold, see C. Rogers, u.s., 4-5.

[4] See year 1161. Gregory's diocese was Ross.

[5] I.e., Monday, 27th February, 1195. For Reynold († 1213), see D.B., 210-211. Cf. year 1213, note. *Reinaldus* is a Latinized form of the Anglo-Saxon *Regenweald* (the same name as Icelandic *Rögnvaldr* "Ronald").

[6] I.e., on 10th September (a Sunday in 1195).

[7] I.e., on Friday, 3rd March, 1195.

[8] I.e., on Sunday, 10th September, 1195 (as above).

[9] I.e., Sunday, 29th October, 1195.

[10] *innovavit monetam suam.*

On 8th March, 1195, pope Celestine III confirmed the possessions of Lindores abbey, which had been founded by earl David, the brother of king William (Lindores, no. 93; cf. 94, Innocent III's confirmation to abbot Guy, 20 Mar. 1199). Other bulls sent to Scotland early in 1195 were Melrose, no. 124 (March 10th); Dryburgh, no. 250 (March 15th); Cambuskenneth, no. 25 (May 13th).

Roger of Hoveden was in Scotland in the year 1195.

1195

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 222, s.a. 1195[1]

The great priest of Iona[2] died.

1195

Eirspennill's Sverri's Saga, cc. 121-124; Unger's Konunga Sögur, pp. 131-133[3]

Of king Sverri.

King Sverri went north to Bergen in the spring.[4] There an assembly had been arranged, that all the bishops who were in Norway should come there, to discuss with the king; because archbishop Eric[5] had then sent his letters north into Norway, and summoned all the bishops to meet him.

All the bishops came to Bergen. Then bishop Paul[6] came there.

The previous summer,[7] the king had had it much in mind to send an army west to the Orkneys, to repay the Orkneymen for their treachery.

[c. 122] *Of the earl and the bishop.*

But when this was heard of in the west, the earl[8] made ready to go east, and with him bishop Biarni, and all the best men from the Orkneys. They came to Norway, to this meeting of the bishops.

The leaders then had conferences between themselves, and this was decided, to send men with letters to the pope; upon this letter was set the seal of king Sverri, and of all the bishops

[1] With f.n. and e. of 1195, in MS. B.

[2] *Sacart mór Ia.* Cf. Reeves, Adamnan, 365. See above, p. 253.

[3] Parallel passages are in Fl.'s Sverri's Saga, c. 106, ii, 644-645; in F.S., viii, 297-301, cc. 124-125; and in Sk., 164-165.

[4] This was two winters after the death of bishop Thorlak in Skálholt, in Iceland († 1193; Icelandic Annals, KOCDEPA).

[5] Eric was appointed archbishop of Trondhjem in 1188; he had been driven out by king Sverri in 1190, and was at this time in Denmark.

[6] "John's son" adds Fl. Paul was the bishop of Skálholt.

[7] I.e. in 1194, the year of the battle of Floruvágar, which took place on 3rd April.

[8] "The earl and bishop Biarni made [these Fl.] plans to prevent it: [that Fl.] the earl . . . " add Fl., F.S., Sk. Again E. seems to have jumped from like to like.

who were there.[1] Bishop Thori[2] set out upon this journey, and with him Richard Black-master.[3] They went upon this errand to pope Celestine.

[c. 123] *Speech of earl Harold.*

Then the king and earl discussed their case. There was then an assembly [appointed][4] out in Christ's-church-yard. The body-guard stood around the king's seat; and [some][5] sat in front. Outside also stood many men, and there was the earl. He[6] began to speak, and said: "Here are now very many good men, did I need for my cause the applause of the people. I am now so old (as may be seen by my beard), that I have gone to the knees of many kings, sometimes with friendship, and often with troublesome pleas. Now is a new trouble come to my hands, the wrath of my lord king Sverri. And yet I am less guilty in this case than is attributed to me.[7] I did not plan the up-rising of the party; but it is true that I did not fight against it: I could not be at enmity with all the people in that land.[8] And the Orkneymen do not entirely obey me; many run out[9] and plunder in Ireland, or in Scotland, or rob merchantmen, and all contrary to my will. And yet it is said that I am quick[10] to punish. But there is no use for long speeches. Having now done as I have, and having thus spoken,[11] I lay [the case][12] in God's power and yours, sir."[13] Then he went forward among the men, and fell at the king's feet.

The king looked round, and was slow to speak; and he said: "A great attack of war hast thou made in Norway, since thou didst raise[14] against this land so strong a party as the

[1] Fl. and F.S. add :—"[and F.S.] who were named before."
[2] Bishop in Hamar.
[3] I.e., a Dominican, and graduate [of Paris].
[4] "appointed" add Fl., F.S., Sk.
[5] "the body-guard" in MS.; but some sat from there forward" Fl., F.S., Sk.
[6] "then the earl came forward, and" Sk.
[7] "more is attributed to me in this than I am guilty of" Fl.
[8] "so long as I am earl there" add Fl., F.S., Sk.
[9] "from the Orkneys" add Fl. and F.S.; "from the islands" Sk.
[10] "not slow" Fl., F.S., Sk.
[11] "and . . . spoken" not in Fl., nor F.S.
[12] "all my case" Fl.; "everything" F.S., Sk.
[13] "and king Sverri's" Fl.
[14] "great war-damage they did in Norway, who raised" Fl., Sk.

Islanders were. And I and my men found that much against our liking.[1] But now the earl has come here, as ye may see, and repents of what he has done,[2] and begs now for mercy; and I will[3] give it to him: I shall require of God that he may give me grace, more than I have deserved: and stand thou up, sir earl,[4] and be at peace with God and me. And I shall declare the terms of agreement between us more at leisure."

[c. 124] *Of the agreement between king Sverri and earl Harold.*

King Sverri had the whole agreement written out, that he made with earl Harold; and he had put down in it all the possessions and lands in Orkney and Shetland that had fallen into the king's hand, and that those men had owned who had fallen in Floruvágar. He laid upon them a three-years' term of ransom, within which time[5] the relatives of the dead should have them for ransom-money[6]; but if they were not ransomed within three years,[7] all fell as a perpetual possession into the king's hand.

The king took under himself the whole of[8] Shetland with all[9] its dues. He set earl Harold over the Orkneys, on this condition, that the king should have the half of all fines[10]; and he set there his bailiffs over it.

Then the earl swore oaths to the king at their parting.

[1] "that was done much against my liking, and my men's" F.S. The sentence is not in Sk.

[2] "done amiss to us" Fl., Sk.; "done against us" F.S.

[3] "will gladly" Sk.

[4] "sir" Sk.

[5] Instead of "within . . . time," Fl., F.S., and Sk., read "so that."

[6] "within three years" adds Fl.; "before three years should have passed" Sk.

[7] "not then ransomed" Fl., Sk.; so also F.S., beginning "but in case that they were . . . ."

[8] "the whole of" not in Sk.

[9] "all" not in Fl., F.S., Sk.

[10] *hálfan allan sakeyri.*

Fl., ii, 518-519: "In the latter days of earl Harold, when Olaf his kinsman-in-law and John Hallkel's son collected a company from the Orkneys, and [led them] east into Norway, they took as king [of Norway] Sigurd, son of king Magnus Erling's son. Many high-born men of the Orkneys joined that army: it was the strongest company. They were called 'the Islanders' [*Eyiarskeggiar*], and for a time 'Gold-legs.' They

1196

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 102

In the year 1196 master John of Roxburgh, treasurer of Glasgow, died at Melrose, a novice in that monastery, on the fourth day before the Nones of February.[1]

William de Morville, constable of the king of the Scots, died.[2]

1197

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 103

In the year 1197, the king of Jerusalem died; and Frederick, the emperor of Germany.[3]

A battle took place in Moray, near the castle of Inverness, between the king's vassals [on the one side], and Roderic, and Thorfinn, son of earl Harold [Matad's son, on the other]. But

fought in Floruvágar [in 1194] against king Sverri, and were defeated. There fell both John and Olaf; and also their king, and the greater part of the army.

"After that, king Sverri bore earl Harold great enmity, and laid upon him the responsibility for the arising of the company. It thus came about that earl Harold went from the west, and bishop Biarni with him. The earl gave himself into king Sverri's power, and let him alone judge and decide [*skera ok skapa*] between them.

"Then king Sverri took all Shetland from earl Harold, with its taxes and dues [*med skottum ok skylldum*]: and the Orkney earls have not had it since then."

Sverri died on the 8th of March [1202], after having been king for 25 winters, and 18 winters after the death of Magnus, Erling's son (Fl., ii, 701; F.S., viii, 448; Unger's Konunga Sögur, 202). In the same year died Cnut, king of the Danes (ibid.). Both deaths are entered under 1202 in Icelandic Annals KOCDEPA.

[1] I.e., on 2nd February, 1196.

[2] This William was the son of Richard de Morville, who died in 1189. William was succeeded in the office of constable by Roland, the lord of Galloway, his brother-in-law († 1200). See year 1217.

Roland is named "constable" in a royal charter of 1198 × 1200 (Acts, i, 94-95); "justiciar" in one of 1189 × 1199 (Melrose, i, no. 18).

Fordun, c. 27 (i, 278): "When William de Morville died, Roland, the lord of Galloway, [and] father of Alan, succeeded him [as constable], by inheritance, through the marriage contracted between him and the said William's sister; because [William] had had no sons: seven hundred marks of silver having been given to king William for the inheritance, and for the honour of the aforesaid office of constable."

[3] The emperor who died in 1197 was not Frederick († 1189), but his son

by God's providence, the king's enemies were turned to flight, and the aforesaid Roderic perished, being slain with many others. In all things blessed be God, who has betrayed the wicked!

Afterwards the same king William set out with his army to Moray, and the other remoter districts of his land; and there he took earl Harold prisoner. And he caused him to be guarded in the castle of Roxburgh, until his son, Thorfinn, should give himself as a hostage for his father.[1]

Joceline, bishop of Glasgow, dedicated his cathedral church, which he had built anew, on the day before the Nones of July, a Sunday, in the twenty-fourth year of his episcopate.[2]

A new fortress was made, between the Doon and the Ayr.[3]

Henry VI; he died on September 28th, still under sentence of excommunication (Hoveden, iv, 30-31; Coggeshall, 72-73).

For the death of the king of Jerusalem—Henry, count of Champagne—, see Hoveden (iv, 26) and Coggeshall (72), s.a. 1197; R.W. (i, 266), s.a. 1196.

[1] The Chronicle of Huntingdon borrows from C.M. (P. & S., 212): "The same king William penetrated Caithness with an immense army, in the 32nd year of his reign [i.e. 1197]. And there he conquered all his enemies; and, returning to Scotland, he placed in custody firstly Harold, and afterwards his son — — [Thorfinn] in his stead." Similarly the Chronicle of Carlisle, s.a. 11[9]6 (Palgrave, 73).

See below, year 1198.

C.M. is probably the best authority for the date. The hand that writes this part ceases to write after 1197. Hoveden, however, writing very few years afterwards, places these events in 1196 (E.C., 316-318).

Fordun (c. 22; i, 274-275) accepts Hoveden's date; and says that Harold had rebelled "by the instigation of his wife, who was a daughter of [Malcolm] Macheth."

Presumably in connection with the peace subsequently made, "Harold, earl of Orkney, Shetland, and Caithness," granted to the canons of Scone one mark of silver, *ad pondus marce Scotie libratam*, to be rendered yearly by him, or by his son Thorfinn, or his heirs, for the souls of his predecessors, himself, and his wife [Hvarflod]. His son Thorfinn, chancellor Laurence, and others, were witnesses. Scone, no. 58; Diplomatarium Norvegicum, ii, 2, no. 2 (? 1197 × ? 1198).

For Laurence, cf. E.C., 318.

Harold had married first Affrica or Afreka, daughter of Duncan, 4th earl of Fife († 1154). Their children were Henry, Hakon, Helen, and Margaret. He married later Hvarflod, daughter of Malcolm Macheth, earl of Ross († 1168). Thorfinn was a son of the second marriage.

[2] I.e., on Sunday, 6th July, 1197. So also in Glasgow, ii, no. 541.

[3] *Factum est novum opidum inter Don et Ar.* Perhaps: "The fortress was re-built"? Cf. *novam construxerat* in the previous sentence.

The site may have been near Castlehill.

1198

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 103

In the year 1198, pope Celestine died, on the sixth day[1] before the Ides of January. And Innocent succeeded him.[2]

Roger, son of the earl of Leicester, was consecrated bishop of St Andrews, on the first Sunday in Lent.[3]

Archibald, the abbot of Dunfermline, died; and Robert of Berwick succeeded him.[4]

Alexander, the son of William, king of the Scots, was born, upon the day of St Bartholomew the apostle[5]: and many rejoiced at his birth.

[1] I.e., 8th January. Fulman's text, followed by Jaffé, reads erroneously "seventh," i.e. 7th January.

[2] Celestine III died on the 8th of January, 1198; and Innocent III was elected on the 9th (see the letter of Innocent proclaiming his election, written on the 9th; P.L. **214**, 1. Cf. Hoveden, iv, 41; Diceto, ii, 159; L.A., 312: and Rigordus, in B.R., xvii, 48).

For bulls sent by Celestine to Scottish houses, see above, year 1195, note.

[3] I.e., on 15th February, 1198. Roger's father was Robert II, earl of Leicester, half-brother of countess Ada († 1178), the mother of king William. See above, year 1139 (E.C., 215). For Roger's election, see year 1189; for his consecration, cf. E.C., 318; for his death, year 1202.

[4] Pope Lucius III sent a bull of special privilege to the monastery of Dunfermline, during the abbacy of Archibald. The bull is dated on the 30th April, 1182 (Dunfermline, 153-155, no. 238). Cf. year 1238, note. Cf. his charter of 19th October, 1184; and that of pope Alexander III, of 7th June, 1163 (Dunfermline, nos. 239, 237).

According to Bower, i, 513, Robert was "a monk of the same house." Robert was deposed by legate John in 1202; and was succeeded by Patrick, the sub-prior of Durham (Bower, i, 516). For Patrick's successor, William, see year 1238.

[5] I.e., on 24th August. Cf. Hoveden (E.C., 318-319; W.C., ii, 124-125).

Cf. the Huntingdon Chronicle, in Skene's P. & S., 212: "And in the second year following" (i.e., after the campaign in Caithness, in 1196), "on the day of St Bartholomew, [William's] son, Alexander, was born." Fordun says, "at Haddington" (i, 275; cf. Bower, i, 513; and Extracta). His birth is mentioned by the Chronicle of Carlisle, s.a. 1198 (Palgrave, 73).

Cf. Hoveden (E.C., 318-319).

The charter no. 148 in Arbroath, i, 103, is dated "in the first year of the birth of Alexander, the son of William, illustrious king of the Scots." It is datable on other grounds 15th Feb. 1198 × 17th Mar. 1199.

For the assize at Perth in this year, see L.A., 311.

Earl David founded the abbey of Lindores, before 10th July, 1199 (Lindores, no. 2).

1198

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 121 ; s.a. 1198 [1]

The fall of earl Harold the Young.[2]

[1] With dominical and paschal letters of 1198. Similarly also in DPA (181, 324 ; Fl., iii, 521).

[2] This was the son of Eric Stakblællr and Ingigerd, daughter of earl Ronald Kali. See above, year 1158, note ; E.C., 317-318.

According to the story in Fl., ii, 515-517, the sons of Eric Stakblællr (Harold the Young, Magnus Mangi, and Ronald ; see year 1158, note) went to Norway, to king Magnus, Erling's son [1162×1184]. Magnus Mangi remained with king Magnus, supported him against Sverri, and fell with the king [on 15th June, 1184 ; Sverri's Saga]. King Magnus gave to Harold the Young the half of the islands that had been possessed by Harold's grandfather, Ronald Kali. Harold the Young (with Sigurd Murtr, son of Ivar Galli, son of a daughter of Havard Gunnar's son [who had married Bergliót, daughter of Ragnhild, daughter of earl Paul, Thorfinn's son]) went by Shetland and Caithness to king William, who granted him the same share of the islands. Earl Harold the Old refused to divide the islands. They fought, and Harold the Young was killed, in Caithness. With him fell Hlífolf Skalli, who had married his sister Ragnhild ; and Sigurd Murtr.

King William heard that Harold the Young was killed, and that Harold Matad's son had taken possession of Caithness. He sent men to the king of the Hebrides, Ronald, son of Godfrey, son of Ingibiorg, daughter of earl Hakon Paul's son ; "king Ronald was then the greatest warrior in the western lands." Ronald collected an army from the Hebrides, Kintyre, and Ireland ; and subdued Caithness, while Harold remained in Orkney. Ronald returned to the Hebrides at the end of winter, leaving three bailiffs in Caithness :—Mani, Olaf's son ; Hrafn the Lawman ; and Hlífolf hinn Alli. [For Andrew, a son of Hrafn, Lawman in Caithness, see the Sturlunga Saga, ed. Kålund, i, 477, 479.] A man of earl Harold killed Hlífolf. Earl Harold tortured bishop John.

See L.A., 308, 339-341. Below, year 1201, note.

According to Fl., ii, 518, six bailiffs fled from the north of Scotland to king William, at Christmas [? 1201]. William called out a general levy, and led his forces to Eysteinsdalr, on the borders of Sutherland and Caithness. Harold collected 600 men in Caithness, but could make no resistance against the army of Scotland. The king imposed a fine of every fourth penny from Caithness. In the agreement, Harold was to retain as much of Caithness as he had had before ; earl Harold the Young was to hold [the remainder] of king William.

Thorfinn, Harold's son, who had been given as a hostage to king William, was blinded because of this breach of the peace. [Cf. Fordun, c. 22.]

Harold was sole chieftain of the Orkneys.

Fl.'s account is at fault, since it places the earldom of Harold the Young

1199

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 103-104

In the year 1199, Joceline, bishop of Glasgow, died at Melrose, on the sixteenth day before the Kalends of April.[1]

Richard, king of England, died, on the day before the Ides of April.[2]

Sir Arnold, abbot of Rievaulx, gave up the pastoral charge; and sir William de Punchard succeeded him.

John, king of England, was crowned on Ascension Day.[3]

Hugh, the chancellor, died, on the sixth day before the Ides of July.[4]

Matthew, the bishop of Aberdeen, died, on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of September.[5]

William Malveisin was made chancellor, on the sixth day before the Ides of September.[6]

after the account of his death. Cf. Hoveden, L.A., 304-306; E.C., 317-318. The earl placed by William in Caithness seems to have been Ronald, Somerled's son. Hoveden says that Harold the Young received permission from king Sverri to claim half of the Orkneys. Since he claimed them after the battle of Floruvágar, this is probably correct. Cf. year 1206, note.

[1] I.e., 17th March. See E.C., 319-320; and abbot Ralph's letter (Historians of Scotland, v, 308-312). Cf. year 1197; D.B., 298-299. Joceline was alive after 24th August, 1198 (Arbroath, i, no. 148).

[2] I.e., on 12th April. Richard died on 6th April (Hoveden, iv, 84; G.C., i, 593; R.D., ii, 166. Coggeshall (96) says that he died on the evening of the 7th, and was buried on the 11th.

[3] 27th May, 1199. So also Hoveden, Diceto, Coggeshall. See Hardy, Description of Patent Rolls, 110. King William had been summoned to meet John on 6th June at Northampton (not Nottingham, as Hoveden says; L.A., 318); but he did not come.

William de Hay and [Walter] the prior of Inchcolm were Scottish envoys to John at his coronation. Roger, the bishop of St Andrews, who had been present at the coronation (Hoveden, iv, 90; L.A., 315), was sent back to John to make terms between the kings. See E.C., 321.

[4] I.e., on 10th July. So also Hoveden (E.C., 321).

Hugh had been appointed chancellor in 1189 (above). See the verses De Hugone Cancellario, in S.S. 70, 86-88. He had been elected to the bishopric of Glasgow (Hoveden; Bower).

[5] I.e., on 20th August. For his election, see year 1172. Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen, was alive 24th Aug. 1198 × 17th Mar. 1199 (Arbroath, i, no. 148). His successor, John, was elected before 26th December, 1199 (Moray, no. 17); consecrated, before 6th December, 1201 (Glasgow, i, no. 93). He died in 1207.

[6] I.e., on 8th September. William Malveisin was elected bishop of

1200

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, pp. 232-234, s.a. 1200[1]

Saint Maurice Ua-Baetain reposed in peace, in Iona of Columcille.[2] . . .

Roland, Uhtred's son, a king of the Galwegians, reposed in peace.[3]

1200

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 104

In the year 1200, sir William, the master of lay-brothers at Melrose,[4] was made abbot of Coupar[-Angus], on the eighteenth day before the Kalends of February.[5]

Sir William Malveisin was consecrated.[6]

Glasgow in October, 1199 (E.C., 321 ; × 26th December, 1199, Moray no. 17). See years 1200, 1202.

On 24th February, 1199, pope Innocent III wrote to Roger, bishop of St Andrews [† 1202], saying that he had been informed by Roger that monks and regular canons having the advowson of churches in the diocese of St Andrews had, for their own profit, delayed to make presentations when those churches were vacant. He instructed the bishop to ordain rectors, if presentations were delayed beyond the appointed time. P.L. **214**, 542 ; Bliss, i, 5. The same pope wrote to William Malveisin, bishop of St Andrews, on 13th November, 1207, bidding him fill vacancies in churches, if the patrons failed to fill them within the canonical time (P.L. **215**, 1248 ; Bliss, i, 29).

On 4th March, 1199, pope Innocent wrote to Roger, bishop of St Andrews, giving him permission to build a second church in the parish of St Andrews. P.L. **214**, 542-543 ; Bliss, i, 5.

[1] With f.n. inserted and e. in MS. A. MS. B numbers the year erroneously 1199.

[2] Similarly F.M., iii, 116, s.a. 1199 (but reading "died").

[3] Roland, lord of Galloway, and constable of Scotland, died at Northampton, on 19th December, 1200 (Hoveden ; see E.C., 325-326). He had gone to England with king William, to do homage to king John (ibid., 324, 325). Afterwards he had gone to Northampton, to attend to his wife's affairs (Bain, i, 47 ; no. 294. See S.P., iv, 138-139. Roland had married Helena, or Eva († 1217), daughter of Richard de Morville († 1189).

His sons were Alan († 1234), who succeeded him ; and Thomas, who by marriage with countess Isabella became earl of Athole (cf. L.A., 346), 1211 × 1212 († 1231).

[4] *magister conversorum de Melros.*

[5] I.e , on 15th January.

In the margin is the note : "Fifth abbot of Coupar." See below, years 1202, 1206.

[6] See E.C., 323, 326 ; below, year 1202.

1200

Roger of Hoveden, Chronica; Rolls Series, no. 51, vol. iv, p. 107, s.a. 1200[1]

Meanwhile John, the king of England, sailed across from Normandy to England,[2] and took from every carucate in all England three shillings of aid.[3]

And in Lent,[4] king John came to York, hoping that William king of the Scots, would come to him, as he had commanded. But the king of the Scots did not come; and the king of England returned to Normandy.[5]

[1] Similarly in W.C., ii, 158; cf. R.W., i, 294, who does not mention the king of Scotland. M.P., R.S. **57**, ii, 461, copies R.W.

[2] On 25th February, 1209, according to the Annals of Winchester (R.S. **36**, ii, 73). Hardy's Itinerary of John shows that he landed between 24th and 27th February.

[3] Cf. Coggeshall (101-102), and the Annals of Winchester (R.S. **36**, ii, 73); R.W., i, 294.

[4] I.e., between 23rd February and 8th April. Hardy (u.s.) shows that John was in York on 25th March, and left York on 28th March.

[5] Hardy (u.s.) shows that John left England between 28th April and 2nd May.

The reason given by king William for not coming is touched upon in John's reply to William, written at Gloucester, on 30th October, [1200] (Foedera, i, **1**, 81; Arbroath, i, 329-330; L.A., 323): "... We had sent to you such conduct as we believed to be sufficient to escort you; but since, as we have learned from your envoys—namely, the abbot of Arbroath; William Comyn; and William Giffard—, you were ignorant that we had sent you conduct, out of abundant affection for you we send to you our beloved and faithful [subjects], R[oger], bishop of St Andrews; Saher de Quincey; Hugh de Morville; and Richard Malebysse, affording by them, and by these our letters patent, safe-conduct for you and for those whom you bring with you, to come to us, and remain in our court, and return to your own territories, safely and securely. Witness: G. Fitz-Peter, at Gloucester, on the 30th day of October."

The abbot of Arbroath mentioned in the above letter was Henry (cf. Glasgow, no. 93; Inchaffray, no. 9; Lindores, nos. 3, 107). A Henry became abbot of Arbroath in 1179. The abbot was Henry in 1202; he ceased to hold office before 1208 (Moray, no. 46; 1206 × 1208).

On 30th October, 1200, safe-conduct was issued for the king of Scotland in going to the king of England (Foedera, i, **1**, 81).

For the meeting of William and John, on 21st November in the same year, see E.C., 323-325; and cf. Edward I's letter to Boniface VIII (Foedera, i, **2**, 933): "And the same king William, after the death of the said king Henry, coming to Canterbury, did homage to Richard, the king of England, the son and heir of the said Henry.

"When this Richard went the way of all flesh, the oft-mentioned

1201

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 104

In the year 1201, sir Hugh, the abbot of Newbattle, with humility gave up his office; and sir Adam, master of the lay-brothers[1] of the same place, succeeded him.

The magnates of the land [of Scotland] swore fealty to Alexander, the king's son, at Musselburgh, on the fourth day before the Ides of October.[2]

John de Salerno, the presbyter-cardinal, held his council at Perth, and there decreed many [statutes] to be observed.[3]

1201

Roger of Hoveden, Chronica; Rolls Series, no. 51, vol. iv, pp. 161-162, s.a. 1201

Of the devil now loosed.

In the same year, while pope Innocent III reigned in the city of Rome; and Saffadin, Saladin's brother, in the holy city

William did homage to John, the king of England, the brother and heir of the aforesaid king Richard, outside the city of Lincoln, upon a certain hill, in the sight of all the people; and swore fealty to him upon the cross of Hubert, at that time the archbishop of Canterbury."

William's homage, on 22nd November, had been mentioned by the 1291 chronicle of Bridlington (Palgrave, 66); which says that William swore upon Hubert's cross, "because they had no sacred book at hand." Cf. Langtoft, ii, 126. The cross was probably a relic, an oath upon which would have been considered more binding.

[1] *magister conversorum.*

[2] I.e., on 12th October. Fordun (i, 276) says, "about the festival of Saints Simon and Jude"; i.e., about 28th October.

Cf. the Huntingdon Chronicle, in P. & S., 212: "To [William's son, Alexander,] the magnates of all Scotland did fealty, at Musselburgh, in the fourth year of his age" (i.e., after 24th August, 1201). This homage, and the council at Perth, are noted by the Chronicle of Carlisle (Palgrave, 74), s.a. 1201.

[3] The last two paragraphs (but not the date) are copied by C.L., 1, s.a. 1201.

For the council, see L.A., 331-334. It was held, according to Bower, for three days in December.

King William kept Easter in this year at Crail (for "Carlisle" in E.C., 326, read "Crail").

In 1201, on May 1st, an agreement was made between the churches of

of Jerusalem; and Alexander the Fratricide, in the city of Constantinople; and Leo, in Armenia; and Amalric de Lusignan, in the cities of Tyre and Sidon; and while Raymond was prince in the city of Antioch, and Otho (brother of Henry, the duke of Saxony), in Germany, had been elected emperor of the Romans; and while Philip [reigned] in France, and John in England, and Sverri Birchleg in Norway, and Cnut in Denmark, and William in Scotland; and Godfrey, in the island of Man; and John de Courcy in Ulster: our doctors preached that the ancient dragon, who is the devil and Satan, had been loosed; saying, "Woe, woe, to the dwellers on the earth! because the ancient dragon, who is the devil and Satan, has been loosed"—according to the words of the blessed John, the apostle and evangelist.[1] . . .

Coupar and Blair, in presence of the whole synod, at Perth. M.Cl. 28, 18-19.

[1] That is to say, they preached that the thousand years during which Satan was to be bound were at an end. See Revelation, c. 12.

This passage is copied more briefly in the Chronicle of Peterborough, 112-113, s.a. 1201; and in the Annals of Burton (R.S. 36, i, 207).

Probably in the year 1201, the followers of Harold, Matad's son, tortured John, bishop of Caithness (cf. 1198, note). Bishop John had apparently attempted to enforce the payment of a tax imposed upon Caithness as penance of the earl.

See the letter of pope Innocent III, written on 27th May [? 1198] (Diplomatarium Norvegicum, vii, 2, no. 2; L.A., 340-341; cf. Bliss, i, 1-2; D.B., 211). The pope addressed his letter to bishops [Biarni] of Orkney and [Reynold] of Ross, telling them that H[arold], earl of Caithness and Orkney, had informed him that for the redemption of his sins he had, since the days of pope Alexander [III; † 1181], appointed a yearly tax of one penny from every inhabited house in Caithness to be collected for alms, and sent to Rome. But after the death of A[ndrew], bishop of Caithness [† 1184], his successor, bishop John, had on his own authority forbidden the collection of the tax. Pope Innocent therefore bade the bishops of Orkney and Ross to compel bishop John (unless he had done it in obedience to a previous command) to restore the alms that had been withdrawn, and not to forbid their collection in the future.

The same pope wrote to Biarni, bishop of Orkney, from Subiaco [where he was in August and September of 1202], laying the severest penance upon the bearer of the letter, Lumberdus, a layman, who had accompanied the earl to Caithness. After the castle had been stormed by the earl's army, and almost all who were in it had been killed, the bishop of Caithness had been made prisoner; and some men of the earl's army had compelled Lumberdus (so he said) to cut off the bishop's tongue (Diplo-

1202

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 104-105

In the year 1202, Roger, of pious memory, bishop of St Andrews, died; and William Malveisin, the bishop of Glasgow, succeeded him.[1]

matarium Norvegicum, vii, 3, no. 3; P.L. **214**, i, 1062-1063; L.A., 339-340; cf. Origines Parochiales, ii, 599; Bliss, i, 12).

It does not appear that the earl was held to be directly responsible for the outrage.

Fordun, Annals, c. 24 (Skene's ed., p. 276), after the homage done to Alexander: "But civil wars did not cease in these times; because they were more usually carried on in the remotest districts of Scotland. The earl of the Orkneys—the oft-mentioned Harold—, previously sailing to Caithness, by a secret journey, caused John (the bishop of that province), as the promoter of discord between him and the lord king, and his accuser, to have his eyes put out, and to be mutilated of his tongue, as he thought: but it happened otherwise, because the use of his tongue, and of one of his eyes, in some sort remained to him.

"When this outrage was reported to the king, he did not delay; but an army was sent by him to Caithness, before the [next] Lord's Nativity, against [Harold]; and returned, having effected little; because Harold retired to the most distant shores: but he returned, as soon as the army went back.

"In the following spring-time—that is, in the year of the Lord 1202—, the said Harold went to meet his lord the king (who was preparing to go to the Orkneys with a fleet, against him), at Perth, under the safe-conduct of Roger, the bishop of St Andrews: and there, through the intercession of that bishop, and of other good men, he was brought to concord with the king, swearing that in all things he would stand by the judgement of the church. And so he was restored to his earldom, paying to the lord king 2,000 pounds of silver."

Bishop John was elected 1185× (cf. Moray, no. 5; Arbroath, i, nos. 20, 143; D.B., 233). His successor, Adam, was elected in 1213.

On 6th January, 1201, king John announced that he had bidden his dear relative (*cognatus*), Harold, the earl of Orkney, to come to him in England, and confer; and commanding that safe and sure conduct should be given to Harold and those who came with him, both in coming and returning. At the same time John gave safe-conduct to Adam, Harold's chaplain. Charter Rolls, i, 100; L.A., 341.

[1] Cf. Bower, VIII, 62 (i, 516). See years 1189, 1198, 1199, note. Roger seems to have been placed in charge over the abbey of Peterborough during a vacancy (1199×1200), and is said to have abused the trust (E.C., 322-323).

William Malveisin (the bishop of Glasgow) was postulated to the bishopric of St Andrews on Wednesday, 18th September (an ember-day), 1202 (Theiner, no. 6; on 20th September (also an ember-day) according to Bower, VI, 42).

John de Salerno, legate of the apostolic see, set out for Ireland, and made sir Ralph, the abbot of Melrose, bishop at Down[patrick][1]; and sir William, the abbot of Coupar, succeeded him in his abbacy.

Sir Ralph was consecrated bishop of Brechin.[2]

Sir William Malveisin was transferred from Glasgow to St Andrews.

The aforesaid legate of the apostolic see [John de Salerno] was honourably received at Melrose, and remained there for fifty nights, and more; principally in order to settle the dispute between the monks of Kelso and the monks of Melrose. And after promising well to both parties, but satisfying neither; and carrying away from both parties very many gifts, of gold, and silver, and also of a great number of horses, but conferring no benefit upon either party, he left the suit wholly undecided.

[Florence [became the bishop-]elect of Glasgow.][3]

[1] This sentence is copied by C.L., 2, s.a. 1202. Cf. year 1211.

According to fo. 62 of C.M., Ralph was made bishop of Down; see above, after 1136. This was, according to St Bernard, the see retained by Maelmaedoic († 1148). The adjacent see of Armagh was now the principal archbishopric in Ireland. Its primate, Tomaltach Ua-Conchobair, died in 1201 (A.U.; A.B.; A.L.C.; F.M.; Annals of Multifernan). King John tried to appoint an Englishman, Humphrey of Tickhill, to the primacy (see John's letters of 1202, Aug. 15; 1203, May 4 and 22, Dec. 5; 1207, Aug. 30: Patent Rolls, i, 16; 29, 37; 72); but the election of an Irishman, Echdonn or Eugenius, was upheld, and accepted by the king in 1207 (ibid., 76; cf. Close Rolls, i, 88). Echdonn died in 1216 (A.U., A.L.C., F.M.). His successor, Lucas de Netterville, was, according to A.L.C., s.a. 1220, "the first Foreigner to take the primacy of Ireland." Cf. the Annals of Multifernan, s.a. 1220.

Ralph's appointment to Down was an episode in the British settlement of Ireland, and is evidence of the part taken by Scots in the occupation. Alan, lord of Galloway, held extensive lands in Ireland († 1234).

[2] Ralph was elected to the bishopric of Brechin before 17th March, 1199 (Arbroath, i, no. 148). He was still bishop on 31st May, 1212 (Dunfermline, no. 211).

For Ralph's predecessors, Samson (×? 1153-1165×; see above, 1131×, note), and Turpin (elect in 1178; Arbroath, i, no. 2), see D.B., 173-174.

[3] This is a note written in the margin, in red ink. A space left in the MS., perhaps for the account of this election, has not been filled up.

Bower (u.s.) says: "And to the church of Glasgow was assumed Florentius, son of the count of Holland."

Florence was the third son of Florence III, count of Holland, and Ada, daughter of earl Henry. See years 1162, 1207.

1202

Hrafn Sveinbiorn's son's Saga, in Vigfusson's Sturlunga Saga, vol. ii, pp. 290-292

In the following spring,[1] Hrafn Sveinbiorn's son went from the west, from Firdir, north to ship at Eyiafiordr, to meet Gudmund, the bishop-elect. In this expedition were with Hrafn Thomas, Thorarin's son; a second man, Thord, Vermund's son; a third, Eyiolf, Snorri's son.[2] The bishop-elect was glad to see Hrafn and his companions.

And when the ship was ready, and the weather favourable, they put out to sea.[3] They had difficulty in getting a favourable wind during the summer, and they were long at sea. Then they were driven south into the sea, so that they met birds from Ireland; and at last they were carried to Scotland, and they lay there for some nights, off the place that is called Staurr.[4]

Out from Scotland they had a southerly wind so strong that those men who had been there said that they had never come into so great a sea as when they sailed off Hvarf,[5] in Scotland. . . .[6] And at evening of a day, they saw land; and they had come so near, that there were breakers on both sides. They knew that they had come to the Hebrides. And it seemed that no man could pilot them through; and most men expected that the ship would be wrecked, and the men drowned. . . .[7]

Now when they had come into so great peril, then Hrafn said that they should sail for the islands; and he said that they should pilot the ship as seemed to him most promising. And

[1] After the death of Brand, bishop of Holar [† 6th August, 1201]; and the election of Gudmund the Good, illegitimate son of Ari Thorgeir's son (see Islendinga Saga, in Sturlunga Saga, ed. Vigfusson, i, 208-209; ed. Kâlund, i, 251; tr. Kâlund, i, 229).

[2] Cf. the account of this expedition given by Gudmund's Saga, in Sturlunga Saga, ed. Vigfusson, i, 123-125; ed. Kâlund, i, 267-270; tr. Kâlund, i, 242-244.

[3] According to Gudmund's Saga, "They put to sea on Sunday morning, [before] the Divisio Apostolorum"; i.e., before 15th July, a Monday in 1202.

[4] *Þar . . . sem heitir fyrir Stauri.* Apparently Stoer, or Point of Stoer.

[5] I.e., "the turning"; Cape Wrath.

[6] Here 8 lines (see J.S., i, A, 41; B, 50, stanza 1) are quoted from Grim Hialli's son. Gudmund saved the ship from wreck, by miracle.

[7] Hrafn asked for Gudmund's blessing, and took over the pilotage of the ship. 8 lines are quoted from Gudmund Skáld (J.S., i, A, 48; B, 56, stanza 6).

they did so, that they sailed during the night; and he piloted with great skill and good fortune. . . .[1] At the same moment when they had come opposite to the islands, they saw day-break. . . .[2] Next, they came into good harbourage, beside an island that is called Sand-ey. And there the merchants raised a harbour mark. . . .[3]

They lay beside the Hebrides, at anchor, for some nights. King Olaf ruled then over the Hebrides. The king's bailiff came to them there, and claimed from them land-dues, according as the laws of the Hebrides required; and told that they must pay twenty hundred wadmals, because there were twenty Icelandic men in the ship. They refused to pay, because they thought they knew that they should have to pay as much again in Norway. After that, Hrafn and the bishop-elect, with very many others, went on shore, and to the church; because the bishop-elect wished to hold services. There was the king come; and he invited the bishop-elect to table. But when the bishop-elect wished to go away, the king said that the bishop-elect must do him right, or else he said he would keep him. But the bishop-elect refused this flatly. Hrafn said that this was to be looked for, and offered to do the king honour. But he said they must have [all] that he had.

But when the skippers knew that the bishop-elect and Hrafn were detained, Botolf bade the men take their weapons, and said that they should not part with so valiant a fighter without his finding out what had become of them [Hrafn and Gudmund]. And when they were ready, they sprang into the boat, and rowed to land. They went ashore in battle-order. But the Hebrideans sat under a knoll, with the bishop-elect

[1] Thrice they appeared to be surrounded by land. 8 lines are quoted from Gudmund Skáld (J.S., u.s., stanza 7).

[2] 4 lines are quoted from Eyiolf Forni (J.S., i, A, 40; B, 49); 4 lines, from Grim (J.S., i, A, 41; B, 50, stanza 2).

[3] 8 lines are quoted from Grim (J.S., u.s., stanza 3).

Sturlunga Saga, ed. Kålund, i, 269 (ed. Vigfusson, i, 125), describing the voyage of Gudmund, Ari's son, and his ship-mates, says: "Then northerly winds [*lannyrthingar*] blew; and they were driven south into the sea, and sighted the Hebrides, and recognized them; they had come to the islands that are called Hirtir" (i.e., "stags"). "There they learned the death of king Sverri. Then they bore south to the Irish sea . . . ." A fair wind brought them back to Norway, after they had made vows to give gifts to the church.

[and Hrafn]. Then men went between them; and this was brought about, before it ended, that the bishop-elect [and Hrafn] paid six hundred wadmals.

After this, the bishop-elect [and Hrafn] went to their ship; and sailed with a fair wind, and made a good voyage. They reached Norway, south from Trondhjem, at the place that is called Eid. There they heard of the death of king Sverri. . . .[1]

1203

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 105

In the year 1203, John, of good remembrance, the bishop of Dunkeld, died[2]; and Richard de Prebenda, the lord king's clerk and kinsman, succeeded him.

Richard, the bishop of Moray,[3] died; and sir Bricius, the prior of Lesmahagow, succeeded him.

Ernisius, the abbot of Rufford, died.

Osbert, the abbot of Kelso, died[4]; and Geoffrey, the prior of the same place, succeeded him.

[1] Sverri died in 1202. Hrafn and Gudmund passed the winter in Norway. Gudmund was consecrated on 7th April [1203; Icelandic Annals KOCDEPA]. They returned to Iceland in summer of 1203. Hrafn was killed in 1213 (Icelandic Annals KOCDPA); Gudmund died in 1237 (KOCDEPA).

Some Orkneymen, led by Thorkel Rostungr ("Walrus"), son of Kolbein Churl, passed two winters in Iceland, after 1202 (Sturlunga Saga, ed. Kâlund, i, 271-272; ed. Vigfusson, i, 210-211).

[2] This was John the Scot, of the controversy of 1180-1188. See year 1183; Bower, VI, 41; D.B., 51. He entered the monastery of Newbattle before his death. For his successor, Richard de Prebenda († 1210), see D.B., 52.

[3] See year 1187. For Bricius, see years 1218, † 1222.

[4] See years 1180, 1182. Osbert was still abbot on 21st May, 1203.

On 29th November [1199], pope Innocent III wrote to the chapter of Kelso, declaring that churches which supported the funds for the sustenance of the abbey, the hostel, and the poor, were not to be taken from the monastery by the abbots, and conferred upon priests. P.L. **214**, 796-797; Bliss, i, 8.

On 1st December, 1199, pope Innocent III commanded the bishops and other prelates of Scotland to pronounce no sentence of excommunication, suspension, or interdict, upon the monastery of Kelso, which was subject to none but the apostolic see. P.L. **214**, 797; Bliss, i, 9.

On 6th April, 1207, pope Innocent III wrote to [William Malveisin] the bishop of St Andrews, in reply to questions concerning the position of parochial churches that pertained to a monastery which was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction,

William, the abbot of Rievaulx, died.

Master William of Blois was made bishop of Lincoln.[1]

King John returned to England, having with sufficient ignominy lost his lands and castles beyond the sea.[2]

1203 **Annals of Ulster,** vol. ii, pp. 238-240, s.a. 1203[3]

Donald Ua-Brolchain, prior of — — [Iona],[4] an excellent high elder with regard to appearance and disposition; gentleness, and highmindedness, and benevolence; piety, and wisdom, entered the way of all flesh, after great tribulation and excellent penitence, upon the fifth day before the Kalends of May.[5]

[1] See R.W., i, 319; Annals of Dunstable, R.S. 36, iii, 28. William of Blois died in 1206.

[2] Cf. Coggeshall, 144; R.W., i, 318. King John arrived in England on 6th December (R.W.).

Philip Augustus completed the conquest of Normandy in 1204.

[3] With added f.n., and corrected e., of 1203. MS. B reads "1202."

[4] "Iona" is omitted by MS. A, and not supplied by the other MSS. See Reeves, Adamnan, 409.

[5] I.e., on 27th April. The list of his qualities is slightly altered by MS. B, which makes the last pair alliterative, like the preceding groups.

F.M., iii, 132, s.a. 1202: "Donald Ua-Brolchain, a prior and high elder, and scholar distinguished for intelligence and figure; for appearance; for gentleness and highmindedness; for piety, and for wisdom, died after good life, on the 27th day of April."

On 9th December, 1203, pope Innocent III directed a letter to Celestine, the abbot of St Columba in Iona, taking under his protection the Benedictine monastery of Iona, and naming its possessions. Diplomatarium Norvegicum, vii, 4-5, no. 4; Chronicle of Man, ii, 285-288. The monastery was to pay two bezants yearly. Cf. the Liber Censuum, for year 1192; where, under Norway, are entered the bishoprics of Orkney, and of the Hebrides or Man; and "the church of St Columba of the island of Iona; 2 bezants yearly" (Diplomatarium Norvegicum, viii, 5).

On 22nd April, 1247, pope Innocent IV granted to the abbot of Iona licence to use the ring and the mitre, and to give benediction, in absence of any papal legate or bishop (Diplomatarium Norvegicum, vii, 16); and pronounced that the abbot and convent of Iona, in the diocese of Sodor, Norway, were not to be summoned to the general chapter of Benedictines in Scotland (Bliss, i, 231).

After the Hebrides were annexed to Scotland, they ceased to be subject to the archbishop of Trondhjem.

On 3rd October, 1289, pope Nicholas IV wrote to [Laurence] the bishop of Argyle, declaring that the abbey of Iona, in the diocese of Argyle, was immediately subject to the Roman church, and was not to be molested. (Bliss, i, 504.)

1204

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 105

In the year 1204, sir Geoffrey received the administration of Rievaulx.

Alan, son of Walter, died.[1]

Queen Eleanor died.[2]

Doncaster was completely burned down, on the eve of Easter.[3]

Earl Duncan died.[4]

Godfrey de Lucy, bishop of Winchester, died.[5]

Seven bishops in the land of promise renounced the Christian faith.

Baldwin, the count of Flanders, was made emperor of Constantinople.[6]

John de Courcy, through the treachery of his [vassals], was made prisoner by Hugh de Lacy.[7]

Peter, abbot of Weburn, died at Vacelle.[8]

Alexander, abbot of Sawtry, died.[9]

[1] Alan's father, Walter († 1177), was the first High Steward of Scotland. Walter was appointed by king David. See S.P., i, 11-12. Alan Steward was succeeded by his son Walter, who became justiciar of Scotland (north of the Forth) in 1230, and died in 1241.

[2] Cf. Coggeshall, 144, s.a. 1204; the continuation of R.W., ii, 507, s.a. 1203.

[3] I.e., on Saturday, 24th April, 1204.

[4] This was Duncan, the 5th earl of Fife. He had been given as hostage in 1175 (E.C., 262). See S.P., iv, 7. He seems to have succeeded the earl Duncan who died in 1154, and to appear as earl in 1159 (L.A., 40); 1165 × 1168, in St Andrews, 217 (2). He was made justiciar (St Andrews, 218, 1171 × 1178; Moray, no. 17, 26th December 1199).

[5] Similarly in C.L. (2, s.a. 1204), which adds: "after administering the charge for 16 years."

Cf. R.W., ii, 9, s.a. 1204. The Annals of Winchester say that bishop Godfrey died on 11th September (R.S. **36**, ii, 79); the Annals of Waverley, on 12th September (ibid., 256). Coggeshall (151, 28) calls him "the son of Richard de Lucy."

[6] Similarly in C.L., u.s. This was Baldwin IX, count of Flanders. See R.S. **66**, 151; **57**, ii, 488; cf. **36**, iv, 392; **84**, ii, 274.

[7] See below, years 1204, 1205.

[8] *de Weburn apud Vacellas.* Read *Wlburn . . . Varellas* "Woburn . . . Vareilles"? Cf. Annals of Worcester, s.a. 1202 (R.S. **36**, iv, 391). In the Annals of Margan, s.a. 1228 (ib., i, 36), *Vacella* seems to have been a monastery in Wales.

[9] *de Sautreia:* Sawtry in Huntingdonshire.

On 6th March, 1204, pope Innocent III gave authority to R[alph

1204

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, pp. 240-242, s.a. 1204[1]

A monastery[2] was made by Cellach — —[3] in the middle of the sheepfold of Iona,[4] without any law; in violation of the [rights of] the community of Iona: and he damaged the place greatly. But the clergy of Ireland—Florence Ua-Cerballain, the bishop of Tyrone; and Maelissa Ua-Dorig, the bishop of Tir-connell; and the abbot of the monastery[5] of Paul and Peter, in Armagh; and Amalgaid Ua-Fergail, abbot of the monastery[6] of Derry; and Ainmire Ua-Cobthaig, and a great number of the community of Derry, and a great number of the clergy of the North, mustered, and destroyed[7] the monastery, according to the law of the church.

The above-named Amalgaid took the abbacy of Iona, by the choice of Foreigners and Gaels.

1204

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 80

In the year 1204, Hugh de Lacy came with an army to Ulster, and fought a battle with John de Courcy; and he took him prisoner, and put him in chains; and subdued Ulster to himself. But afterwards he permitted John to go free.

When [John de Courcy] had been liberated, he came to

abbot] of Jedburgh [† 1205], G[eoffrey, abbot] of Dryburgh, [see 1208] and master T., rector of Lilliesleaf [*Lilleschae*], to act in the case of the abbot and monks of Melrose, against the noble man Albanus, who wished to deprive them of certain lands granted in alms by his late father William to their church of Mauchline. P.L. **215**, 309-310; Bliss, i, 16.

[1] With (added f.n. and) e. of 1204. The year is numbered 1203 in MS. B, erroneously. This passage is not in MS. B. A similar passage appears in the Four Masters, iii, 136, s.a. 1203.

[2] *mainistir* (similarly below, *-er*).

[3] A blank space of about eight letters follows "Cellach," according to MacCarthy, who would insert here "abbot of Iona." The context does not favour such an insertion.

[4] *ar lar croi Ia.*

[5 6] *reiclesa.*

[7] *roscailset* ("dispersed"?). The same word is used of the destruction of buildings, under year 1213. The Four Masters read: "The clergy of the north [of Ireland] assembled together, in order to go to Iona. . . . Then they went to Iona, and the aforesaid monastery was destroyed by them . . . ."

king Reginald, and was honourably received by him, because he was his brother-in-law. John de Courcy had in marriage Godfrey's daughter,[1] Affrica by name; who founded the abbey of St Mary of Jugum Dei, and who is buried there.[2]

1204-1205

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, pp. 240, 242, s.aa. 1204, 1205

[1204] A military expedition [was led] by the son of Hugh de Lacy with the Foreigners of Meath into Ulster; and they expelled John de Courcy from Ulster.[3] . . .

[1205] John de Courcy, despoiler of the churches of Ireland, and its territories, was expelled by the son of Hugh de Lacy into Tyr[one], [whither he went] for the protection of the Cenel-Eogain.[4]

1205

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, pp. 80-82

In the year 1205, John de Courcy again resumed his strength, and collected a numerous host. Moreover he brought with him to Ulster also Reginald, the king of the islands, with nearly a hundred ships. And when they had landed in the

[1] Cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, v, 345.

[2] This was Grey Abbey, a Cistercian house on Strangford Lough, in the north-east of county Down. Its foundation is placed in 1193 (Cistercian Foundations to 1247), on August 25th (Foundations to 1234. J.B.A.A., xxvi, 363, 290). See Archdall, 120; W. Reeves, Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore, (Dublin, 1847) 92; Janauschek, 196.

[3] Similarly in F.M., iii, 136, s.a. 1203; which add: "after a battle had been fought between them in Downpatrick, where many were slain."

A.L.C., i, 232-234, s.a. 1204: "A battle between Hugh the Young, son of Hugh de Lacy, with the Foreigners of Meath, and John de Courcy, with the Foreigners of Ulster. John de Courcy was taken prisoner; and he was released, after he had taken the cross, in order to go to Jerusalem."

[4] Similarly in F.M., iii, 138-140, s.a. 1204; which add: "And he came to Carrickfergus. And the Foreigners of Ulster killed many of his people."

A.L.C., i, 234, s.a. 1205: "A fleet [was led] by John de Courcy out of the Hebrides, to fight for Ulster against the sons of Hugh de Lacy, and against the Foreigners of Meath. Nevertheless no profit resulted from that fleet, but that the land was destroyed and plundered; and they went away after that, without obtaining power.

"John made friendship and alliance with the Ui-Neill, and with the Cenel-Eogain."

harbour that is called Strangford, they besieged the castle of Moira. And Walter de Lacy arrived with a large army, and routed them in confusion. And from that time John de Courcy never recovered his land.[1]

1205

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 105-106

In the year 1205, earl David did homage to his nephew, Alexander, the son of king William.[2]

[1] For John de Courcy's affairs, v.i.a. Patent Rolls, i, 34, 45-48, 50-55; Round, in Antiquarian Magazine, vols. iii and iv (i.a., 289-290), and Commune of London, 160-165; Orpen, Ireland under the Normans (1911), ii, 8-23, 114-144.

On 6th February, 1205, king John took R[eginald], his kinsman (*consanguineus*), the king of Man, and his lands and vassals, under his own protection. On 8th February, 1205, king John issued letters of safe-conduct to R[eginald], king of the islands, his dear kinsman (*cognatus*), and to John De Courcy with others, in coming to him in England, and returning, within the fortnight after Easter [10th-24th April]. Patent Rolls, i, 50, cf. 58; Foedera, i, **1**, 91, cf. 94; L.A., 351.

John de Courcy recovered his English estates. Ulster was given by king John to Hugh de Lacy (on 2nd May, 1205; Patent Rolls, i, 54; Foedera, i, **1**, 145). Hugh († 1242; R.S. **82**, ii, 534) was the son of Hugh de Lacy († 1186), for whose dealings with John de Courcy v.i.a. W.N., i, 238-240.

John de Courcy died before 22nd September, 1219 (Antiq. Mag., iv, 291).

He had a book of prophecies of Columba, in which his own exploits were thought to have been foretold (Giraldus Cambrensis, v, 341-342; cf. Antiq. Mag., iii, 125).

For the agreement between king John and Reginald, king of Man, cf. Close Rolls, i, 68, 86 (28 Apr. 1206, 17 June 1207; cf. also 116, 16 May 1212, on which day Reginald became the vassal of king John. See year 1212, note). The same Reginald, king of Man, or of the islands, did homage to king Henry III, and received certain solatiums. See Close Rolls, i, 401, 421, 439, 504 (22 Sep. 1219, 17 Jun. 1220, 4 Nov. 1220, 7 July 1222). Cf. year 1219, note.

[2] Fordun says that this took place at Musselburgh, about the 28th of October; and that Alexander was about 3 years old (Annals, c. 24; Skene's ed., i, 276). He was then in reality 7 years old.

This homage seems to have been a measure of precaution, taken before king William went into England, to king John. Some difficulties had arisen (possibly connected with the seizure of Scottish ships; see Close Rolls, i, 33; L.A., 347; a letter of 22nd May, 1205); messengers had passed between the kings; and a meeting of the kings had been planned.

On 24th July, 1205, king John (having received an apparently favourable

reply to his suggestions) wrote to king William, saying that he awaited the return of his envoys; and, if the negotiations had been successful, would hasten to meet William, in order to consummate the affairs that had been discussed between them. Close Rolls, i, 43; L.A., 347-348.

On 30th November, 1205, king John issued safe-conduct to "our dear and faithful [subject], and dearest kinsman," king William, to come to him at York on 9th February, 1206; naming his escort; declaring that in case they should separate without an agreement, there should be a truce of 40 days after William had returned to his own land; and promising to send earl David to Scotland, so that he should remain there until William returned. Patent Rolls, i, 56; L.A., 349. Cf. Close Rolls, i, 86 (30th June, 1207; crediting the sheriff of York with 10 pounds, for the expenses of the king of the Scots in the previous year. See also Bain, i, no. 396).

The names of the escort offered to William were: [Philip] the bishop of Durham; [William Longespée] John's brother, the earl of Salisbury; [Randolph de Blundeville] the earl of Chester; earl William Marshal [of Pembroke]; earl [William] de Varenne [6th earl of Surrey; grandson of William, the 3rd]; Robert, Roger's son [sheriff of Northumberland, 1200-1212. See Northumberland, v, 25; Bain, i, 602]; [Roger de Lacy] the constable of Chester: "and more of the old escort for which he asked us, if he wishes to have more of them."

The early chronicles do not record the meeting of the kings in 1206. The English chronicles pass over in silence Scottish events of 1202 to 1208. Hardy's Itinerary of John shows that John arrived in York on the 8th of February, 1206; and remained in York until the 13th, when he left the town.

Cf. Fordun, c. 28, s.a. 1214 (i, 279): "Of how great merit in God's sight the noble king [William] was, may be discerned from a certain miracle, which follows in this wise.

"At a certain time, namely in the year of the Lord 1206, the same king [William] set out for York, under the escort of nobles of England," (reading *Angliae* for *Angliam*) "between the Purification of St Mary [2nd February] and the Kalends of March [1st March], to John, the king of England. And after remaining there for four days, he returned prosperously, having concluded his affairs. At that time, in York, in the presence of many nobles of England and Scotland, one boy was, by [William's] touch and blessing, miraculously cured of a serious infirmity by which he was held; to the marvel and astonishment of all." Cf. G.C. (E.C., 328, note), who says that William had performed "several miracles."

On 13th March, 1207, king John gave safe-conduct to his "dear kinsman," king William, to come to him, confer, and return. Patent Rolls, i, 69. Cf. Close Rolls, i, 90 (16th August, 1207; crediting Robert, Roger's son, with 30 pounds, for expenses of the king of Scotland in his visit to York. Cf. ibid., i, 86, 30th June, 1207; credit of 15 pounds to the sheriff of York, "for this year, when we were last at York").

Hardy's Itinerary shows that John was at York on 26th, 27th, and 28th May, 1207.

On 20th October, 1207, king John gave safe-conduct to "lord William,"

Two moons at once were seen in the firmament, of the same size; and their horns were joined at the one end, and at the other floated apart: but ultimately they united.[1]

Frost—great, and dreadful, and long—in all lands destroyed the sheep, and cows, and horses, that were in the open.[2]

The walls of Rouen were thrown to the ground by the vassals of the king of France.[3]

Hubert, the archbishop of Canterbury, died, on the third day before the Ides of July.[4]

Ralph, the abbot of Jedburgh, died, on the seventh day before the Ides of August.[5]

king of Scotland, to come to him at York on 11th November, to confer, and to return. Patent Rolls, i, 76; L.A., 357. See also Bain, i, nos. 417, 422. This meeting did not take place.

King John was at York on 7th August, 1208.

William seems to have resisted some of king John's wishes; to which he yielded in 1209. William was burdened with a debt of 2,776 pounds to Aaron of Lincoln (Bain, i, no. 433).

[1] The Chronicle of Lanercost adds: "Which, so far as I see, I interpret of the two orders provided by God for the illumination of the darkening church"—i.e., the Dominicans and the Franciscans.

There was an eclipse of the moon on 29th September, 1205, at 9½ p.m. (Paris time; L'Art), when seven-twelfths of her diameter were obscured.

[2] *equos silvestres.* Bower, copying this passage, reads *feras sylvestres* "wild animals." Cf. Melrose, no. 198 (8th April, 1236):—*equicium, averia, porcos, oves, nec aliqua alia averia, domestica vel silvestria, . . . salva . . . salvagina.*

In England, this frost lasted from Christmas, 1204, to the spring equinox (Annals of Waverley, R.S. **36**, ii, 256. 1st Jan.-25th Mar., Coggeshall; 14th Jan.-22nd Mar., Wendover; 21st Dec.-25th Mar., Annals of Worcester: R.S. **66**, 151; **84**, ii, 9; **36**, iv, 393. The Annals of Winchester say, for 20 weeks after 6th January: read 11?). According to Coggeshall, the Thames was bridged with ice.

[3] Rouen had capitulated in June, 1204. See Rigord, in B.R., xvii, 57-59.

[4] I.e., on 13th July. This is the date given by Gervase, Coggeshall, and Wendover (R.S. **73**, ii, 413; **66**, 156; **84**, ii, 10. But Gervase gave also the date 12th July, in **73**, ii, 98).

[5] I.e., on 7th August.

The events in the above passage (excepting the frost, Hubert's death-date, and the death of Ralph) appear also in C.L., 2.

1206

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 106

In the year 1206, sir Richard de Cave was made abbot of Kelso, on the fourth day before the Kalends of April.[1]

On the third day before the Ides of April, the nineteenth day of the moon, thunders were heard.[2]

On the seventh day before the Kalends of May,[3] snow fell in such quantity that those who did not see it can hardly be persuaded [to believe it].

On the sixth day before the Ides of May, William of Blois, the bishop of Lincoln, died.[4]

Earl Harold died.[5]

Sir William, the ninth abbot of Melrose, died, on the sixth day before the Ides of June.[6] Sir Patrick, the sub-prior of Melrose, was made abbot of the same place.[7]

[1] I.e., on 29th March. In the margin is the rubric: "Sixth abbot of Kelso." The name, according to Stevenson, "seems rather Cave than Cane." Bower calls this abbot Richard de Kane (Goodall, i, 520).

[2] I.e., on 11th April, the 29th day of the April moon in 1206. Read "29th" for "19th."

[3] I.e., on 25th April.

[4] I.e., on 10th May (so also M.P.; R.S. **44**, ii, 107; **57**, ii, 495). The Annals of Dunstable say that he died "in the month of May" (R.S. **36**, iii, 28). Coggeshall and Wendover notice his death, under 1206 (R.S. **66**, 162; **84**, ii, 14): similarly C.L., 3.

[5] This was Harold, Matad's son. See below.

[6] I.e., on 8th June.

[7] In the margin is the rubric: "Abbot of Melrose."

It appears from Moray, no. 46 (1206 × 1208), that the see of Moray had before 1206, been variously located in Birnie, Spynie, and Kinneddar. The church of Holy Trinity of Spynie was then announced to have been made the permanent cathedral church of the diocese (ibid.). The previous cathedral had been in an inaccessible "angle of the sea"; Spynie was more easily reached by the people, less easily by persecutors of the church (Moray, no. 45). But because Spynie was exposed to warfare, the see was in 1224 transferred to the church of Holy Trinity beside Elgin (Moray, no. 58).

The church of Moray was constituted (1206 × 1208) upon the model of Lincoln cathedral (cf. Moray, nos. 48, 49). The assignation of prebends is described in the Moray register.

1206

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 122; s.a. 1206[1]

Earl Harold, Matad's son, died in the Orkneys.[2]

1207

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 106-107

In the year 1207, John, the bishop of Aberdeen, died; and after him was elected Adam, called of Calder,[3] the king's clerk.

[1] With dominical and paschal letters of 1206. Similarly also in A (Fl., iii, 522).

[2] Under the same year, KO read (23, 181):—"Death of earl Harold"; OEP (63, 255, 325):—"Earl Harold [Matad's son EP] died."

D adds: "Then David and John were earls" [in the Orkneys]. They were sons of earl Harold, and grandsons of earl Malcolm Macheth. (Cf. years 1106, 1158, notes.) For David, see year 1214; for John, years 1226, 1231.

For Harold, see years 1195, 1197, 1198. Fl., ii, 519: "Earl Harold was 5 winters old when the title of earl was given him [in 1139]. He was for 20 winters earl [1139-1158], in such a manner that he and earl Ronald the Holy were both together over the Orkneys. After the fall of earl Ronald, Harold was earl in the Orkneys for 48 winters [1158-1206]. He died in the second year of the reign of king Ingi Bard's son.

"After earl Harold, his sons, John and David, took dominion; his son Henry, in Ross, in Scotland.

"These have been the most powerful of the earls of the Orkneymen, according to the saying of men who have made narratives regarding the matter. Sigurd, Eystein's son; earl Thorfinn, Sigurd's son; earl Harold, Matad's son, are also named.

"The brothers John and David both ruled the lands, after their father; until David died of disease, in the same year [1214] in which earl Hakon Galinn died in Norway. Thereafter John took the title of earl over all the Orkneys."

[3] *de Kald'*. Bower rendered this *de Caral* "of Crail."

For John, see year 1199. For Adam's election, see the letter of pope Innocent III, written on 29th January, 1208 (P.L. **215**, 1303; Bliss, i, 30: Bliss reads 1st February, *in kal.* for *iu kal.*). The dean and archdeacon of Aberdeen had brought letters of the chapter, explaining that the chapter had elected Adam without knowing that he was not in holy orders. Meanwhile he was promoted to the sub-deaconate; and was re-elected. The pope bade [Richard de Prebenda and ? Ralph] the bishops of Dunkeld and Brechin, and [Henry] the abbot of Kelso, to examine the election and the elect; and, if Adam had not obtruded himself upon the administration of episcopal functions, and had not caused himself to be made sub-deacon in order that he might obtain the bishopric, and if there was no canonical

Sir Patrick, of pious memory, the tenth abbot of Melrose, died[1]; and Adam, the prior of the same place, succeeded him.

Florence, the [bishop] elect of Glasgow, renounced his charge, by permission of the lord pope.[2]

William, the bishop of St Andrews, remained in districts beyond the sea.

Randolph de Sules was slain in his house by his domestics.

A large part of Roxburgh was accidentally burned.

Walter, the lord king's chaplain, was elected bishop of Glasgow, on the fifth day before the Ides of December.[3] . . .[4]

Udardus, abbot of Coupar[-Angus], died; and Richard succeeded.[5]

1208

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 107-108

In the year 1208, in the month of March, fifteen days before Easter, England was laid under an interdict.[6] . . .

obstruction, gave those prelates authority to confirm Adam's election, and caused him to be obeyed. Cf. D.B., 101-102.

Adam died in 1228, according to Bower, IX, 47; and was succeeded by Matthew Scot, the chancellor (see year 1227). Matthew died, unconsecrated, in 1229. See year 1239.

[1] In the margin is the rubric: "Eleventh abbot of Melrose."

On 17th October, 1207, pope Innocent III wrote to [Bricius] the bishop of Moray, in the case of the abbot and chapter of Melrose against Patrick, the earl of Dunbar, for occupying part of certain pasture-lands that belonged to Melrose. The case had been appointed to be tried by the bishop and archdeacons of St Andrews and Lothian; but the earl had refused to come. The pope ordered each side to choose a colleague who should judge the case along with the bishop of Moray. P.L. **215**, 1222-1224; Bliss, i, 29.

On 21st December, 1207, at St Peter's, pope Innocent III directed a letter to the bishop of St Andrews and his successors, giving protection of the apostolic see to the church of St Andrew, and naming its possessions, after the example of his predecessor, pope Alexander [III]. Cf. year 1218, note.

[2] See year 1202.

Florence had not been consecrated. See Paisley, 428; D.B., 300-301.

[3] I.e., on 9th December. For Walter († 1232), see year 1218, note.

[4] Here is an angel's prophecy to a hermit. Cf. C.L., 3.

[5] This sentence is added in the space left blank after the year-section. In the margin is the note: "Sixth abbot of Coupar."

Udardus, abbot of Coupar, witnessed a royal charter of 1203 × 1205, in Moray, no. 18; and appears to have succeeded in 1202 (Rogers, Cupar, i, 6).

For Richard, see year 1209.

[6] I.e., on 22nd March. In reality, the interdict took effect from 24th

Philip, the bishop of Durham, died.[1]

The clerks, fearing the king's tyranny, almost all left Oxford. But a few who remained for a short time afterwards, went away immediately after the town was laid under full interdict; some going to Reading, some to Paris.[2]

Sir Richard, the abbot of Kelso, died; and Henry, the prior of the same house, succeeded him, on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of July.[3]

On the fourth day before the Ides of September, the fourth day of the week,[4] the new cemetery of Dryburgh was dedicated by William, the bishop of St Andrews.

Gilbert, formerly the abbot of Alnwick, died; and in the following year,[5] Geoffrey, the abbot of Dryburgh, succeeded him. And in his place, sir William, the prior of Dryburgh, was elected abbot of the same house.

Walter, the [bishop] elect of Glasgow, sought permission from the lord pope, and was consecrated in his see at Glasgow, on the day of the commemoration of the souls of the faithful.[6]

March. An account of the circumstances follows, and is copied by C.L. Cf. G.C., ii, 101; R.W., ii, 45-47; the Annals of Margan, and of Dunstable (R.S., **36**, i, 29; iii, 30); and Coggeshall, 163.

[1] The death of Philip of Poitou, bishop of Durham, is recorded under 1208 by the English chronicles (R.S. **84**, ii, 44; **36**, i, 29; **36**, iii, 31; **44**, ii, 114; **36**, i, 59; etc.). C.L., 4-5, adds to the Melrose chronicle's account an erroneous note.

The Annals of Southwark date Philip's death on 21st April, 1208 (Hardy's Le Neve; Cottonian MS. Faustina A VIII, fo. 137 verso).

[2] This dispersion of the Oxford students is placed in January, 1210, by the Annals of Dunstable (R.S. **36**, iii, 32, s.a. 1209. Cf. R.W., ii, 51, s.a. 1209). The dispersion followed the hanging of students (in despite of ecclesiastical privilege), because of the death of a girl (cf. the same; and C.L., 4).

[3] I.e., on 17th June. In the margin is the note: "Seventh abbot of Kelso." Henry appears as abbot in the chartulary of Melrose, no. 104 (? July, 1208).

Richard was still abbot 25 Mar. × 23 Aug. 1208 (Melrose, no. 146).

[4] I.e., on Wednesday, 10th September, 1208.

[5] I.e., in 1209. The abbacy of Alnwick was at this time occupied by Adam; see the end of the passage.

Geoffrey was still abbot of Dryburgh after 2nd November, 1208 (Melrose, no. 133).

[6] I.e., on All Souls' Day, the 2nd of November. In the margin is the rubric: "The bishop of Glasgow is consecrated."

Adam, the abbot of Alnwick, was deposed, on the fifth day before the Ides of December.[1]

1209

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 108-109

In the year 1209, John, the king of England, commanded William, the king of the Scots, to come to meet him at Newcastle. And they met each other at Boyeltun.[2] And so the king of the Scots, William, proceeded [on his way], and the king of the English came, as far as to Norham, on the ninth day before the Kalends of May, the fifth day of the week[3]; and both in passing and in returning he lodged at Alnwick, at his own expense.

And the two kings held a conference at the aforesaid castle [Newcastle]; and they parted from each other, without having concluded the affair, on the sixth day before the Kalends of May.[4]

[1] I.e., on 9th December.

[2] *et obviaverunt adinvicem Boyeltun. Boyltun*, in inserted folio 53; *Boieltoun*, in C.L. There were several Boltons: one was near Alnwick, where John was on 24th April; another was in Haddingtonshire, on the way from Edinburgh to Norham. Bowden, 20 miles west of Carham near the road from Selkirk, was normally spelt *Botheldene*. Since C.M. implies that the meeting took place on the Scottish side of Norham, probably the Haddingtonshire Bolton is meant.

[3] Thursday, 23rd April, 1209.

Hardy's Itinerary shows that John was at Tadcaster on 14th April, and at Newcastle on 27th April.

[4] I.e., on 26th April. This paragraph is copied on folio 53 (p. 233). C.L. renders it thus: "The king of England commanded William king of Scotland to come to meet him at Newcastle; but they met at Bolton: and he accompanied him as far as Norham. And they held a conference at the aforesaid [New]castle; but they parted from each other without having concluded the affair."

This futile conference is not mentioned by other English chronicles.

A letter written by John to William, on 10th April, 1209, is preserved. John rejoices that William recovers his health (cf. Fordun, Annals, c. 25); repeats that he is coming to see him; and names the escort sent to conduct him:—Randolph, earl of Chester; earl W[illiam] de Ferrieres; P— —; [Robert son of] Roger; R[oger de Lacy] constable of Chester; Robert de Ross; Eustace de Vesci (Patent Rolls, i, 91; Bain, i, 75, no. 450).

A confused and erroneous account is given by Langtoft (ii, 130), who says that during an interdict king William had caused his daughter to marry the count of Boulogne, "who took her for love." King John went to

Ralph, the priest[1] of Dunbar, received the charge of Eccles.

Bishop John of Whithorn died; and Walter, the chamberlain of Alan Roland's son, succeeded him.[2]

Berwick: "He erected a castle there; the site still remains"; and he demanded of king William amends. William resisted; peace was made by treaty.

The 1291 Chronicle of Bridlington (Palgrave, 66-67) says that John made war against William, because William had given his daughter in marriage, without John's consent, to the count of Boulogne. This is repeated in Edward I's letter to Boniface (Foedera, i, 2, 933): "Since this William, the king of the Scots, had afterwards married his daughter to the count of Boulogne, without the consent of king John, his lord, [John] obtained due satisfaction from him for this transgression and rash presumption." Trivet (281) also says that this marriage was the cause of the dispute.

This is an error. The count of Boulogne, Reginald de Dammartin, was not an enemy of king John (see R.W., ii, 59; and below, year 1212, note); and married no daughter of William's. He was at this time married to Ida († 1216), through whom he had acquired the county. See Robertson's Early Kings, i, 418.

In reality, William had given his sister, Ada, to Florence, count of Holland, in 1162.

The words of the Annals of Margan seem to have been the basis of these false conjectures (R.S. 36, i, 29, s.a. 1209): "The king of England collected a large army, and set out for Scotland, against the king of Scotland; who was said to have entered into an alliance with [John's] enemies. . . ."

Cf. Bower, VIII, 78; i, 534.

Fordun (q.v.) says that a castle at Tweedmouth was the cause of the dispute: John had begun to build it, for the destruction of Berwick; "and the king of Scotland, not suffering this, had twice completely thrown it down, capturing, routing, and slaying, all the founders, workmen, and guards" (Annals, c. 25; Skene's ed., i, 277).

Hemingburgh has a curious account of the circumstances (E.H.S. ed., i, 242): "About the eleventh year of [John's] reign, William, the king of Scotland, gave his daughter as wife to the count of Flanders. And John, being angered by this, because [William] had made an alliance with his enemies, turned aside there with a numerous army, and took Berwick-upon-Tweed, and built a castle there. And the king of Scotland, seeing that his strength was not equal to resisting him, sent envoys to John, and asked for the things that are of peace: and since his request was supported by a sum of money, and since hostages were given—namely, his two daughters (not, however, Alexander, his son, for whom John had asked)—John returned to London, and held his parliament there. . . ."

[1] *sacerdos.*

[2] For John, see year 1186; E.C., 306, 310 note, 314; Bower, VIII, 66, i, 520; D.B., 355; H. & S., ii, 1, 56.

Master Randolph, the archdeacon of St Andrews, died; and master Laurence, the official,[1] succeeded him.

Alan, Roland's son, married the daughter of earl David, the king of Scotland's brother.[2]

Permission was given by the lord pope for divine offices to be celebrated once in the week in the abbeys throughout England, in a hushed voice, with closed doors, laymen being excluded.[3]

About the festival of St James,[4] the king of England and the king of Scotland went to meet each other[5]; and there they

[1] *officialis:* i.e., presiding officer of the archdeacon's court.

[2] This paragraph is abbreviated in C.L. The wife of Alan, Roland's son, was Margaret, earl David's oldest daughter (Fordun, Annals, cc. 31, 75; Claims of Balliol and Bruce, in Foedera, i, 2, 776, 777). Brompton, however, says that Alan's wife was called Christina (Twysden, Scriptores, 975). This is an error; although one of his daughters bore that name. Alan's children by Margaret were Christiana and Derbforgaill or Dervorgilla (Foedera, i, 2, 776). Cf. year 1214, note; D.K., 66. Fordun (Annals, c. 75) and C.L. say erroneously that Derbforgaill was the elder of the sisters. She married John de Balliol, and was the mother of king John. See year 1233.

For Alan, Roland's son († 1234), see year 1212, note.

Bower says that the marriage took place at Dundee (VIII, 68, i, 523; s.a. 1208).

[3] Cf. C.L., u.s.; R.W.; and the Chronicle of Worcester (R.S. 84, ii, 49-50; 38, iv, 397). The interdict was further relaxed in 1212 (Coggeshall, and Annals of Waverley; R.S. 66, 165; 38, ii, 271); and was removed in July, 1214.

[4] I.e., about 25th July. The same date is given by the Annales Wintonienses, in A.N.G., 185, s.a. 1209: "In this year, king John led his army to the borders of Scotland, about the festival of St James; and received the two daughters of the king as hostages of peace."

This paragraph of C.M. is copied by C.L., 7. R.W.'s date of John's return from Norham, the 28th of June (ii, 50), is incorrect. Hardy's Itinerary shows that John did not visit Norham on this occasion before August. He seems to have left Newcastle-upon-Tyne on 1st August; and to have reached Tweedmouth on 3rd August, Norham on the 4th. He left Norham not later than the 7th, on which day he was at Fenwick (some 8 miles south-east of Berwick).

The Annals of Winchester name the month correctly: "King John led an army into Scotland; and king William met him, and made peace with him. Returning from there, the king received homage from all the freemen of England. These things were done in the months of August and September," in 1209 (R.S. 36, ii, 80).

[5] At Norham (R.W., in E.C., 329; Chronicle of Huntingdon, below).

MS. B of A.C. (R.S. 20, 66), s.a. 1209, reads: "The king went into Scotland" (*in Scotiam*, as in the Annals of Winchester, above).

established peace between them; on such terms, however, that the king of Scotland gave to the king of the English his two daughters, to be married,[1] with thirteen thousand

[1] The Huntingdon Chronicle says (P. & S., 212-213): "And in the ninth year afterwards," (i.e., after the homage done to prince Alexander, in 1201, October 12th: not fully eight years before) "John — — [the king of England] came with a large army to Norham. But peace was immediately made between the kings; king John receiving much money from king William. And king William's daughters, Margaret and Isabella, were given into the custody of the lord king of England." The first sentence of this passage is also in the Chronicle of Carlisle (Palgrave, 74).

Cf. Bain, ii, 115.

The Chronicle of Bridlington says (67): "In the month of August, John, king of the English, and William, king of the Scots, made peace, a settlement being agreed upon between them: but since the terms were not sufficiently made known to us, we did not think that they should be entered doubtfully" (*sub ambiguo*).

The Commissioners' record of the contents of the 1291 chronicles, after quoting from the chronicle of Tewkesbury (128) to the effect that an agreement was made [in 1209] that Scotland should give hostages to England in perpetuity, reads (Palgrave, 136): "And in a certain document written after the chronicles of the Scots it is found that Alexander, William's son, the king of Scotland, did homage to John, the king of England, at Alnwick, for all the rights [*pro omnibus rectitudinibus*] for which his father had done homage to king Henry, the same John's father; and that fifteen hostages were then given from the kingdom of Scotland at Norham, to insure the keeping of peace."

Two only of William's daughters were given as hostages (Bain, i, pp. li-lv).

Margaret or Isabella was to have been married to one of John's sons, Henry or Richard. Foedera, i, 1, 233: Bain, i, no. 1358.

Cf. Robertson's Index, p. xii, no. 3. See his Early Kings, 417.

Cf. Fordun, Annals, c. 25 (i, 277): ". . . They came at last to this decision, that the king of Scotland's daughters, Margaret and Isabella, should be given to the king of the English, to be married, in the tenth year following [*post novem annos inita transcursos*], to his sons, still infants, Henry and Richard: so at least that one of [William's daughters] should marry the one of [John's sons] to whom the heritage of the kingdom should fall. And this was sworn by king John." See the more trustworthy account given by G.C., in E.C., 329, note. Henry III actually proposed, in 1231, to marry a younger daughter, presumably Isabella, after Margaret had married Hubert de Burgh; but was dissuaded (see R.W. and M.P.; E.C., 338, 336).

The two princesses were given up not later than 7th August (see the treaty, in Foedera, i, 1, 103). The inserted folio 13 in C.M. says that they were given up on the 25th of July; but that date is derived from the present passage.

pounds[1]; and received permission to throw down the castle that had been erected, opposite to Berwick: and this condition was carried out. And he gave to [John], as hostages for the preservation of the peace, the sons of good men of his land: but [this peace] was made contrary to the wishes of the Scots.[2]

John seems to have provided very liberally for their needs (see Bain, i, nos. 544, 559, 562-565, 568, 570, 572, 579, 581, 597, 602, 609, 612, 646).

Isabella married Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk (1223 × 1253). See year 1223; and E.C., 369. Cf. year 1253, note.

Margaret (who is also called Margery) married Hubert de Burgh, the earl of Kent († 1243), in 1221. She died in November, 1259 (cf. Bain's Calendar, i, 425, 426). The Annals of Dunstable seem to imply that Hubert divorced her in 1232; and that she married Gilbert Marshal in 1235 (E.C., 339, 340). If this is their meaning, it is incorrect. Margaret was not divorced (cf. Bain's Calendar, i, nos. 1160, 1162, 1297, 1478, 1582, 1617, etc.).

Margaret or Margery (called Marjory, by C.M.), Gilbert Marshal's wife, was a younger sister of Margaret, countess of Kent. She died in 1244 (E.C., 358). Cf. D.K., 83.

See below, year 1235.

[1] " . . . and at the same time, 13,000 pounds, for the liberty of the harbour of Berwick: and for this he obtained permission to throw down the castle that had been erected . . . " Chronicle of Lanercost (followed by the Gale MS. of W.C.: R.S. **58**, ii, 200).

Fordun says (Annals, c. 25; i, 277): "All the ancient honours shall remain safe to the king of Scotland.

"And in order that all these conditions shall be adhered to, 15,000 marks must be paid to John, the king of England, within two years, at four terms."

Fordun's number is correct. It has been derived from William's declaration of his part in the agreement. A copy of the declaration is preserved; it is dated on 7th August, at Norham (Bain, i, 76; but Rymer reads "Northampton"). See Foedera, i, **1**, 103; and cf. 233.

[2] Inserted folio 53 in C.M. (234) copies this passage, and reads here: "And it was done contrary to the wishes of the Scots." C.L., also copying this passage, reads: "A thing that greatly displeased the Scots."

For this conference and agreement, see E.C., 328-329.

Fordun adds to these agreements the following (Annals, c. 26; i, 277-278): "It was concluded and agreed between them in those days that the king of Scotland should unconditionally and unreservedly resign to John [*pure sibi resignaret et simpliciter*] all his lands and possessions which he had held of the king of the English; and that the same king of England should restore the same to Alexander, the king of Scotland's son and heir, to be held of him. And this was done in the same year, at Alnwick, where [Alexander] did to [John] fealty and homage for all the said lands, possessions, and honours, in the freest manner in which his father or his [father's] predecessors had formerly done to [John] or to the kings of the

About the festival of St Martin,[1] two bishops—of Salisbury, and of Rochester[2]—came to Scotland. Of these, the one ([the bishop] of Salisbury) dwelt at Kelso; and the other, at Roxburgh: each at his own expense. To these the venerable king[3] of Scotland gave eighty chalders of wheat, as a mark of honour; and sixty-six of barley, and eighty of oats.

The abbot of Coupar[-Angus], Richard, retired; and Alexander succeeded him.[4]

English before him, most to their own freedom or honour: in such wise also that never thenceforward should the king, but the heir for the time being to the kingdom of Scotland, do" (reading *faciat*, with MS. C, instead of *facta*) "fealty and homage to the king of the English for the aforesaid lands, honours, and possessions.

"These letters and indentures having been confirmed on either side, the inhabitants of both kingdoms began to have experience of perpetual peace."

See year 1212.

The treaty was confirmed in 1210. See E.C., 329.

The Annals of Margan say (R.S. **36**, i, 29): ". . . But [John] quickly returned, peace having been restored and confirmed [*reformata et firmata*] between them." With this compare the words of the Annals of Dunstable (R.S. **36**, iii, 33), s.a. 1209: "In the same year, Otho [IV] was made emperor by pope Innocent. And peace was confirmed [*firmatur*] between John, king of England, and William, king of Scotland."

[1] I.e., about 11th November.

[2] The bishop of Salisbury was Herbert Poor (1194-†1216; G.C., with Coggeshall, 185). The bishop of Rochester was Gilbert Glanville (1185-†1214; Hoveden; G.C., etc.).

After the death of Philip, bishop of Durham (see year 1208), the bishops fled, according to G.C., ii, 100, s.a. 1207, from England: ". . . The bishop of Winchester alone had in any way the favour of the king. . . . The bishop of Rochester and the bishop of Salisbury suffered many molestations from [king John], and went away to Scotland." Under 1208, the Annals of Dunstable say (R.S., **36**, iii, 31): "The bishops of Salisbury and of Rochester stayed [*moram fecerunt*] in Scotland, with the favour of the king of England. And [Peter des Roches] the bishop of Winchester alone remained in England."

[3] *quibus venerabilis rex.* Stevenson (Church Historians, iv, **1**, 151) would apparently read *venerabilibus* "to these venerable men, the king . . . ." But this emendation is unnecessary: William was 66 years old at this time. Cf. e.g. Bain, i, 106, no. 599.

[4] This succession is added in the space left blank after the year. For Richard, see year 1207; and Rogers's Cupar, i, 7-8. For Alexander, see year 1240.

In 1209, on May 5th, pope Innocent III wrote a letter to William Malveisin, bishop of St Andrews, answering a question in connection with the marriage law (P.L. **216**, 43-44; L.A., 389-391).

1209

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 248, s.a. 1209[1]

The sons of Reginald, Somerled's son, fought a battle against the men of Skye; and slaughter[2] was made of them there.[3]

1209

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 123; s.a. 1209[4]

A military expedition [was] prepared, from Norway to the Hebrides.[5]

1209-1210

Eirspennill's Hakon, Guthorm, and Ingi's Saga, c. 18; Unger's Konunga Sögur, pp. 235-236[6]

Then[7] arose a murmur in both armies[8] among those men who had no riches, but yet had rank. Then this plan was made, that in the following spring they should plunder in the Hebrides, and procure wealth for themselves. Men from both armies then purposed to do this.

Then too Peter Steypir and Hreidar Messenger made their plan: they purposed to go out to Jerusalem. [Hreidar] had married Margaret, a daughter of king Magnus.[9]

[1] With epact and inserted ferial number of 1209. MS. B numbers the year 1208.

[2] "innumerable slaughter" MS. B, and A.L.C., 240, s.a. 1208 (copying this passage).

[3] I.e., of the men of Skye. Cf. below, year 1212.

[4] With dominical and paschal letters of 1209.

[5] See year 1210.

[6] Also in F.S., ix, 53-54. The corresponding part of Sk.'s Croziers' Saga is missing. There are parallel passages in Ingi Bard's son's Saga, preserved in Claussön's Old-Danish translation (Snorre Sturlesöns Norske Kongers Chronica, 577-579); in F.S., ix, 186-192.

[7] After peace made between king Ingi, Bard's son, with his Birchlegs, and Philip and bishop Nicholas, with their Croziers (Baglar); and the betrothal of bishop Nicholas's kinsman Philip, son of Simon, and sister's son of king Ingi, with Kristín, king Sverri's daughter. Cf. F.S., ix, 84.

[8] Birchlegs and Croziers.

[9] Peter Steypir (a sister's-son of king Sverri) had married Margaret's sister, Ingibiorg, daughter of king Magnus Erling's son. Cf. F.S., ix, 5, 98, 192.

When this had been arranged, they parted: the Croziers went east; and the Birchlegs, to Bergen. The Croziers called Philip king then, as before.

In the following spring, Philip sent two skiffs north to Bergen, to Kristín King's-daughter. They found there Eystein, Hroi's son; Amundi Bristle; and Grundi Herd. The king's daughter went east to Vik. Philip made his wedding in Oslo. There came west from Gautland queen Margaret, who had been king Sverri's wife; she was a daughter of king Eric the Holy; she was also the mother of Kristín.[1]

That summer, Thormod Thasramr, and Thormod Foal's-leg, [and] Uspak the Hebridean, went on piracy into the Hebrides; these were Birchlegs. And of the Croziers were Eric, Tofi's son, and Eric, and Erlend Píkr, Berg Maull, Nicholas Gilli: they had twelve ships.

One winter later Peter Steypir and Hreidar went from the land; and they had two ships: and they never came back.[2]

[1] The Icelandic Annals (CDA) place this marriage, and (CDAEP) queen Margaret's death, in 1209.

[2] With the whole passage, cf. Ingi Bard's son's Saga, u.s.: "There was a great turmoil both among the Birchlegs and among the Croziers, because there were many excellent men who had lost all their goods and their money in the war. Then this plan was devised, that in the following summer they should go west to the Hebrides, on piracy, and procure for themselves again goods and money. And on both sides they prepared ships for this.

"Peter Steypir, and Hreidar Messenger (who had married Margaret, king Magnus Erling's son's daughter), made a compact that they would sail out to Jerusalem the next following summer; and therewith they parted. . . .

"Some time after this reconciliation [between Ingi and Philip], many from both parties asked for leave of absence. Some went home, to their houses and estates; and some, upon trading voyages; and in the following spring, both Birchlegs and Croziers sailed with twelve ships upon piracy, out among the western lands. And they plundered in the Hebrides, and the neighbouring islands, because the kings in the islands had civil war among themselves.

"They pillaged the holy island, which Norwegians have always held sacred; then they fell out, and parted. And so their men were slain in various places. And those that came back to Norway were severely rebuked by the bishops for their piracy. . . .

"This summer, Peter Steypir and Hreidar Messenger went from the land with two large ships, and a great force. Their wives, Ingibiorg and

× 1202-1210

Ingi Bard's son's Saga; Formanna Sögur, vol. ix, pp. 192-194[1]

In king Sverri's time, earl Harold[2] Matad's son in Orkney, with many more there in the island, set himself up against him; and they let themselves be called the Islanders. But the earl was reconciled again with king Sverri. Then must all the taxes and fines[3] from Orkney and Shetland fall to the king in Norway. And the king placed his bailiff, by name Arni Loria, in Orkney with the earl; and earl Harold dared say nothing against him, so long as king Sverri lived. But immediately after [king Sverri's] death, [earl Harold] caused Arni Loria to be treacherously murdered; and laid Orkney and Shetland under himself again, with all its taxes and dues, as he had had it before. And he died two years after king Ingi had become king in Norway.[4]

Then his sons, John and David, became earls in Orkney; and they held the lands as their father had done, so long as there was civil war in Norway. But when they heard that the kings were reconciled, [the earls] sent bishop Biarni to Norway. He found king Ingi and earl Hakon in Bergen, and acquainted them with the earl's message, that they desired to be reconciled with them. And this went so far that he got safe-conducts for them from the king and the earl, that the earls might come to them the following summer, and be reconciled with them.

In that summer in which the vikings (that is, the Norwegian

Margaret, daughters of king Magnus, went with them. Much is told of their journeyings.

"On that expedition died Peter Steypir, and his wife. But Hreidar came to Jerusalem, and went back to the emperor of Constantinople, and served him long; and there he died."

The Icelandic Annals (CDA) place the voyage of Peter Steypir and Hreidar in the year 1211, and (CDA) the deaths of Peter Steypir and (CD) of Ingibiorg in the year 1213.

[1] From Claussön's Danish translation, 579-580. This passage follows the account of Hreidar's death (above, note).

[2] In text *Torald.*

[3] *Landgilde oc Sagefald.*

[4] Ingi became king in 1204, according to Hakon Hakon's son's Saga and the later Icelandic Annals.

pirates) went west beyond the sea, after the reconcilement of the kings, the king's officers went with them to Orkney and Shetland; and the next summer after that, the earls and the bishop went with them to Norway, to be reconciled with the king and the earl. And they placed the whole affair under the king's and earl's own good pleasure. They adjudged them to pay a large sum of money: and in addition they had to give them security and hostages, and to swear them loyalty and obedience. But in the end, king Ingi made them his earls over Orkney and Shetland, upon such terms as were adhered to until their death-day.

Ronald, king of Möen in the Hebrides,[1] and Godfrey, king over the island of Man,[2] had not for a long time given taxes to the kings in Norway. When the Norwegian vikings had now swarmed there about the island, and plundered and burned; and [when] the kings understood that there was peace made in Norway, they were afraid, and went to Norway, and reconciled themselves with king Ingi and earl Hakon, and paid the tax that stood over; and swore them loyalty and obedience, and took their lands in fief of the king of Norway; and so went home again.

1210

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 123; s.a. 1210[3]

Koli[4] was consecrated as bishop to the Hebrides.[5] At that

[1] *Konge aff Möen i syder ö.* See p. 382.

[2] *Konge paa Manö.*

[3] With dominical and paschal letters of 1210. Similarly in DA (182; Fl., iii, 523).

[4] According to Lind (Norsk-isländska Dopnamn, 705), the name *Koli* was a by-form of *Kolr.*

Koli has been identified with Nicholas (*Nicolaus*) in the List of Bishops of Man. Nicholas died in 1217. He was elected 1193×.

Koli's appointment might appear to be connected with the Norwegian invasion of 1210; but Nicholas seems to have been the suffragan of an Irish archbishop. See year 1217.

The consecration of Nicholas was opposed by the monastery of Furness, which claimed its right to elect the bishops of the islands. Olaf, king of the islands, wrote [1206 × 1216] to [? Hamo] the dean and the convent of the

time there had been no bishop there for forty winters, since bishop Nemar[1] was [there].[2]

Warfare in the Hebrides. The holy island was pillaged.

church of York, requesting the consecration of "Nicholas, our bishop-elect." Chronicle of Man, ii, 272-273; D.M., vi, **3**, 1186.

This letter must have been written at a time when the see of York was vacant: probably after the departure of archbishop Geoffrey, king Henry II's son, and before the postulation of Walter Gray (∴ 2 Feb. 1207 × 27 Mar. 1216). Cf. R.S. **71**, ii, 400-402. It was probably not written during the interdict (24 Mar. 1208 - 2 July 1214); therefore its conjecturable date was 2nd February 1207 × 24th March 1208.

The opposition of Furness may have been supported by York. The consecration of Nicholas was delayed, and he seems to have obtained it in Ireland.

[5] "to the Faroes" A. Bishop Simon, whose consecration to the Hebrides is noted by A under 1226, is called by A "bishop of the Faroes" at his death, s.a. 1248. There were at least four bishops of the Faroes between 1210 and 1248 (Svein, †1212; Sorkvi, 1216-†1237; Bergsvein, †1243; Peter, consecrated 1246). Three of these (including Svein and Peter) are mentioned in A. The last bishop of the Faroes mentioned before 1210 in the Annals was Hroi, consecrated in 1162 (CA).

[1] *Nemar*, C; *Nemarr*, D; *Reinar*, A. Reinar is the Old-Danish name *Regnær*, Anglo-Saxon *Regenhere*.

If A has the true reading of this bishop's name, it might be supposed that A's reading of the place might also be correct. In naming the Hebrides, instead of using the correct plural form (*Sudreyjar*), Fl. sometimes employs a singular form, *Sudrey*; which should mean Syderö, the southern island in the Faroe group. Hence an error might easily arise.

No bishop Nemar or Reinar is elsewhere recorded, either in the Faroes or in the Hebrides. Saint-Martin and Rousselet say that there is in Syderö a height named *Reinerwere*. I have not been able to verify this statement; and if correct it may have no bearing on the case.

Reinar has been identified with the bishop named Reginald in the List of Bishops of Man (see year 1154, note). Reginald was appointed after 1154, and his successor may have died in 1186. The Icelandic annalists' allegation that the see was vacant for 40 years is accounted for by the theory that Reginald's successors in the Hebrides (? Christian and Michael) did not accept the superiority of the archbishop of Trondhjem. The first was buried at Bangor, the second at Fountains; from which it may be inferred with some probability that the first had accepted the superiority of the archbishop of Armagh, while the second was a suffragan of York.

[2] D reads erroneously: "Since bishop Nemar was taken prisoner of war in the Hebrides"; and omits the next sentence.

1210

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 109

In the year 1210, Richard, the bishop of Dunkeld, died, in the month of May.[1]

And Thomas de Colville was made prisoner, and placed in custody in Edinburgh; because of sedition which he had plotted against his king and lord — as the tongue of evil rumour proclaims.[2] He ransomed himself at the festival of St Martin.[3]

In the month of June, John, the king of England, collected an army and subjugated Ireland to himself.[4] And on his

[1] For Richard de Prebenda (who seems to have succeeded in 1203), see Bower, VIII, 72, 75; D.B., 52; K.B., 77-78. His successor was John of Leicester. See year 1211.

[2] *ut infamia narrando clamat.*

[3] 11th November. See year 1219.

[4] According to the Annals of Margan, king John was in Ireland from June to September; according to Paris, from 6th June to 30th August (R.S. **36**, i, 29; **44**, ii, 122-123. Cf. R.S. **73**, ii, 105, 107; **66**, 164; **58**, ii, 202; **84**, ii, 56-57; **57**, ii, 529-530). Hardy's Itinerary of John shows that he went to Ireland 16th × 20th June, and returned to Wales 24th × 26th August, 1210.

According to A.L.C., i, 242, king John, after occupying Carrickfergus, "sent a fleet of his people to Man; and they plundered it, and slew its inhabitants." Hardy's Itinerary of John shows that John was at Carrickfergus (16th × 29th July, and certainly) from 19th to 28th July.

According to F.M., iii, 164, s.a. 1209, "Thorfinn, son of the king of the Gallgaidil," (Galwegians?) "was given as hostage by Croibderg Ua-Conchobair to king John, along with "three others of the relatives [*aes gradha*] of Ua-Conchobair"; and these hostages were taken by John to England [in 1210]. Alan, lord of Galloway, had married a daughter of Hugh de Lacy, the now banished earl of Ulster (E.C., 341). He had probably allowed Philip de Worcester to pass through his land; and he had given harbourage to Matilda de Haye, and other relatives of William de Braose.

For these affairs, cf. the Annals of Margan (R.S. **36**, i); the Annals of Dunstable (ibid., iv); R.W., followed by M.P. (R.S. **84**, **44**, **57**): also Coggeshall (**66**), W.C. (**58**), and the continuator of W.N. (**82**); and the Annals of Worcester (R.S. **36**, iv). Cf. Miss Norgate's John Lackland (1902), 139-156, 287-288.

William de Braose had been a leader among those who made John king of England (R.S. **36**, i, 24-25). He had given up Arthur of Brittany to John (on 1st August, 1202; Coggeshall, 138. Cf. R.W., ii, 48).

John demanded hostages from his barons, in 1208, in order to secure their allegiance notwithstanding the interdict, and his threatened excommunication. William de Braose is said to have refused to give his sons as

hostages ; Matilda, his wife, is said to have pointed to the fate of Arthur, John's own nephew, as the reason for refusing (R.S. **84**, ii, 48-49 ; **44**, ii, 117 ; **57**, ii, 523-524). For this, or some other reason, William de Braose fell into suspicion with John in 1208, and was summoned to court. According to the Annals of Worcester (396), he was summoned because Geoffrey Marsh had taken possession of Limerick. (A daughter of William de Braose, Margaret, married Walter de Lacy—R.S. **86**, i, 30 ; iv, 399—; a sister of Walter de Lacy married Geoffrey Marsh—R.W., iii, 83.) William de Braose did not obey the summons. He fled to Ireland, with his family (R.S. **86**, i, 29 ; iii, 30 ; iv, 396 : R.W., ii, 48-49).

John issued his account of the affair, in 1212 (see Foedera, i, **1**, 107-108). According to this account, the cause of the dispute was that William had failed to pay "5,000 marks, for our land in Munster, which we had dimitted to him" (ibid., 107). (The sale is thus described by Hoveden, iv, 152-153 (copied by W.C., ii, 179-180) : "In the same year [1200], John, the king of England, sold to William de Braose for 5,000 marks the whole land of Philip de Worcester, and the whole land of Theobald, son of Walter, in Ireland. But Philip, escaping from the king's hands with difficulty, returned to Ireland, passing through the land of the king of Scots ; and recovered part of his land by war. And Theobald, son of Walter, by the help of Hubert, the archbishop of Canterbury, his brother, gave to William de Braose 500 marks, to have his land again ; and became his man.")

Before William fled to Ireland, John had received from him as hostages "two sons of William de Braose, the younger ; and one son of Reginald de Braose ; and four sons of his vassals" (Foedera, i, 107).

William de Braose, the elder, "fled to Ireland, with his sons above-named [William and Reginald], and with his wife ; and with their families. And there he was received, and harboured against us, by earl William Marshal, and Walter de Lacy, and Hugh de Lacy" (ibid.). They promised to give him up to the king, but did not do so. He received safe-conduct to the king, and left his family behind in Ireland ; but instead of going to the king, when he arrived in the sheriffdom of Hereford, he proceeded to raise a revolt.

William de Ferrieres, a nephew of William de Braose, offered to mediate between his uncle and the king. William de Braose offered to pay 40,000 marks for peace, and for his possessions in England and Wales. John declared that he would collect this fine from William's wife, Matilda de Haye, and their friends, in Ireland. When the king had gone to Ireland, William de Braose remained in Wales, and committed rebellious acts within the jurisdiction of the sheriff of Hereford (ibid.).

John's statement continues : "Meanwhile, Matilda de Haye, hearing of our arrival in Ireland [June, 1210], fled towards Scotland, by sea, along with her sons, William and Reginald, and with her private household ; in the company of Hugh de Lacy, who had likewise fled, because of our arrival.

"And while we were at Carrickfergus [July, 1210], after the capture of that castle, a certain friend and relative of ours, of Galloway, Duncan de Carrick, announced to us that he had taken prisoners the aforesaid Matilda, and her daughter, the wife of Roger de Mortimer's son ; and the aforesaid

William the younger, and his wife, and his two sons. But Hugh de Lacy and Reginald de Braose had escaped.

"And we sent John de Courcy, and Godfrey de Cracombe, with balistaries, and sergeants, and two cages [*duabus gabiis*], to fetch them. And when they were brought to us, Matilda began to speak with us of making a fine; and offered to us 40,000 marks for the life and members of her husband, and of herself, and of her [kindred]: on these terms, that her husband should quit-claim to us all his castles, and the whole of his land. And it was so agreed between us at that time. But after three days she regretted that fine, and said that she could not adhere to that fine.

"After this, when we left Carrickfergus on our way back to England, we took her and hers with us in custody. And she again offered us 40,000 marks, and in addition 10,000 marks, because she had resiled from the first agreement. And we consented, on the condition that, as often as she resiled from the agreement, she should add 10,000 marks to the fine: [the addition] to be paid along with the first instalment" (ibid.).

All the prisoners were to be kept until the whole debt was paid. "And after our arrival in England, when Matilda and her [relatives] were at Bristol in custody, she asked us to give her husband permission to come, and speak with her privately; and we granted it. After this, the same William came to us, and granted the fine which his wife had made with us; and promised that he was willingly prepared to pay. And when he was to go to collect the money, we gave to him, at his own request, one sergeant of Geoffrey, son of Peter, our justiciar, to be with him, and conduct him, lest he should be obstructed anywhere, because he had so often been denounced [*demandatus*] to the counties, as a malefactor.

"And when the day of the first payment approached, he left the aforesaid sergeant, and fled secretly from our land of England, and gave us nothing of our money aforesaid" (ibid., 107-108).

Matilda declared that she would not pay, and that she had practically nothing towards the fine. John failed to raise the money in the confiscated lands; and William de Braose "was at last outlawed, according to the law and custom of England" (ibid., 108).

Matilda de Haye (called de S. Walerico, in the Annals of Margan; R.S. **36**, i, 30), and her son, William de Braose the younger, were starved to death at Windsor (ibid.; R.S. **82**, ii, 511-512; and **58**, ii, 202. The other chronicles say that all the captives they name perished; other sons of William the elder—**66**, 164—; the wife of William the younger—**84**, ii, 57; **44**, ii, 123-124; iii, 225; **57**, ii, 530—; a daughter of William the elder, and also William de Lacy—**36**, iii, 32. The Annals of Margan mention the brothers and wife of William the younger among the captives, but do not say that they were put to death).

After failing to collect the ransom of 50,000 marks (a sum which John must have known he could not raise), William de Braose escaped to France (R.S. **36**, i, 30). He died there, in 1211 (ibid., 31; **84**, ii, 59), on August 9th, at Corbeil (**44**, ii, 12; **57**, ii, 532).

Giles de Braose, his son, the bishop of Hereford, had escaped to France

return from Ireland, he despoiled the Cistercian monks in many [ways].[1] And he took away from the Jews almost everything that they had, and turned them out of their houses; putting out the eyes of some, and destroying some with famine; and cast them all into so great dangers through need, that the Jews used to beg for food from door to door, in the name of Jesus Christ, from Christians. And they suffered hunger like dogs, and went about the cities; so that what was to befal them was foretold, to the letter, by the spirit, in the words of the prophet, who says: "They shall return in the evening," etc.[2] . . .[3]

in 1208, along with the executors of the interdict (R.S. **84**, ii, 46-47; **36**, i, 29; iii, 31; ii, 261; iv, 396). He recovered his inheritance in 1213 (**66**, 168; **84**, ii, 71); and died in 1218 (**36**, iii, 52, s.a. 1216=1218), being succeeded in his estates by his brother Reginald.

After joining the party of the barons, sons of William de Braose had obtained pardon and restitution, early in the reign of Henry III (cf. Patent Rolls (1901), 72-75, 103, 109-110, 112-113, 134).

Hugh and Walter de Lacy had risen to power in Ireland through their treacherous capture of John de Courcy, in 1201 (R.S. **58**, ii, 190-191). Hugh was made "earl of Ulster" (**36**, i, 30; **36**, iv, 399); Walter became "lord of Meath" (**36**, iii, 85; **84**, ii, 57). Cf. Ramsay's Angevin Empire, 423.

John in his campaign of 1210 exiled Hugh de Lacy, and deprived his brother, Walter de Lacy, of his lands (**66**, 164; **84**, ii, 57; **36**, i, 30; **36**, iii, 32; **36**, iv, 399; **82**, ii, 510). Walter was exiled in 1211, because he refused to dismiss his wife, a daughter of William de Braose (**36**, iv, 399). These brothers seem to have shared in the reconciliation of 1213.

The two de Lacys rebelled again in Ireland, in 1223 (R.S. **36**, iii, 85); and were subdued by William Marshal, in 1225 (ibid., 91).

In 1234, Walter and Hugh de Lacy, along with Geoffrey Marsh (then justiciar of Ireland), joined the conspiracy against Richard Marshal († 1st April, 1234).

Walter de Lacy died in 1241, "the most eminent among all the nobles of Ireland" (R.S. **44**, ii, 447; **57**, iv, 93. Cf. **57**, iv, 174). Cf. the unhistorical Legend of Fulk Fitz-Warin (**66**, 295-323).

Hugh de Lacy raised a rebellion in Galloway, against the king of Scotland, in 1236. He died in 1242; "a most renowned warrior, and the glorious conqueror of a great part of Ireland" (R.S. **57**, iv, 232).

[1] See the Annals of Margan (R.S. **36**, i, 29-30. Cf. R.S. **78**, ii, 105; **96**, ii, 18; **66**, 163; **58**, ii, 201-202; **36**, iii, 32; **44**, ii, 123; **57**, ii, 530; **82**, ii, 510-512).

[2] Psalms, LIX, 6, 14 (Vulgate, LVIII, 7, 15). The Vulgate version reads: "They shall return in the evening, and shall suffer hunger like dogs; and they shall go about the city." For this persecution of the Jews,

1210

Histoire des Ducs de Normandie, pp. 112-114

Maud de Braose[1] and her husband William, when they heard the news that the king was coming against them, dared not await him, but fled out of the country. William de Braose escaped to France, but that was by safe-conduct; and Maud his wife and William his son fled to Ireland, to Hugh de Lacy, who was [a relative of] William de Braose. The king seized their land; then put to sea, and passed to Ireland, and came to the city of Dublin, where he was received with great joy. . . .

King John besieged the castle of Carrickfergus, which was very strong. Hugh de Lacy and Maud de Braose and William her son had been in it; but when they heard speak of the coming of the king, they dared not wait, but took to the sea and fled to the island of Man, where they were for four days; then they passed further to the land of Galloway. There both Maud de Braose and her son William were captured; and they were sent back to Ireland to king John, who was still before the castle of Carrickfergus.

Hugh de Lacy was not taken along with them, but escaped, and fled into Scotland. . . .

King John took the castle of Carrickfergus, and placed bailiffs over the land; then he repaired to England. When he had arrived in England, he put Maud de Braose and William her son in prison, in the castle of Corfe; and had put beside them a sheaf of oats and one raw [flitch of] bacon; more food he never allowed to be put in. . . .[2]

1210

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 82

In the year 1210, Angus Somerled's son was slain, with his three sons.

In the same year, John, the king of England, led a fleet of

see R.W., ii, 54-55 (Cf. R.S. **96**, ii, 18; **58**, ii, 203; **44**, ii, 121; **57**, ii, 530; **82**, ii, 512).

The last paragraph is abbreviated in C.L.

[3] The remainder of this year-section is devoted to affairs of France. These affairs are copied by C.L., 7-8.

[1] Cf. the account of Matilda and her husband, in the Histoire des Ducs, 111-112. See above.

[2] They were both dead on the eleventh day. Ibid., 114-115.

five hundred ships to Ireland, and reduced it to himself. He sent part of his army with a certain earl called Fulk to Man; and they devastated it almost completely in a single fortnight, received hostages from it, and returned to their own land. King Reginald and his nobles were not in Man.[1]

1211

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 110-112

In the year 1211, on the day of St Mary Magdalene,[2] John, the archdeacon of Lothian, was elected bishop of Dunkeld.[3]

William, the dean of Cunningham, died.

On the eve of Saints Peter and Paul, William de Bois became the lord king of Scotland's chancellor.[4]

The king of England strengthened castles in Wales, and subdued it to himself.[5]

Sir Warinus, the abbot of Rievaulx, died[6]; and sir Elias, the cellarer of the same house, succeeded him.

Three abbots—of Fountains,[7] and of Furness,[8] and of Calder[9]

[1] Cf. the Annals of Furness, s.a. 1210 (R.S. **82**, ii, 511): "[John] destroyed the island of Man."

[2] 22nd July.

[3] Concerning this bishop's election, see the letter of pope Innocent III, of 13th June, 1212 (P.L. **216**, 634-635; L.A., 373-374). John is there called "archdeacon of Lothian." He is called "John of Leicester" by Bower. He died in 1214.

[4] I.e., on 28th June. He resigned this office in 1226, and died in 1231 (L.A., 375).

[5] This paragraph stands similarly in C.L., 8.

Wendover says that John's campaign in Wales lasted from 8th July to 15th August (R.S. **84**, ii, 58; cf. **44**, ii, 124-125). Hardy's Itinerary of John is blank from 18th May to 28th August, 1211. For this Welsh campaign, see also other English chronicles (R.S. **86**, i, 31; iv, 399; **96**, ii, 19; **58**, ii, 203; **82**, ii, 512-513).

[6] Cf. D.M., v, 277.

[7] This was John, who was elected bishop of Ely in 1219 (R.S. **58**, ii, 241), and consecrated in 1220, on March 8th (**66**, 187; **58**, ii, 243; **44**, ii, 241. Cf. **86**, i, 65; iii, 56. See also **84**, ii, 253, 257; and D.M., v, 306). He died in 1225 (**84**, ii, 285; **58**, ii, 257; **44**, ii, 271).

[8] This is said to have been Robert de Denton. Cf. i.a. Atkinson's Coucher Book of Furness Abbey, iii, pp. xliv-xlv.

[9] *Caldeia* (*e* superscript, within the loop of *d*). Stevenson translates this "of Caldre." The abbey of Calder, in Cumberland, was founded in 1134 (Chronicle of Man, i, 62; D.M., v, 339). It was a daughter house of Furness.

—were blessed by sir R[alph], the bishop of Down,[1] at Melrose, on the day of St Lucy[2]; and two other abbots received the award of benediction from the same bishop in that place, in the same year.

And in the same year, incalculable slaughter of men was made in every district, universally; beginning in the east, and ceasing not even to the west. . . .[3]

And the king of France, subjugating the king of England's land in districts beyond the sea, spilled no small amount of blood.[4] The king of England was responsible for equal slaughter, in the subjugation of the land of Ireland,[5] and of Wales.[6] And also the king of Scotland left behind him the lifeless corpses of many men, when he pursued the son of Mac-William, Godfrey,[7] and destroyed those responsible for perverting him.[8]

[1] See above, year 1202.

[2] 13th December. W.C., ii, 204, records a total eclipse of the moon on this day; but it is not to be found in L'Art.

[3] The chronicle here describes the strife between the emperor, Otho IV, and the pope (cf. R.S. **84**, ii, 55-56, s.a. 1210; **58**, ii, 202, 203, s.aa. 1210, 1211; and s.a. 1211, **66**, 164; etc. Otho had been consecrated by the pope in 1209: **66**, 163, etc.); the heresy of the Albigenses (cf. R.S. **66**, 164, 166, s.aa. 1212, 1213; **36**, i, 32, s.a. 1212; and s.a. 1213, **84**, ii, 87-93; **44**, ii, 143-144; and **57**, ii, 566 568. See Peter of Vaux-Cernay's Historia Albigensium, in B.R., xix); the success of king [Peter II] of Spain over Moorish invaders (cf. R.S. **36**, i, 31-32, s.a. 1212; **57**, ii, 565-566, s.a. 1213. Peter II, the king of Aragon, died in 1213).

[4] I.e., in 1204-1205.

[5] In 1210.

[6] In 1211.

[7] *Guthred;* i.e. Icelandic *Guðröðr.*

[8] *propriosque seductores destruendo.* This was in 1212; see E.C., 330.

With this list of disasters, cf. Coventry's catalogue for 1210; R.S. **58**, ii, 202-203.

According to Fordun, the rebellion had begun in Ross in 1211, and Godfrey was captured in 1212 (Gesta Annalia, c. 27; Skene's ed., i, 278-279): "Godfrey, the son of Mac-William, by treason of his followers was captured and chained, and presented to the lord Alexander, the king's son, at the king's manor and castle of Kincardine; and there was hanged by the feet, after his head had been cut off.

"The same Godfrey, son of Mac-William, had in the previous year, about the Lord's Epiphany [6th January, 1211]—by counsel, it was said, of the thanes of Ross—, come into those parts from Ireland; overcoming all obstacles, and in many ways molesting the kingdom of Scotland.

"Against him, the king's army was sent in haste; either to kill him, or

1212

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 112-113[1]

In the year 1212, the chief pontiff, Innocent [III], issued a general mandate, to every region that professed Christianity, bidding all pastors of the churches to assemble at Rome, in order to hold a general council there, at a prearranged time—the Kalends of November, in the year 1215—; all excuses unavailing; only a very few pastors being omitted, who should, by common agreement, remain behind in each country, for the guardianship of souls. And in the meantime these pastors were to preach with all solicitude the word of life, and to confirm those who were weak in the faith; to arouse those who were confirmed, and moreover to seal them with the sign of the cross for the aid of the holy land of promise, which at that time the Saracens handled too wickedly and unbefittingly. . . .[2]

Also Alexander, the son of William, king of the Scots, set out into England, to London; and received[3] the order of knighthood from the king of England, in the fourteenth[4] year of his age, on the eighth[5] day before the Ides of March, at "Laetare Jerusalem."[6] Having thus been honourably made

to drive him out of the land. King William himself followed the army; and in the same summer following [1211], he built two fortresses [*oppida*] in those parts. Of these, Godfrey with his followers burned down the one, after the king's departure; the guards surrendering of their own accord."

Cf. Bower, VIII, 76, i, 531-532; L.A., 377-378.

[1] The events of this year are copied from C.M. by C.L., 9-10.

[2] The chronicle says that two legates *a latere* were sent: Stephen de Langton, the archbishop of Canterbury, to England; Robert de Curzon, to France (for whom see below, year 1220).

The council was held on 11th, 20th, and 30th November, 1215 (Potthast).

[3] "to London; and received." We should probably read, with the Chronicle of Lanercost, "and received in London."

[4] In Fulman's text "nineteenth" (wrongly).

[5] 8th March (wrongly). "Ninth" in Stevenson's text is a mis-print for "eighth."

[6] I.e., the fourth Sunday in Lent, 1212. This was the 4th of March, which is the correct date (E.C., 330).

Cf. Melrose, no. 168; in which Eustace de Vesci confirmed to the Melrose monks their alms and lands in his fee, as they had and held them "in the next year after Alexander, the son of lord William, king of Scotland, did his homage to John, the king of England, on the morrow [4th May] of the Invention of the Holy Cross." This probably means that the confirmation was given on 4th May, 1213.

a knight, he returned home, with the applause and congratulation of either realm.[1]

[1] The Chronicle of Huntingdon says (Skene's P. & S., 213): "And in the second year following," (after the surrender of the princesses; therefore, before 7th August, 1212) "Alexander, king William's son, was knighted by John, the king of England." Cf. the Chronicle of Carlisle, s.a. 1210 (Palgrave, 74). Fordun says erroneously that Alexander returned to Scotland "about Easter" (Annals, c. 26; i, 278: i.e., about 25th March).

King William had proclaimed that he entrusted to king John the marriage of his son, Alexander, as John's liege man, within six years after the 7th of February, 1212; and had at the same time declared that (if John should die) he and Alexander would preserve fealty to John's son, Henry, as their liege lord, against all mortals; and would uphold him in his kingdom (L.A., 380-381. Foedera, i, **1**, 104; cf. Edward's letter to Boniface, ibid., **2**, 933).

John pardoned, at the young Alexander's request, Randolph de Bonnekil, who, being detained by service due to king Alexander, had failed to attend an assize (Close Rolls, i, 126; 29th October, 1212).

Earl David was one of the witnesses to the treaty made at Lambeth, on 4th May, 1212, in which John undertook to conclude with the king of France no peace in which Reginald de Dammartin, count of Boulogne, was not included (Foedera, i, **1**, 105. Cf. William the Armorican, De Gestis Philippi Augusti, in B.R., xvii, 87-88, s.a. 1212). Another witness to the same treaty was Eustace the Monk (see year 1217). Reginald had made a similar undertaking, and announced his fealty to John (Foedera, i, **1**, 104). Simultaneously negotiations were opened with Ferant, count of Flanders, and his aunt Margaret (ibid., 105).

At Lambeth, on 16th May, 1212, Reginald, king of the islands, proclaimed that he had become the liege man of king John (Foedera, i, **1**, 105; Chronicle of Man, ii, 289). See years 1219, 1205, notes.

Annals of St Edmunds, s.a. 1212 (R.S. **96**, ii, 20-21): "King John set out for Durham, in order to have a conference with the king of Scotland. And while he remained there, the Welsh (who had conspired, and bound themselves with mutual oaths and obligations) all rose suddenly and unexpectedly in insurrection against the king of England, under Lewelin, who had been with the king of England at Easter—the said king celebrating Easter [25th March] at Cambridge—; devastating without opposition the castles which the king of England had made in Wales [in 1211]. . . ."

John was at Durham on June 28th. He was at Carlisle, June 23rd-26th. William apparently met him there; and received 30 s. on the 25th, for his visit to court (H. Cole, Documents (1844), 234; Bain, i, no. 522).

The statement, based upon Coventry and the Itinerary, that John led an army into Scotland to subdue Godfrey Mac-William, is not borne out by the Itinerary (cf. L.A., 388); and it is contradicted by the Annals of St Edmunds, which imply that the forces sent to assist the king of Scotland were mercenaries. See E.C., 330.

John summoned his forces to be at Chester on the 19th of August, in

order to attack the Welsh. His letter to the lord of Galloway is preserved among the Close Rolls (1830 ed., i, 131 ; L.A., 382). "The king to his vassal [*fideli*] and kinsman, Alan of Galloway, greeting. We request you, for our serious affair for which we recently requested you, that as you love us you send to us a thousand of your Galwegians—of the best and most vigorous—, so that they shall be at Chester on the Sunday [19th August, 1212] next after the coming Assumption of the blessed Mary.

"And if you are able to send them there at your own cost, it would please us much. Otherwise, send them to Carlisle ; and there we shall provide them with their supplies [*liberacionibus*]. And place over them such an officer as shall keep peace with our army, and shall know how to oppress our enemies.

"[Witness the king, at Woodstock ; the 22nd day of July.]"

For some reason, John failed to appear at the rendezvous. On the 16th of August, he sent thanks to the nobles who had assembled at Chester, and bade them return home (Patent Rolls, i, 94). On the next day, he sent orders to his fleet to put out from Chester, and destroy the Welsh ships (Close Rolls, i, 121-122).

John collected his forces at Nottingham (R.W., ii, 61), in September (9th × 15th ; Hardy's Itinerary). He caused twenty-eight young hostages, taken from the Welsh in 1211, to be hanged (R.W.), and prepared to march against the Welsh. But he was warned of treason among the nobles in his army ; and he desisted from the campaign (E.C., 331 ; R.S. **66**, 164-165 ; **84**, ii, 61-62 ; **44**, ii, 127-128 ; **96**, ii, 21 ; **82**, ii, 513-514).

Fordun (Annals, c. 26 ; i, 278) says that the kings met in 1212, at Durham ; held a conference there on 2nd February, 1212 ; proceeded together to Norham, and there, in presence of the queen of Scotland, and many nobles of both kingdoms, renewed the peace they had previously made. This is fictitious.

Fordun states that John came north yet another time to meet William, and failed (1212 × 1214). Annals, c. 27 ; i, 279 : "For the sake of holding a conference with the king of Scotland, the king of England came to Norham. But since the king [of Scotland] was at that time ill, at Haddington, they did not meet to confer. Also the lord Alexander, the king's son, was not permitted to go to the king of England, although the king himself [John] besought this very much ; because his trickeries were feared."

The only occasion when John could have been in Norham, between 1212 and 1214, was in the end of January, 1213 (30th Jan. × 1st Feb.). He went from Alnwick to Bamborough on 28th January ; was at Fenwick (8 miles S.E. of Berwick) on the 30th ; and at Warkworth (6 miles S.E. of Alnwick) on 2nd February.

Fordun says (Annals, c. 27 ; i, 278) : "In Norham, at that time," (i.e., on the fictitious occasion of the kings' conference there in February of 1212) "Alan, the lord of Galloway, and constable of the king of Scotland, by the will and permission of his lord the king did homage to John, the king of England, for the extensive lands in Ireland that [king John] had bestowed upon him." See L.A., 371.

Also in those days there arose in England a man of marvellous boldness and abstinence, Peter by name; who (by what spirit, I know not) predicted the future, and from day to day reproached even the king of England with his cruelty to the church; and proclaimed to his face that in a very short time he should lose the honour of the kingdom, and the name of king. And indeed this happened afterwards, in great part; as the succeeding years shall declare.[1]

1212

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 252, s.a. 1212[2]

Thomas, Uhtred's son, with the sons of Reginald, Somerled's son, came to Derry of Columcille with seventy-six[3] ships; and the place was to a great extent destroyed[4] by them; and Inishowen was completely destroyed by them, and by the Cenel-Conaill.[5]

1212-1213[6]

[1] This account of the prophecies of Peter of Pontefract (or of Wakefield) is copied by C.L. (p. 10. Peter is mentioned there under 1211 also; p. 9). See R.S. **84**, ii, 62-63, 76-77; **58**, ii, 208, 209, 212; **44**, ii, 129, 136; **82**, ii, 514, 515; **36**, i, 60; ii, 278; iv, 401; iv, 57-58. The Annals of Dunstable say erroneously that Peter was imprisoned in 1210 (R.S. **36**, iii, 34). He was imprisoned in 1212, and put to death in 1213. See Miss Norgate's John Lackland, 170, 184.

C.M. notices Peter's prophecies again, and his death, s.a. 1214 (115, 116); and is followed by C.L., 13, s.a. 1213 (cf. 14, s.a. 1214).

[2] With f.n. and e. of 1212. MS. B numbers the year erroneously 1211. Very similar passages are in F.M., iii, 170, s.a. 1211; and in A.L.C., i, 246, s.a. 1211 (with e. of 1211).

[3] "seventy-seven" A.L.C.

[4] "was plundered and destroyed" F.M.

[5] "They went from there to Inishowen, and destroyed the whole island" ("*recte*, peninsula" O'Donovan) F.M.; "the Ui-Domnaill and they went together to Inishowen, and destroyed the country completely" A.L.C.

[6] For an account of a council held at Perth in 1212, in favour of a crusade, see Bower, VIII, 78, i, 534; L.A., 383-384. The council was held at the instance of William Malveisin, bishop of St Andrews, and Walter, bishop of Glasgow; said to have been papal legates.

In [April] 1213, pope Innocent III exhorted the faithful in various countries, including Scotland, to contribute to the crusade; and commanded the bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow to preach and collect for the crusade, in Scotland (P.L. **216**, 817-823; Bliss, i, 38).

1213

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 113-114

In the year 1213, Reynold, the bishop of Ross, formerly a monk of Melrose, died, on the day of St Lucy.[1] And after his death, master Andrew of Moray was elected: but, refusing to be bishop, he sought permission from the lord pope, and humbly resigned the honour of so great a dignity.[2] Robert, the chaplain of the lord William, king of the Scots, was put in his place.[3]

Sir Adam, the abbot of Melrose, was elected to the charge of the bishopric of Caithness, on the Nones of August.[4]

Sir Arnold, the abbot of Cîteaux, was elected and consecrated as archbishop of Narbonne. He, by preaching the word

[1] 13th December. For Reynold, see year 1195.

[2] Andrew († 1242) became bishop of Moray in 1222.

[3] Robert, elect of Ross, witnesses a charter of 17th February, 1215 (Arbroath, i, 100). He was still chaplain of the king on 3rd April (Melrose, no. 174); but was consecrated before the departure of William Malveisin, in the same year (Cambuskenneth, no. 46).

For Robert, cf. year 1222, note. During his episcopate, on 29th May, 1235 (Theiner, 32, no. 80; Bliss i, 146) pope Gregory IX permitted the bishop of Ross to increase the prebends of the four canons of Ross, and to create additional canons. Cf. the same pope's letter of 15th July, 1238 (Theiner, 38, no. 97); and a specific confirmation by pope Alexander IV, on 9th February, 1256 (Theiner, 69-70, no. 182; Bliss, i, 326).

Robert was succeeded in the bishopric of Ross by another Robert, consecrated in 1249 or 1250. See below, p. 553; D.B., 211-212. Robert II died in 1270 or 1271 (Bower, X, 29; ii, 114).

Matthew, succentor of Ross, was elected in 1272, and was consecrated by pope Gregory X (Bower, X, 30; i, 116). He was consecrated before 28th December, 1272 (Theiner, no. 254; Bliss, i, 443); and died in 1274, at the council of Lyons (Bower, X, 34; ii, 121). The see was vacant 1274 × 1275 (see Theiner, no. 264; p. 112, compared with p. 109). See D.B., 212-213.

Robert III was elected to the bishopric before 8th April, 1275; on which day pope Gregory X commanded the bishops of St Andrews and Aberdeen to examine the life and morals of master Robert de Syvin, archdeacon of Ross, canonically elected (by the way of compromise) to the bishopric of Ross; giving them discretion to consecrate him, or cause a new election to be made (Theiner, no. 261; Bliss, i, 449). Bishop Robert III died 28 Nov. 1290 × 18 Nov. 1295 (Bliss, i, 522, 560-561).

[4] I.e., on 5th August. See year 1214. Adam († 1222) had become abbot of Melrose in 1207. For his predecessor in Caithness, see year 1201, note.

of life with all zeal, and confirming the faith of Christ, and persecuting the Albigenses, destroyed their sect.[1] And sir Arnold, the abbot of Fons Johannis,[2] succeeded him. . . .[3]

Sir Adam, the abbot of Newbattle, through humility resigned his office[4]; and sir Alan, the sub-prior of Melrose, succeeded him.[5] . . .[6]

1214

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 256, s.a. 1214[7]

Thomas, Uhtred's son, and Ruadri, Ronald's son, plundered Derry completely; and took the treasures of the community of Derry, and of the north of Ireland besides, from inside the church of the abbey.[8] . . .

The castle of Coleraine was made by Thomas, Uhtred's son, and by the Foreigners of Ulster. And the churchyards, and

[1] This Arnold had been a leader, with Simon de Montfort, in the suppression of the Albigensian heresy.

[2] For this Arnold, see years 1214 and 1215.

[3] The chronicle records here a succession of Clairvaux.

[4] Adam had been elected in 1201. He became abbot of Melrose in 1219.

[5] Alan resigned in 1214.

[6] Here follows a note of the death (in 1213) and translation (in 1214) of "master William de Montibus, chancellor of the church of Lincoln." C.L., 10, places his death under 1212; his translation, under 1213. Cf. R.W., i, 304.

After king John's acceptance of the overlordship of the pope (15th May, 1213; Foedera, i, **1**, 111-112: ratified 3rd October, 1213; ibid., 115), and his absolution (ibid., 112), pope Innocent III wrote letters (on 28th October, 1213) to John's subjects, recalling them to fealty to their king; and, among the rest, to king William, and his son, Alexander. P.L. **216**, 926-927.

The pope commanded that all letters written by him against king John were to be destroyed, in France, England, Scotland, and Ireland.

On 13th June, 1213, king John wrote to S[aher de Quincey], earl of Winchester, commanding him to bring his son, Regin[ald], and the son of William de Veteri Ponte, the king of Scotland's hostages, to Portsmouth, on the 23rd of June. Foedera, i, **1**, 113. (Cf. king John's acknowledgement of the receipt of Scottish hostages, and others, given on 28th April, 1214/1215; Foedera, i, **1**, 120.)

[7] With (inserted f.n. and) e. of 1214. MS. B numbers the year 1213. A very similar version is given by F.M., iii, 176, 178, s.a. 1213.

[8] *do lár tempaill in reiclesa imach.* F.M. read: "from inside of the abbey-church [*an Recclesa*]; and they carried them off to Coleraine."

causeways, and roofs, of the whole town, excepting the church[1] alone, were plundered[2] for this purpose.[3]

1214

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 114-115

In the year 1214, the aforesaid Adam, the abbot of Melrose, was consecrated bishop of Caithness, by sir William Malveisin, the bishop of St Andrews, in the month of May, on the day of St Mamertus the bishop.[4] And sir Hugh of Clipstone, a monk of the same house,[5] succeeded him, on the Ides of May.[6] . . .[7]

Sir William, the cellarer of Melrose, was elected abbot of Glenluce.

The church of St Mary at Hawick was dedicated by sir Adam, the bishop of Caithness, on the fourth day before the Kalends of June.[8]

The lord abbot of Cîteaux arrived in England for his visitation.[9]

John, of pious memory, the bishop of Dunkeld, died, on the Nones of October.[10] After him, Hugh, called De Sigillo,[11] was elected.

Sir Alan, the abbot of Newbattle, with humble devotion re-

[1] *tempall* (so also in F.M.).

[2] *roscailedh* (literally "were scattered" or "were destroyed"; here the meaning is that flag-stones were taken away from these places).

[3] "for that castle" F.M.

The castle of Coleraine was destroyed in 1221 (A.U., MS. A, s.a.; 1222; MS. B and F.M., s.a. 1221). For Thomas, Uhtred's son, see year 1212.

[4] 11th May. William Malveisin had refused to receive Adam's oath of fealty to the Roman see; Theiner, no. 6. For Adam, see years 1218, † 1222.

[5] I.e., of Melrose.

[6] 15th May. There is an added rubric: "12th abbot of Melrose." Hugh resigned in the following year.

[7] King William's death is recorded here. See below.

[8] I.e., on 29th May.

[9] See the following year.

[10] 7th October. See year 1211. Cf. K.B., 78; D.B., 52-53.

Bower, ii, 34: "In the year of the Lord 1214, John of Leicester, the bishop of Dunkeld, died at Cramond; and he was buried in Inchcolm, like his predecessor, Richard de Prebenda, who died A.D. 1210."

[11] In Fulman's text *clericus de Sigillo*; translated "clerk De Sigillo" by Stevenson (Church Historians, iv, **1**, 155). The letters in the MS. are *dcs* (i.e. *dictus*, as in Stevenson's text). This Hugh († 1229) was not the Hugh de Sigillo who was made chancellor in 1189. See D.B., 53.

Cf. years 1216, 1227 note.

turning to his own house,[1] resigned the charge of the rule in the chapter, on the eighth day before the Kalends of June.[2] And sir Richard, the cellarer of the same house,[3] succeeded him.

Master Stephen, the archbishop of Canterbury, entered England, between Easter and Pentecost; while all rejoiced and said, "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord."[4]

The interdict ceased in England, about the Kalends of July.[5] . . .[6]

1214

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 124; s.a. 1214[7]

David,[8] earl in the Orkneys, [died].[9]

[1] I.e., to Melrose. See year 1213.

[2] I.e., on 25th May.

[3] I.e., of Newbattle.

[4] Matthew, XXIII, 39; Luke, XIII, 35. Cf. below, year 1218. Easter was 30th March; Pentecost, 18th May, in 1214. The English chronicles say that Stephen landed in 1213 (R.S. **66**, 166); in July (**36**, iii, 37, s.a. 1212=1213); on the 16th (**84**, ii, 81). Cf. the Annals of Waverley (**36**, ii, 276). Coventry says that he landed in June (**58**, ii, 213); the Annals of Worcester, on 9th July (**36**, iv, 402).

[5] I.e., about 1st July, 1214. The interdict ceased on 3rd July, 1214, according to the Annals of Dunstable, of Winchester, and of Worcester (R.S. **36**, iii, 43; ii, 82; iv, 402); on the 2nd of July, according to Coventry, and the Annals of Waverley (R.S. **58**, ii, 217; **36**, ii, 281); the 29th of June, according to Wendover and Paris (R.S. **84**, iii, 284; **57**, ii, 575). Coggeshall gives no exact date (R.S. **66**, 169). See A.E., 442, 466.

[6] The Melrose Chronicle proceeds to report (115-116) the missions to England of Pandulf and Nicholas; the threatened invasion of England by Philip of France; John's capitulation to the pope, and acceptance of the overlordship of the pope; and the death of Peter of Pontefract (see year 1212). There follows (116-117) an account of the battle fought in Flanders, on 27th July, between king Philip and emperor Otho; in which Otho suffered enormous losses. This account of the battle is partially copied by C.L., among the events of the year 1213.

[7] With dominical and paschal letters of 1214. Similarly also in DPA (183, 325; Fl., iii, 523).

[8] "Harold's son" adds A. He was the son of Harold, Matad's son († 1206). See years 1226, 1231.

[9] D reads: "death of . . . ." KO, s.a. 1214, couple his death with that of earl Hakon Galinn. K (23): "Death of . . . and earl David"; O (63): ". . . and earl David died."

According to Fordun, c. 28 (see L.A., 397), king William went to Moray, about 1st August, 1214; and took the daughter of the earl [John] of Caithness as a hostage. Cf. year 1239, note.

1214

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 258, s.a. 1215[1]

William, the king of Scotland, died. His son, Alexander, was appointed in his place.[2]

1214

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version F; in Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 175

William reigned for fifty-two years. He died at Stirling; he was buried in Arbroath.[3] And to him succeeded the most gentle king Alexander.[4]

1214

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 114, s.a. 1214

Lord William, of pious remembrance, king of the Scots went the way of all flesh; his kingdom remaining in the greatest peace. And he departed to the Lord in the forty-ninth year of his reign, and the seventy-second of his age, on the second day before the Nones of December.[5]

[1] With (inserted f.n. and) e. of 1215. MS. B numbers the year 1214 (erroneously).

[2] Under the previous year, both MSS. of this chronicle read (ii, 256): "The king of Scotland died; namely William Garm." So also A.L.C., s.a. 1213 (i, 250); which note Alexander's succession thus, under 1214 (i, 252): "Alexander, the son of William Garm, was made king over Scotland." William's death is noticed also by the Annals of Multifernan, 11, s.a. 1214.

[3] Similarly in versions G (303) and I (290): but I reads "50 years." K reads: "William, [Malcolm's] brother, and son of the same Henry, the earl of Northumberland, reigned for 50 years, by gift of king Stephen. And he died at Stirling; and he lies at Arbroath, which he himself had built." N reads (306): "William, Henry's son, reigned for 50 years, and was buried at Arbroath." The previous reign stands absurdly in N: "Henry reigned for 20 years, and was buried at Dunfermline."

The Chronicle of Carlisle notes the death of William on 4th December (Palgrave, 74). The Huntingdon Chronicle (P. & S., 213) says that Alexander II "received the government in peace."

[4] Similarly in G (303).

Here the original lists of kings end in versions F and G.

[5] I.e., on 4th December, 1214. In the margin, the words: "King William died" have been written, and patched with red.

Cf. the Verse chronicle, inserted in the top margin; and the Bodleian

Lord Alexander, the son of king William aforesaid, proceeded to Scone with no small assemblage of magnates; and there, both peacefully and honourably, in royal fashion and with fitting ceremony, he received the government of the

version (B.) of the same chronicle (in P. & S., 182):—"The flower of kings, and adornment [vigour, B.] of the kingdom; the complete pattern of men [*decus omne virorum*], the pious [worthy, B.] king entered heaven. He died [Black death seized the old man, B.] in Stirling, after fifty years passed in the kingdom. The king died in peace, on the day before the Nones of December; the gentle one is laid in the soil of Arbroath." This is the end of the Verse chronicle in C.M. For the end of the Bodleian version, see year 1249.

The Icelandic Annals KOC read, s.a. 1215 (23, 63, 124): "Death of William the Holy, king of the Scots." Similarly also DPA (183, 325; Fl., iii, 524): "William the Holy, king of the Scots, died."

Alberic of Trois Fontaines, s.a. 1215 (M.G.H., Scriptores, xxiii, 902): "In the year 1215, king William, a holy man, died in Scotland; and Alexander, his son, reigned."

The Nomina Regum, in B.Cl. 19, iii, 53, says that William, "by reason of the probity of his life and manners, was called the friend of God, the lion of justice, and the pattern of manners, among the Scots."

Fordun, Annals, c. 28 (i, 279): "In the autumn, about the festival of St Peter which is called Ad Vincula [1st August], in the year of the Lord 1214, king William went to Moray; and making a short stay there concluded peace with the earl of Caithness. And after receiving the daughter of the same [earl] as hostage, he returned from Moray to Scotland, and went from Scotland to Lothian; and returning from there he came, by short days'-journeys, with great weakness of body, to Stirling. There he lost strength from day to day; and after lying ill for some time, while his son was received as the future king by the bishops, earls, and barons, he departed from human things, full of good days, and at a good old age; enjoining his friends and stewards to repay all debts and services, as a good prince ought.

"And with perfect devotion, pure confession, sincere charity, fully fortified with the viaticum of the body of Christ, and the other sacraments, while his kingdom continued in the greatest peace, with peaceful departure he exhaled his last breath; departing, as we hope, to the vision of Christ: on the second day before the Nones of December, the fifth day of the week [Thursday, 4th Dec., 1214], about the third hour of the night, in the aforesaid year of the Lord; also the 49th year of his reign, and the 74th of his life. . . ."

For William's daughters, Margaret, Isabella, and Margery, see year 1209, note. For his illegitimate children, Isabella, see years 1183, 1191; Ada, 1184; Margery or Margaret, 1193; Henry Galythly, see Foedera, i, 2, 775; Aufrike (or Affrica), who married William de Say, ibid., 776; Robert of London, D.K., 83; Malcolm, Dryburgh, no. 142; Walter, Dryburgh, no. 221.

kingdom of Scotland, in the seventeenth year of his age, on the eighth day before the Ides of December.[1]

1214

Giraldus Cambrensis, De Principis Instructione, book I; Rolls Series, no. 21, vol. viii, pp. 138-141

Of the princes of the Scots, notable for religion.

The Scottish princes (who are also called kings, as also are the princes of Spain, who were yet never accustomed to be crowned, or anointed), rumour pronounces to have been good and holy men; and from their goodness king William, who has reigned in our days, has not deteriorated. For although in his youthful years he some while acted as a youth and did not curb to the full the impulses of the flesh, and did not, by prevention and superiority of reason, subdue the assaults of sensuality: yet in process of time he put on with years also maturity and grace, and rose successfully by steps of virtue also as of age; and casting aside the old man was made wholly new, and now changed into another man: and with lenity as well as mildness, with great religion and large and lasting devotion toward God and the cult of holy church, also bestowal of

[1] I.e., on 6th December, 1214. (In Stevenson's text, "ninth" is a misprint for "eighth.")

Fordun (Annals, c. 29; i, 280) says that "in the early morning of the day following the king's death, (while Walter, the bishop of Glasgow; Robert, the elect of Ross; the queen; the chancellor, William de Bois; and many friends, remained with the deceased king's body) the earls of Fife, Strathearn, Athole, Angus, Monteith, Buchan, and Lothian, along with William, the bishop of St Andrews," conducted Alexander to Scone, and made him king; and "king Alexander held his festivity with honour, as was fitting, at Scone, on that day (namely, the sixth day of the week); and on the following Sabbath, the festival of St Nicholas, and also the succeeding Sunday" (i.e, on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, 5th-7th December, 1214).

Fordun says (ibid.) that Alexander met his father's body at the bridge of Perth on Monday [8th December]; and that the body was followed to the tomb by almost all the nobles of Scotland, and buried on Wednesday [10th December], before the greater altar in the abbey-church at Arbroath, which he had founded (see year 1178). "Also earl David, although not active [*alacris*] in mind, nor alert [*vegetatus*] of body, came as quickly as he could to king Alexander, his nephew"; and was one of the bearers of the bier at Perth (Fordun, i, 181; q.v.).

For earl David's death, see year 1219.

bounties to the poor; pious, provident, and peaceful; upholding justice everywhere with equity, he has been in our days a fortunate ruler and controller of the Scots.

Thus he has recovered his kingdom's whole glory, which he had formerly lost, along with his chief towns, when he was taken prisoner in a conflict of war at Alnwick castle: Scotland not having been subject to the British kingdom from the time of Claudius Caesar until then. [He recovered it] from Richard, the then reigning king of the English; divine justice also weighing in one matter the merits of either prince. [He recovered] that which was beyond value to a man of spirit, by giving a sum of money, by the passing of a bargain favourable to him and his subjects: since in a Christian the beginning is generally not so much regarded as the end.

Yet because nature has accomplished in human affairs nothing that is perfect in every way, and nothing on earth so clear that it is not darkened by some blemish or spot, a man so great and in many ways so praiseworthy tarnished his whole glory, alas, by one blot, from his earliest days even into old age. Through the entire breadth of his whole land he permitted no elections to take place at all in any of the cathedral churches, except in tyrannical fashion, at his own bidding; in this too closely following the grievous abuses of Norman tyranny throughout England. Therefore, as it is believed, divine vengeance followed, which very often is accustomed to punish temporally also; and he lost, now in his old age, through the attack of Richard's brother and immediate successor, his own and his kingdom's honour, which, lost before, he had recovered from king Richard; and Scotland was subdued again, and given into subjection to the English. And [William] resumed again with shame, with equal disgrace and grief, the yoke that he had shaken off.

It is strange that the good, literate, and religious men of his land, did not point out to him this fatal wound upon his soul. What excess is graver or more criminal than to enslave the church of Christ, which he prepared for himself with his own blood; and especially to deprive her entirely of her liberty in the elections of prelates, by which elections she ought to be ruled; and which it is acknowleged ought to be so free and lawful, and so canonical and unconstrained? For what does it

matter whether one is pierced to death by many wounds, or succumbs to one fatal wound? Or what does it profit a man if, placed in the conflict of battle, he carefully avoids the enemies' many darts and javelins, but yet receives and endures, inflicted of his own accord, one fatal wound in his body? He who avoids six crimes and, knowingly or in negligence, commits the seventh, profits nothing. He who stops six holes, to prevent the water from leaking in, and leaves the seventh open, is without doubt in peril of shipwreck. So also he who lacks one virtue, although he appear to have many others has yet none effectually or profitably. Far be it then from a man so great, and among noble princes very much to be commended[1] for the merits of virtues, that he ought to be either struck off from the list of illustrious and excellent princes; or, what is far more horrible and worse than every evil, erased (be it otherwise!) from the book of life, for the sake of one blot, now to be washed out and erased. Far be this also from his son, king Alexander, who now begins to reign in Scotland in his father's place, that by too closely following his father he may incur a similar wound upon his soul; but while emulating his father in good things may he avoid with all his efforts, as the plague, this single blot, by which, alas, [his father] darkened his whole glory. Let him conform himself to the natural and truly laudable[2] custom of the kings of France, toward God's ministers and the rights of the church. In their kingdom they devotedly preserve to God and to his church their due dignities and liberties in all things. And for this reason, by favour of God's retribution, they reign fortunately, and by prosperous successes and lofty steps of both virtues and honours they cease not to ascend to greater things, from day to day. So then may he emulate them that he too likewise in his kingdom with devout pleasure may yield to God the things that are God's; and, rewarded by him, receive Scotland's former liberties, and greater extensions of honour.

[1] Reading (with Dimock) *commendandus* for *comminandus.*

[2] Reading *naturalem . . . laudabilem* for *naturalium . . . laudabilium.*

PART XI

Reign of Alexander II, and the Invasion of Louis

1214

Inserted folio 13 in the Chronicle of Melrose, p. 53[1]

And after [king William's] death, his son Alexander received the kingdom with honour.

And in the year 1221, he united to himself in wedlock Joanna, a daughter of king John, and sister of Henry, king of England. Since then, forty-two years have passed.[2] She died, without children, in the year 1238.

Therefore the same king took as his wife Mary, the daughter of Ingram de Coucy, in the year 1239. She bore him a son, in the year 1241; calling him Alexander. Since then, twenty-two years have been completed.[3]

1215

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 117

In the year 1215, sir Conrad, the abbot of Clairvaux, arrived in England for his visitation. And there he practised continence[4] with sufficient rigour; and moreover, because of the severity of his order, he appointed many hard and harsh [rules] to be observed in his daughter houses.[5] . . .[6]

[1] See above, year 1056, note.

[2] The marriage took place on (or near) 19th June, 1221. Therefore this leaf was written between June, 1263, and June, 1264.

[3] The *l* of *completi* is added above the line. The number xxiij was originally written; it has been altered, by the original writer, to xxij. The correction makes this calculation agree with the preceding one.

Alexander III was born on 4th September, 1241. The deducible date of writing is therefore 4th Sep. 1263 × 3rd Sep. 1264. The date deducible from both calculations is 4th September 1263 × ca. 18th June 1264.

See year 1249, below.

[4] *se continuit.*

[5] I.e., the Cistercian monasteries.

[6] Successions are noted here, in Rievaulx and Warden.

The lord king of Scotland's enemies entered Moray—namely Donald Bán,[1] the son of Mac-William; and Kenneth Macheth[2]; and the son of a certain king of Ireland—, with a numerous band of malignants. Maccintsacairt[3] attacked them, and mightily overthrew the king's enemies; and he cut off their heads, and presented them as new gifts to the new king; on the seventeenth day before the Kalends of July.[4] And because of this, the lord king appointed him a new knight. . . .[5]

1215

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 121, s.a. 1215

On the sixteenth day before the Kalends of November,[6] one of the best granges in Coupar, full of grain, was burned, and in it the granger, a lay-brother[7]; through the carelessness of badly fixing one candle.

On the fourteenth day before the Kalends of November,[8] Alexander, by God's grace[9] king of the Scots, began to besiege the castle of Norham with his whole army. And when he had besieged it for forty days, gaining no advantage by so doing, he desisted from the siege.[10]

[1] *Ban* is written in red letters. It is the Irish *bán* "fair."

[2] *Kennauh mac aht* (*ht* here, as often, written for *th*). This was probably a relative, possibly a son, of Malcolm Macheth († 1168). The patronymic Macheth seems to have become a family name. Cf. year 1157, note.

[3] *Machentagar.* This is the middle-Irish *macc in t-sacairt* "son of the priest." See P.S.A.S., iii, 276. Cf. year 1235.

[4] I.e., on 15th June.

[5] Here follow verses (117-119; copied by C.L., 15-16) written upon the strife between king John and his nobles; (119-120) a continuation of the same subject in prose; (120-121) a description of a council held at Rome, from 17th October to 1st November (in reality the Lateran council was held from 11th to 30th November). These pages are copied in part by C.L. (16-17)

[6] I.e., on 17th October.

[7] *conversus.*

[8] I.e., on 19th October.

[9] The words "by God's grace" seem to imply that this was written before Alexander's death in 1249.

[10] This and the following paragraph are copied by C.L., 17, s.a. 1215.

On 7th July, 1215, at Kelso, king Alexander II wrote to king John, empowering his envoys to act for him. They were:—William Malveisin, bishop of St Andrews; Philip de Mowbray; Robert de S. Germano; William de Lindsay; Ingram de Balliol; John de Maxwell. Foedera, i, 1, 135; M.Cl. 28, 27.

On the eleventh day before the Kalends of November,[1] lord Alexander, the king of the Scots, received the homage of the barons of Northumbria, at Felton.

On the Nones of November,[2] Philip de Valognes, the chamberlain of lord William, king of the Scots, died. And he was carried to Melrose, and honourably buried there in the chapter of the monks.[3]

In the same year, in the general chapter of Cîteaux, sir Hugh, the abbot of Melrose, resigned his office. And sir William, the abbot of Holme Cultram, succeeded him, on the sixteenth day before the Kalends of December.[4]

Sir William Malveisin, bishop of St Andrews; and sir Bricius, bishop of Moray; and sir Henry, abbot of Kelso, set out from Scotland to the Roman court, for the general council.[5] Two of them—namely, the bishop of Moray, and the abbot of Kelso—returned to Scotland at the end of the council; but the bishop of Glasgow returned home in the third year[6]; and the lord bishop of St Andrews, in the beginning of the fourth year.[7] The other prelates did not go in person to Rome, but sent their delegates.

[1] I.e., on 22nd October.

[2] 5th November.

[3] Philip retained the chamberlainship after king William's death (cf. Melrose, nos. 174 and 255; 3rd April, 1215).

Philip de Valognes had been a witness to the treaty of Norham, 1209 (Foedera, i, 1, 103. Cf. Bower, in Lawrie's Annals, 363). He had in 1174 been one of the hostages for the treaty of Falaise (Foedera, i, 1, 31. Cf. E.C., 262; L.A., 194).

In 1219, he was accused of having taken a bribe to obtain for Walter the bishopric of Glasgow. See the letter of Honorius III, of 7th December, 1219 (Horoy, iii, 359-361; Theiner, 13, no. 29). See years 1218, 1233, notes.

[4] I.e., on 16th November. There is an added rubric, in the margin: "13th abbot of Melrose."

Hugh had been appointed in 1214. For William († 1223), see years 1216, 1217.

[5] See year 1212. The council was held at the Lateran, from 11th to 30th November, 1215.

[6] I.e., in 1217.

[7] I.e., early in 1218. See year 1218, and note.

1215

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 124, s.a. 1215 [1]

Andrew, archdeacon in Shetland, [died].[2]

1216

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 121-123

In the year 1216, in the month of January, extraordinary and unheard-of devastation was made, in Northumbria and in the southern part of Scotland, of towns and cities.[3]

Since John, the king of England, had heard that lord Alexander, the king of the Scots, had claimed Northumbria for himself, and had received the homage of the barons of Northumbria, he took with him his brigands,[4] and turned his reins towards Scotland, in great force.[5]

The barons of the land of York, who had taken an oath against him, hearing of his approach, were struck with excessive fear; and, seeking the protection of the lord king of the Scots, they went to [Alexander's] presence; did their homage; and all alike, touching relics of the saints, swore also fealty and security, on the third day before the Ides of January,[6] in the chapter of the monks, at Melrose.

But the king of England, arriving after them in pursuit, wasted with avenging sword and fire their towns and fortresses, possessions and lands. Also the barons themselves burned their own mansions, and the grain, before the king's arrival, in order that they should not be of assistance to him. And so it happened that a great part of the district was burned up[7] with fire at the same time. For on the third day[8] before the Ides of January, the town of Wark was burned; on the fifth[9] before

[1] With dominical and paschal letters of 1215. Similarly in DA (183; Fl., iii, 524). In the same year they note the death of king William [1214], and the Lateran council of 1215.

[2] I (325) reads: "[Death] of Andrew the archdeacon."

[3] *villarum et urbium.*

[4] *rutariis suis.*

[5] *cum impetu magno.*

[6] I.e., on 11th January.

[7] *succederetur;* read *succenderetur,* with Fulman's text, and C.L.

[8] 11th January.

[9] 9th January. Hardy's Itinerary shows that John was at Alnwick on the 11th of January (10th × 14th).

the Ides of the same month, Alnwick; on the seventh[1] before the Ides of the same, Mitford and Morpeth; on the seventeenth day[2] before the Kalends of February, Roxburgh, with the greatest possible number of villages and suburbs.

On the eighteenth day[3] before the Kalends of February, John, king of England, took the town and castle of Berwick. And there with his brigands he practised tyranny beyond measure ferocious and inhuman:—these satellites of the devil, for the sake of wicked gain, most cruelly tortured all the people, of either sex, whom they were able to seize; hanging up some by their wrists or ankles, torturing others by various torments. He is reported also to have brought Jews with him there, and to have made them the directors of [this] wickedness.

Proceeding from there, he burned Haddington on the third day[4]; and destroyed with devouring flame Dunbar, and other towns in those parts.

And on his return, his brigands, servants of the devil, plundered the abbey of Coldingham. They also burned the town of Berwick, the king himself beginning it: for with his own hand, it is said, contrary to the custom of kings, he unbecomingly set fire to the house in which he had lodged.[5]

In the same year, in the month of February, lord Alexander, the king of the Scots, took the road in pursuit of the king of England, with a strong force, and his whole army; and he devastated with devouring fire and with arms [John's] land, as far as Carlisle, and farther. On this occasion, too, lamentably, although the lord king was not willing, and had by all means forbidden it, and had granted his firm peace to the religious, some Scots (not masters of chivalry, but servants of wicked-

[1] 7th January. Hardy's Itinerary shows that John was at Mitford on the 24th, 25th, and 26th (22nd × 26th).

[2] 16th January.

[3] 15th January. In the margin is written large: "Ber[wick]."

John was at Berwick from 14th to 22nd January (11th × 24th). See Hardy's Itinerary of John.

[4] 17th January is probably meant. The Itinerary shows John's presence in Berwick on every day between the 14th and the 22nd. He did not in person lead the expedition to Haddington and Dunbar. He may, however, have visited these places, and returned to Berwick on the following day.

[5] 22nd × 24th January.

ness[1]) despoiled the monastery of Holme Cultram of everything upon which they could lay their hands—sacred books, vestments, chalices; horses, and animals; utensils, and garments—; with so wicked and infamous madness that they even denuded of the frock[2] he was wearing a monk at the point of death, who had been placed in the infirmary, and laid upon hair-cloth; and they showed no reverence for the sacred altars.

But this sin[3] did not pass unavenged: for as they were returning with the body, there were drowned in a certain river, called the Eden, according to men's estimation more than one thousand nine hundred Scots, in one short hour of the day: a condign vengeance of God.

1216

Histoire des Ducs de Normandie, pp. 163-164

Then [king John] departed to Warwick, his city, which had revolted against him; but all his will was done there. Then he proceeded farther, as far as Durham. There he was intending to turn back, when news reached him that the king of Scotland had burned Newcastle-upon-Tyne; because of which [John] was enraged, and swore by God's teeth that he would never return until he had avenged this burning.

Then he prepared as though to ride against the king of Scotland, and swore that he would make the fox-cub[4] enter his lair; this he said of the king of Scotland, who was red and young, meaning that he would cause him to re-enter the land of Scotland.

[John] went to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and found it burnt; but the king of Scotland had retreated back. Then [John] proceeded farther, and took one castle which is called Tyneford,[5] and gave it to Philip de Ulecotes, who was keeper of the castle of Durham. At Norham, one castle of the bishop of Durham, he crossed the river Tweed; and went on to Berwick, and took

[1] *non magistri milicie sed ministri malitie.* The same pun is repeated in C.M. under 1235, where Stevenson happily translates it: "knaves rather than knights."

[2] *pannis.*

[3] I.e., the sack of Holme Cultram.

[4] *gourpisiel.*

[5] *Tiefort.*

the castle and the town; then he took the castle of Dunbar, which belonged to earl Patrick, an earl of the king of Scotland's land. Then he rode forward, pillaging the land, as far as the town that is called Haddington. He could not go farther,[1] but turned back; and he burned and destroyed the town of Berwick. Then he departed towards London; and he entered the land of earl Roger Bigod, and destroyed it very cruelly; because he hated [Roger] much.

1216

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 123-124, s.a. 1216

In the same year, in the month of July, [Alexander] set out again to Carlisle, and besieged it, with his whole army—excepting the Scots from whom he took aid in money.[2] And the city of Carlisle was surrendered to him on the sixth day before the Ides of August[3]: but he did not on this occasion reduce the castle.

Proceeding from there, he advanced with his whole army through the middle of England (while John, the king of England, lived, and frowned at it[4]), as far as Dover, to meet sir Louis, the king of France's son (who had landed in that year, on the second day before the Nones of May,[5] along with a large number

[1] *Avant ne vaut aler.*

[2] *de quibus expensas sumsit.*

[3] I.e., on 8th August.

Chronicle of Carlisle, in Palgrave, 74, s.a. 1216: "Alexander, king of the Scots, stormed [*expugnavit*] the town [*urbem*] of Carlisle. And the citizens surrendered the city to him, because king John had inflicted upon it many injuries; and not long afterwards [Alexander] obtained by force the castle and the citadel [*opidum et arcem*]."

[4] *vivente et invidente.*

[5] I.e., on 6th May. The day of Louis's arrival in Thanet was Saturday, eight days before Pentecost, according to Histoire des Ducs, 169; Saturday after Ascension Day, according to Coggeshall, the Annals of Waverley, and the Annals of Winchester. This was Saturday, the 21st of May, in 1216 (it would have been the 6th of May in 1217: hence possibly came the error of the Melrose chronicler). Coggeshall, however, gives the additional date, 19th May (14 kal. Jun.; instead of which, Coventry writes the 14th day of May).

According to the Annals of Dunstable, Louis landed at Sandwich on the first day after his arrival in Thanet; but his fleet did not arrive in force on the English coast until the following day (R.S. 36, iii, 45). Other

of ships; at the intercession of the barons of England, in order to assist them).[1]

At the outset of this journey, Eustace de Vesci, king [Alexander's] brother-in law, was killed, at the siege of Barnard Castle.[2]

writers give the day of his landing at Sandwich as 21st May (R.W., ii, 180; and Annals of Worcester, R.S. **36**, iv, 406).

[1] For Louis's invasion, and warfare with John, v.i.a. the Histoire des Ducs de Normandie (Michel's edition, 165-205); and the English chronicles, s.a. 1216 (R.S. **66**, **58**, **84**, **44**, **57**, etc.). Cf. i.a. A.E., 487, 494-501; Tout, Political History of England, iii, 6-14.

[2] C.L. omits "was killed," and adds (19): "while he was going round the castle on horseback, looking for weaker places, with his helmet raised upon his head, was brained by a ballista."

W.C., ii, 234, s.a. 1216: "Eustace de Vesci died, pierced by a bolt [*spiculo percussus*] in the siege of a certain castle."

See R.W. (in E.C., 334). Hemingburgh relates gossip about Eustace and his wife (E.H.S. ed., i, 247-249). Cf. i.a. Miss Norgate's John Lackland (1902), 289.

On 27th May, 1213, king John permitted Eustace de Vesci to return peacefully to England (Patent Rolls, i, 99). On the same day he ordered E., archdeacon of Durham, and Philip de Ulecotes, to destroy immediately the castle of Alnwick, so that it might be of no further use to Eustace (ibid.).

On 17th, 19th, and 21st July, 1213, John ordered the restoration to Eustace of his estates (ibid., 101).

His lands were confiscated on 31st January, 1216 (Close Rolls, i, 247; Patent Rolls, i, 164). Negotiations took place (ibid., 175, 176, 180; royal letters of 2, 11, 12 Apr., and 7 May, 1216). Seizin of the lands was given to Brian de Insula (Close Rolls, i, 272; 30 May 1216). Peace was granted to Eustace on 19th June, 1216 (Patent Rolls, i, 180).

On 14th September, 1216, half of Eustace's lands, the barony of Alnwick which he claimed by inheritance, was granted to William de Harcourt; the other half of his lands, to Philip de Ulecotes (Close Rolls, i, 288).

Eustace's castle and barony of Alnwick were given to Richard de Marisco, bishop of Durham, on 6th November, 1217 (Patent Rolls (1901), 122).

Custody of Eustace's lands, excepting Alnwick, was given by William Marshal to William of Duston († 1218) and Ralph of Norwich, king Henry's clerk, on 12th and 14th November, 1217 (Close Rolls, i, 343; Patent Rolls (1901), 126-127); and on 25th January, 1218, custody of the lands and heir of Eustace was given to William Longespée, earl of Salisbury (ibid., 134; cf. 191-192. Close Rolls, i, 350; 364, 387, 395, 456, 459).

For Eustace's widow, Margaret, and son, William, see Patent Rolls (1901), 146, 159, 179. In 1226, William de Vesci married a daughter of William Longespée, and received the castle of Alnwick (Patent Rolls (1903), 34; Close Rolls, ii, 112).

And it is to be known that, when Louis arrived in England, William Longespée (the earl of Salisbury, [half-]brother of the king of England) with many others turned away from the king, and transferred their support to Louis: but that they did this more from craft than from love, more in order to overthrow than to assist [Louis], was made clear by their subsequent sedition [against him].[1]

On this occasion, while lord Alexander, the king of the Scots, remained in England, he did homage to the said Louis,[2] it is said,[3] under the same form as that in which the barons of England had done [homage] to him. And Louis himself, as well as the other barons of England, swore, touching relics of the saints, that they would never enter into a compact of peace or agreement with the king of England, without the king of the Scots. But this was altogether unfulfilled, as will appear below.[4]

[1] See below, year 1217.

[2] The words "at London" are added above the line, "by a hand of the 15th century" (Stevenson).

[3] *ut dicitur* "occurs twice, by mistake, in the MS." (Stevenson). The words occur here once only in the MS.

[4] This whole passage is copied, more or less fully, by C.L., 17-19.

W.C., Memoriale, ii, 230, s.a. 1216: "The legate took with him the bishops, and prelates of churches, whom he had recalled to the kingdom, to the help of king [John], as they were returning from the general council; and in presence of the king, excommunicated Louis in his own name, on the day of Pentecost [29th May], with his aiders and supporters; laying their lands under interdict, and especially the city of London.

"Louis did not desist on this account; but following up the king, he took Winchester, with the fortresses placed round it; and he gave it immediately to the count of Nevers, who had come with him.

"Then he multiplied his forces, and besieged the castle of Dover, by art and nature very well defended. He sent, besides, some of the magnates of England with the count of Nevers, and caused the castle of Windsor to be besieged. And also the northerners [*Aquilonares*] occupied Lincoln, and attempted to besiege and storm the fortress; but the matron to whom the keeping of the fortress had been entrusted, Nicholaa by name, delivered herself from the siege by bargaining in money for the mastery [*pacta pro dominatione pecunia*]. And the northern barons proceeded to sir Louis, along with the king of the Scots; and they too did fealty and homage to him."

W.C., u.s., ii, 232-233: "In these days, before mention was made of the death of the king" (his death is noticed ibid., 231-232), "those that were besieged in Dover asked for a truce until after Easter; and the siege was dissolved.

"And it seemed to them that Louis had not been very well satisfied

1216

Histoire des Ducs de Normandie, p. 179

Then[1] the king of Scotland came to the siege of Dover, to do his homage to Louis; and Louis went to meet him, as far as Canterbury, and conducted him to the army at Dover, with great joy.

On the following day, the king did his homage to Louis for the land of Lothian.[2] Thereafter he repaired thence to his own land; and the count of Nevers escorted him beyond Canterbury.

The count of Nevers,[3] who had turned to the side of Louis, repented of what he had done. And he went over to the king of England, and begged his mercy; and the king forgave him his fault very graciously.

Before the king of Scotland came to Dover, the count of Perche had arrived, coming to the service of Louis: but I forgot to tell you this. Afterwards [Peter Mauclerc] the count of Brittany arrived; and Robert [de Dreux], his brother, went away to France.

with his arrival in England, because he had the kingdom in a very different manner from what had been promised him by those who had supported him: because the king's castles were many, and strongly fortified; and [the king was] becoming master of nearly the whole kingdom. The king of the Scots, and the northerners, [were] shut out from their territories; the satellites of the king [were] destroying at their will the possessions of those that had adhered to them. [Louis] also thought the English changeable and fickle; and the French were too few to be able to occupy and possess so large a kingdom.

"Considering these things, Louis remained near the sea coast; so that, if anything unexpected should happen, he and his followers might have an easy retreat to their own land.

"But a rumour of the death of the king stirred the whole land. The northerners, with the king of the Scots, returned to their own land, and Louis betook himself to London; and he took the tower of London, which had been almost placed in neutral hands [*quasi in sequestro posita*], by connivance (it is said) of those to whom it had been entrusted."

This would imply that Alexander did not return to Scotland until after the death of John († 19th October).

[1] After king John had withdrawn from Reading. John left Reading in September, 7th × 8th (Hardy's Itinerary).

[2] *Loonois.* This is a significant statement.

[3] This is an error. For "Nevers," another reading is "Aumale."

1216

Chronicle of the Canons of Huntingdon, in Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 213

And in the third year of his reign, about the Assumption of the blessed Mary,[1] [king Alexander] penetrated — — [England] with a large army, as far as — — [Dover]. And in the same year he returned with all his army safely to Scotland.

1216

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 124-125, s.a. 1216

In the same year, on the seventeenth day before the Kalends of August,[2] the lord pope Innocent III, of pious remembrance, departed from this light, being called by the Lord; in the nineteenth year of his pontificate. And the venerable man — ripe both in age and in knowledge — sir Honorius, bishop and cardinal, succeeded him, on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of August.[3]

In the same year, sir Henry, the abbot of Rievaulx, died at Rufford, and was buried there. And sir William, the abbot of Melrose, succeeded him in the rule [of Rievaulx], on the second day before the Kalends of September.[4] In his place, sir Ralph, the cellarer of the same house, was elected abbot of Melrose, on the eighteenth day before the Kalends of October[5]; and he received there the award of benediction from sir Hugh, the bishop of Dunkeld, on the third day before the Kalends of October.[6]

Sir Richard, the abbot of Newbattle, resigned his office, on the sixth day before the Kalends of August.[7] And sir Adam,

[1] I.e., ca. 15th August, 1217: in reality in 1216.

[2] I.e., on 16th July. This is the correct date (Potthast).

[3] I.e., on 20th July. Honorius III was elected on the 18th, and consecrated on the 24th, of July (Potthast).

This paragraph is copied by C.L., 19.

[4] I.e., on 31st August. William had been elected to Melrose in 1215.

[5] I.e., on 14th September.

In the margin is the rubric: "12th abbot of Melrose." Ralph died in 1218.

[6] I.e., on 29th September.

[7] I.e., on 27th July.

the cellarer of the same house, succeeded him, on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of September.[1]

In the same year, on the sixteenth day before the Kalends of November,[2] John, the king of England, died at Newark. His viscera were extracted, and buried in the abbey at Croxton; but his body was conveyed to Worcester, and buried in the monastery there.[3]

At the same time, a certain cardinal, Gualo by name, was sent to England from the side of the lord pope, to stand steadfastly for the defence of king John, and of his heirs, and their liberties, against sir Louis and all the rest of the king's adversaries, supported by the protection of apostolic authority[4]; and this too he most steadfastly did. When the king was dead, as has been said, [Gualo] took with him sir Henry, the archbishop of Dublin, and sir Peter, the bishop of Winchester; and they crowned the king's son and heir, Henry by name, at Worcester—a boy seven years of age.[5] On the same day, the lord abbot of Westminster and the prior of Canterbury appealed to the audience of the apostolic see against the said cardinal, in defence of the liberties of their churches in the coronation of the king: the [abbot] of Westminster, because [Henry had been crowned] elsewhere than in Westminster; [the prior] of Canterbury, because [Henry] had been crowned by another, not by the archbishop of Canterbury—contrary to the liberties and privileges of their churches. The cardinal excommunicated the

[1] I.e., on 20th August.

[2] I.e., on 17th October. John died on 19th October, at Newark-upon-Trent.

[3] There is an added marginal note: "John, the king of England, died; and Henry his son succeeded him."

For the death of king John, see the English chronicles (R.S. **66**, 183-184; **58**, ii, 231-232; **84**, ii, 195-197; **36**, iii, 48; **44**, 190-194; **57**, ii, 667-669). C.L., 19-21, adds considerably to the Melrose Chronicle's account.

[4] This Gualo, Walo, or Guala Bicchieri, entitled Sancti Martini, had previously been sent to France. He came to England soon after Louis's arrival there (R.S. **58**, ii, 230; **84**, ii, 181-182). Cf. Honorius III's letters to him, of 30th September and 3rd December, 1216 (I, 29, 79; Horoy's Bibliotheca Patristica, ii, 37-39, 105-106). See also below, year 1217, note. His legacy continued until he was supplanted by Pandulf, in November, 1218. See year 1218, below.

[5] Henry III was in reality nine years old, when he came to the throne (cf. C.L., 23). He had been born on the 1st of October, 1207 (R.W., ii, 44).

appellants; but they did not hold themselves to be excommunicate; nor did they withdraw from the appeal that they had made.

After this, [the cardinal] published the sentence of excommunication against the said sir Louis, and all his supporters; and proclaimed that [the sentence] had been issued by the lord pope. Moreover also he involved the lord king of the Scots, and all his magnates, in the same sentence; and did not shrink from laying the lands of the latter, as well as of the former men, under an interdict. But his sentence of excommunication and interdict was not immediately observed in England; nor for nearly a year afterwards was it proclaimed in Scotland.

Also the said cardinal, by the apostolic authority which he exercised, wholly absolved all those who had done homage or any fealty to the said Louis, if they were willing to come over to the new king, and their legitimate lord.[1]

In the same year, sir Conrad, the abbot of Clairvaux, was transferred to be abbot of Cîteaux. And in his place, sir William, abbot of the monastery in Nargonne,[2] was elected abbot of Clairvaux.[3] . . .

1216

Annals of Ulster, vol. ii, p. 260, s.a. 1216[4]

Trad Ua-Maelfabaill, chief of the tribe of Fergus,[5] along with his brothers,[6] and with great slaughter, was killed by Muiredach, son of the mormaer of Lennox.[7]

[1] The last three paragraphs, somewhat abbreviated, are in C.L., 22-23.

[2] *in Nargune.*

[3] The year-section is concluded with a long account (125-128) of a transformation of the moon, observed in Galloway, and described by William, the abbot of Glenluce (for whom see year 1214). The prodigy was seen on 4th April, 1216; "the 13th day of the moon, in twilight of the night"—i.e., on the evening of the 3rd April. See Stevenson's translation (Church Historians, iv, 1, 163-166).

[4] With f.n. and e. of 1216. The same passage is entered in A.L.C., i, 252-254, s.a. 1215 (with ferial, epact, and golden number, of 1215; and a note of the fact that it was an intercalary year); and in F.M., iii, 186, s.a. 1215.

[5] I.e., the Cenel-Fergusa of Carrickabraghy, in county Donegal. Their district was "the north-west part of Inishowen" (O'Donovan).

[6] Or "relatives."

[7] *mac mórmair Lemhnach* (*Lemhna* in A.L.C., F.M.).

1217

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 129, s.a. 1217

The abbey of Culross[1] was founded by sir Malcolm, the earl of Fife.[2] And the convent was sent to this abbey from Kinloss, on the seventh day before the Kalends of March[3]; along with sir Hugh, formerly the prior of Kinloss, as the first abbot of Culross.

The same convent reached Culross on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of April.[4]

1217

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 130-131, s.a. 1217[5]

In the same year, in the month of March, a sedition arose (it is said) against sir Louis, in the island of Rye.[6] For

[1] *Kilinros.*

[2] For earl Malcolm's death, see year 1230.

[3] I.e., on 23rd February.

[4] I.e., on 18th March. There is an added marginal note: "1st abbot of St Serf at Culross." Cf. below, year 1218.

The Cistercian Foundations list to 1234 enters s.a. 1217, "the abbey"; the list to 1247, "of St Serf."

[5] For the hostilities between Louis's supporters and the supporters of king Henry III in this year, see the English chronicles, s.a. 1217 (R.S. **66, 58, 84, 44, 57**; **36**, ii, 287-288, iv, 407-409; and s.a. 1215=1217, the Annals of Dunstable, **36**, i, 49-51).

On 17th January, 1217, pope Honorius III confirmed to Gualo, presbyter cardinal of St Martin, his legation, with "full authority through the whole kingdom of England, Scotland, and Wales." Gualo was commanded to declare illegal the oaths that knights and barons of England had taken to Louis, contrary to the oaths of fealty by which they were bound to king John; and to release hostages that had been given to Louis, in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland, and elsewhere.

Pope Honorius III had written to king Alexander II, and to Robert de Ross, and others, on 17th January, 1217, urging them to return to fealty to the young king, and devotion to the apostolic see (Horoy, ii, 174-175; Theiner, no. 4; B.R., xix, 624-625).

Letters to the same effect were sent to Lewelin, the barons of the Five Ports, the earl de Varenne, the earl de Clare, the earl of Arundel, and earl Roger Bigod.

On 20th March, 1217, the same pope sent a confirmation charter to Holyrood abbey (Horoy, ii, 337-338; Holyrood, 184, no. 10).

[6] *in insula de Rie.* Cf. Patent Rolls (1901), 108; and Histoire des Ducs de Normandie, 182-183, 187.

certain of those who had taken an oath with him against the king of England, contrary to Louis's hopes made a revolt against him, in that island: namely William Longespée, king John's brother; and William, the younger Marshal of England; and their accomplices.[1] But by the providence of divine grace —which has never forsaken its desolate ones—, a large number of ships which that Louis's father, Philip king of France, had sent to England, touched at that island in that very hour (a marvellous occurrence): and by their arrival, he was delivered, and his adversaries were compelled to seek safety in flight.[2]

On the thirteenth day before the Kalends of June,[3] a battle was fought at Lincoln between the supporters of Louis, the son of the king of France, and the supporters of Henry, the new king of England. On Louis's side were the majority of the entire knighthood of England; and of France also. These were the most famous among them: the marshal of France,[4] with his retinue; the count of Perche,[5] the uncle (as it is said) of Louis, and kinsman of both the kings—namely of England and of France—, with his retinue; and very many other magnates of France,[6] with an innumerable multitude of cavalry,

[1] Cf. above, year 1216. William Longespée and William, son of William Marshal, fought against Louis in the battle of Lincoln (below). Wendover says that William Marshal had recalled his son to fealty to king Henry (R.S. **84**, ii, 206). A letter from the elder William Marshal, Walter de Lacy, William de Cantilupo, and Falk de Bréauté, directed to William, earl of Salisbury, and William Marshal the younger, is in Patent Rolls (1901), 109 (28th February, 1217). A letter directed by the king and Walter de Gray, archbishop of York (ibid., 112), seems to have implied an invitation to this faction to come to their side.

[2] This paragraph is copied by C.L., 25, s.a. 1218. The following battle of Lincoln is briefly noted there, under 1217 (24). C.L.'s error in the year-number results from the confused order in which these events are placed in C.M.

[3] I.e., on 20th May. This is the correct date (R.S. **66**, 185; **36**, ii, 287; iv, 408). Wendover and Paris say that the battle took place on the 19th of May, the Saturday after Pentecost (R.S. **84**, ii, 218; **44**, ii, 213; **57**, iii, 24); but that Saturday was 20th May in 1217. C.L. (24) places it in Pentecost week (14th × 20th May).

[4] I.e., Walter de Nîmes.

[5] Thomas, count of Perche, 1202-1217.

[6] Ingram de Coucy was one of Louis's supporters in England. See Patent Rolls (1901), 109. See also Histoire des Ducs, 189-190 (cf. 165, 175, 187). The Annals of Dunstable say that he was left in charge in England

men-at-arms, esquires, crossbow-men, and foot-soldiers. Also on Louis's side were nearly all the magnates and barons of England. And on the side of the new king Henry was the aforesaid cardinal Gualo, who, going clothed in all his sacred vestments, excommunicated all Louis's supporters, by the authority of almighty God, and of the lord pope. There were also with [Henry] the archbishop of York,[1] and seven other bishops; namely [the bishops] of Worcester, of Hereford, of Salisbury, of Lincoln, of Bath, of Chichester,[2] and of Winchester[3]; also the two Williams Marshal of England; William Longespée, earl of Salisbury; and the earl [William] de Aumale; and Robert de Vipont; Brian de Insula; Geoffrey de Neville, the chamberlain of England; and Richard, king John's son.[4]

In this conflict, all alike who were on Louis's side were oppressed by the load of excommunication, and were miraculously

when Louis returned to France for aid; and call him "a man noble, but not discreet" (R.S. **36**, iii, 48). The Histoire says inaccurately that Ingram was the nephew of Louis, and uncle of Robert de Dreux. Ingram's daughter Mary became queen of Scotland in 1239. See below, p. 514.

William, the count of Holland, who pretended a claim to the kingdom of Scotland, had come to England with Louis. See Horoy, i, 240.

There were Scots in Louis's army; L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, ii, 277, l. 17744.

[1] Walter de Gray.

[2] *Eccestrensis:* read *Cicestrensis.*

[3] Silvester of Evesham, bishop of Worcester; Hugh de Maneport, bishop of Hereford; Richard Poor, bishop of Salisbury; John, bishop of Lincoln; Joceline, bishop of Bath; Richard, bishop of Chichester; Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester. The presence at the battle of this Peter is mentioned by R.W., ii, 212: the presence of Peter; Richard of Salisbury; Joceline; and Richard of Chichester, is mentioned in notes, by M.P. (R.S. **57**, iii, 28, 29).

[4] A longer list of the king's supporters in this battle is given by R.W., ii, 212; but Geoffrey de Neville and Richard, John's son, do not appear in it.

Richard was an illegitimate son. He killed Eustace the Monk, later in the year (R.W., ii, 222).

In May, 1218, king Henry's chamberlain, Geoffrey de Neville, was appointed seneschal of Poitou and Gascony (Pateut Rolls (1901), 152).

The other royalist leaders named by the Melrose Chronicle are also named by Wendover, who mentions in addition Randolph, earl of Chester; William, earl de Ferrieres; William de Aubigny; John Marshal; William de Cantilupo, and William, his son; Falk de Bréauté; Thomas Basset; Geoffrey de Lucy; Philip de Aubigny.

See Henry's letter of 28th February, 1217, in Patent Rolls (1901), 108-109.

captured by a few, and imprisoned in Lincoln. And (what was very much to be lamented) the nobleman called the count of Perche perished, slain with excessively cruel violence, in that battle, after a long and protracted defence.[1]

1217

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 130, s.a. 1217

In the month of May, Alexander, by God's grace[2] king of the Scots, collected his whole army, and besieged the castle of Mitford. And after besieging it for a week, he returned home.[3]

Philip de Ulecotes and H[ugh] de Balliol threatened, for the sake of revenge,[4] to devastate land of the lord king of the Scots. Hearing this, the lord king took his way towards Northumbria

[1] After this, C.M. describes the negotiations of peace between Henry and Louis (see below).

For descriptions of the battle of Lincoln, see the English chronicles (R.S. **66**, 185; **58**, ii, 237-238; **84**, ii, 211-220; **44**, ii, 210-213; **57**, iii, 20-25; **36**, ii, 287; iv, 408).

R.W. (ii, 217) names among Louis's supporters who were captured at Lincoln:—Saher de Quincey, earl of Winchester; Henry de Bohun, earl of Hereford (a note in Paris's Historia Major—R.S. **57**, ii, 29; cf. 28—, seems to imply that this Henry de Bohun fought against Louis's faction later in the year, in the conflict with Eustace the Monk); Gilbert of Ghent (appointed "earl of Lincoln" by Louis); and the barons Robert Walter's son, Richard de Muntfichet, William de Mowbray, William de Beauchamp, William Mauduit, Oliver de Harcourt, Roger de Cressy, William de Colville, Robert de Ross, Robert de Roppele (? Ripley), Ralph Chainedut.

The lands of David, earl of Huntingdon, were confiscated, and given with others to William Marshal the Younger, on 9th April, 1217 (Patent Rolls (1901), 55). The grant was confirmed on 29th June, 1217 (ibid., 75). See year 1219, note.

[2] This seems to have been written during the life-time of Alexander (i.e. 1217 × 1249). Cf. year 1215.

[3] Mitford was one of the confiscated castles that had been given by king John to Philip de Ulecotes (Close Rolls, i, 246).

Alexander seems to have renewed in 1217 the attempts he had made in 1216 to reduce the Northumbrian castles. He continued to support Louis, after the death of king John. He had sworn fealty to Louis; he wished to possess Northumbria; and he probably desired to reinstate allies whose lands had been confiscated.

[4] See Stevenson's note upon this passage.

Philip de Ulecotes and Hugh de Balliol had been appointed guardians of Northumbria by king John (E.C., 333, note). Philip had received from John the confiscated half of Eustace de Vesci's lands, to be held for the king's use. The other half, including the barony of Alnwick, had been

for the second time, in the greatest haste, with a general army (namely of English, Scots, and Galwegians), on the third day before the Nones of July.[1]

The lady Eva of Galloway died, on the third day before the Ides of June.[2] . . .[3]

1217

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 128-129

In the year 1217, Richard de Marisco was consecrated bishop of Durham.[4]

In the same year, in the month of July, a naval battle was fought between France and England—an unheard-of occurrence in our times. For while sir Louis remained in London, with a great number of knights, the English had occupied all the harbours, and were most strictly guarding the sea-coasts, in order that no assistance should reach him from France. And the French came in strong force, and with a copious number of ships; and on the first occasion they obtained the victory in

inherited by William de Harcourt; but some reservation was made for Eustace's widow, king Alexander's sister, Margaret. See Bain's Calendar, i, 114, 120 (nos. 650, 651, 680); cf. Close Rolls, i, 314 (22nd July, 1217).

Eustace de Vesci had been killed at the siege of Hugh de Balliol's castle of Barnard.

[1] I.e., on 5th July.

These two paragraphs are copied by C.L., 25.

[2] I.e., on 11th June. Eva or Helena was the "daughter of Richard and sister of William de Morville, and heiress of both" (S.P., iv, 139). See years 1185, 1196, 1200, notes. Cf. Melrose, i, no. 83. She was the mother of Alan Roland's son († 1234), and (probably) of Thomas, earl of Athole.

[3] Here follows a note of the election to Revesby of abbot Elias (who resigned the abbacy at Rievaulx in 1215). After this stands the account of the sedition against Louis (see above).

[4] Cf. C.L., 24, s.a. 1217.

Richard de Marisco was elected bishop of Durham, at the instance of the legate Gualo, on 2nd July, 1217 (Annals of Waverley; R.S. **36**, ii, 288). He was consecrated, according to R.W., ii, 237, on 24th July, 1218 (cf. M.P., R.S. **44**, ii, 231); but 1217 is the true year of his consecration. Cf. the letters to Philip de Ulecot[es], written on 13th August and 4th October, 1217; Patent Rolls (1901), 86, 98. R.W. calls Richard "a cleric, of the household and the morals of king John": M.P. changes "morals" to "counsellors." Richard had helped John to tax the clergy and the Cistercians. See also R.S. **36**, ii, 288. For his troubles in his see, cf. R.S. **58**, ii, 247; **84**, ii, 256-259; **44**, ii, 245-246; **36**, iii, 40, 62, 67. He died in 1226 (see below).

the middle of the sea, and gained possession of the wished-for shore: but on the second occasion, by God's disposition, after sailors and ships had been collected from all sides, they met again in the middle of the sea; and the English obtained the victory. And they killed the arch-pirate of the French, called Eustace the Monk[1]; along with innumerable others, whose bodies they committed for burial to the fishes of the sea: and ocean monsters celebrated their obsequies. But [the English] preserved the noblest, keeping them in close custody, in the hope of peace, and more stable agreement.

The names of the powerful men who were there captured are these: Robert de Courtenay; William de Bares, Ralph de Tornellis, William de Inchri,[2] William de Pessei,[3] Perven de Johanris,[4] Thomas de Coucy, Ailred de Croisilles, Anselm de Romoym,[5] Gallon de Munteni,[6] Nevelon de Arras, William de Mariscis, and many others.[7]

[1] For Eustace the Monk, see the English chronicles (R.S. **66**, 172, 185, 203; **58**, ii, 238-239; **84**, ii, 179-180, 221-222; **36**, iii, 34, 46, 50; ii, 287-288; iv, 408-409; **44**, ii, 178, 217-221; **57**, iii, 27-29). See Histoire des Ducs de Normandie, 167, 185, 200-202. See also the semi-historical Roman d'Eustache le Moine (ed. F. Michel, Paris and London, 1834), and Michel's introductory notice (documents ibid., pp. xxv-xxviii).

Eustace the Monk (with earl David and others) was a witness to John's treaty with Reginald, count of Boulogne, on 4th May, 1212 (Foedera, i, **1**, 105: for *de Moine* read *le Moine*—see Michel, u.s., p. xxvi. Michel points out that the document is preserved in the Charter Rolls; not in the Close Rolls, as the Foedera states). See also the Close Rolls, i, 57 (bis), 126, 177, 248.

On 20th April, 1215, king John ordered the release of Eustace the Monk, and others with him, captured in Serk (Patent Rolls, i, 133).

Eustace's brothers were specially mentioned in the treaty made between Louis and Henry III (Foedera, i, **1**, 148).

[2] *Ichri* in Stevenson's text; but there is a mark of contraction (˜) in the MS. over the first *i* of *Ichri*. This, and some of the following names, are doubtless corrupt.

[3] "Of Poissi"? (Seine-et-Oise).

[4] Possibly read "Herveus, count of Nevers"?

[5] *Romoyni* in Stevenson's text.

[6] *Munceni* in Stevenson's text; Montcenis?

[7] Cf. Histoire des Ducs de Normandie, 202: "... There were captured Robert de Courtenay, who was uncle to the queen [Isabel]: he was a brother of her mother, the countess of Angoulême. William des Bares was taken along with him; and Ralph de la Tourniele, and Nevelos de Arras; and all the knights who were in the ship [of Eustace the Monk]. And Eustace the Monk had his head cut off. They cut down also one of

The sum of captured knights was six score and five; [there were captured also] seven score and six sergeants of horse,[1] thirty-three ballistarii, [and] eight hundred and thirty-three sergeants of foot.[2]

This summation, and the names of the powerful men, were written by sir R[oger], the abbot of Warden, for sir William, the abbot of Rievaulx.[3] . . .[4]

The archbishop of Tyre,[5] and the abbots of Cîteaux and Clairvaux,[6] were sent to England, in order to restore peace between Louis and Henry, the new king of England.[7]

the mariners, Stephen Trabe [v.l. Crave], who had long been with [Eustace]. None of the other large ships was taken. . . . " There were 36 knights in this ship (ibid., 200-201). The Annals of Worcester (R.S. 36, iv, 409) say that the count of Namur (Nevers?); Robert de Tintene (Courtenay?); and William de Barre the younger, were captured in the battle.

The day of this battle, and of the death of Eustace the Monk, was Thursday, the 24th of August, 1217 (according to the Histoire des Ducs, Wendover, Coventry, and the Annals of Worcester. But the Annals of Waverley say, the 23rd). The battle was fought near Thanet (according to Coventry; at Dover, according to the Annals of Dunstable; near Sandwich, according to the Annals of Worcester). See the Histoire des Ducs, which says (201):—"When [the French ships] came towards the island of Thanet, the king's [ships] (which were collected at Sandwich) concealed themselves": the French ran among the English ships, and they fought.

The English leaders in this battle were Hubert de Burgh, and Richard, king John's son.

[1] I.e., feudatory vassals; esquires.

[2] I.e., feudatory vassals; yeomen. This paragraph is incorrectly punctuated in Stevenson's text; but correctly, in his edition of C.L.

[3] This is an instance of the manner in which news was carried from one Cistercian house to another.

Roger had been master of lay-brothers at Rievaulx. He was elected to the abbacy of Warden on 29th April, 1215 (C.M., 117).

William, abbot of Rievaulx (1216-1224), had been abbot of Melrose, 1215-1216.

[4] Here is placed the note of the foundation of Culross. See the beginning of year 1217, above.

[5] *de Suris.* This was Simon, a papal legate to France (cf. e.g. B.R., xviii, 577; and a letter of 1216, ibid., xix, 604). See the letters of Honorius III, of 5th and 6th December, 1216, and 21st April, 1217 (Epistolae, I, 81, 83, 404; B.R., xix, 616, 630).

[6] I.e., Conrad, abbot of Cîteaux; and William, abbot of Clairvaux. See above, p. 415; cf. pp. 395, 396. Cf. the letter (I, 85) of Honorius III, in B.R., xix, 616.

[7] Down to this point, the present passage is copied more or less fully by C.L. 24-25.

And the said abbots appealed to the apostolic see against cardinal Gualo, in defence of the status of their order; because (contrary to the privileges granted to them by the apostolic see) the same legate [Gualo] was by exaction extorting purveyance[1] from the Cistercian order; and was laying the monasteries of the monks under an interdict, suspending both convents and abbots, and proclaiming them to be excommunicate; and moreover was publicly, before the doors of their churches, causing them to be chastized upon the bare flesh, on the ground that they had communicated with the fighters—after he had received from them individually an oath, to the effect that they would stand to the judgement of the church, and the mandates of the lord pope, and of himself—; and because, after enjoining general acts of penance upon abbots and convents, he had hardly conceded to them the favour of absolution. They appealed, therefore, against him, because he conducted himself so cruelly towards the Cistercian[2] order. But on this occasion they did not obtain favour. For the lord pope had granted to this legate unheard-of and uncustomary authority, to do (so to speak) whatever entered his mind, with regard to the clergy and people holding office, throughout England, and Scotland, and Wales: to translate, and depose, and supplant; to suspend, and excommunicate, and absolve, bishops, and abbots, and other prelates of the churches, and clerics; still further, and more serious, to deprive even monks of the Cistercian order of their privileges. . . .[3]

1217

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 131-132, s.a. 1217

In the same year, on the seventh day before the Ides of September—the general army of all England being assembled around London, and a great part of the knighthood of France—, Louis, the son of the king of France, and Henry, the new king

[1] *procurationes.* Cf. R.W., ii, 191.

[2] For *Cisterciensis* in Stevenson's text, read *Cister[ciensem]*.

[3] Here follow notes of a succession in Newminster, and deprivations of abbots and priors in Wales; and after these, the account of Alexander's invasions of Northumbria (see above).

For the special powers given to Gualo S. Martini, see the letter of Honorius III, I, 140; Horoy, Bibliotheca Patristica, ii, 172-174.

of England, were reconciled, through the mediation of the oft-mentioned cardinal Gualo, and the magnates of both kingdoms: on condition, however, that ten thousand pounds should be given to the said Louis, in compensation for his expenses. And at the same place Louis came, ungirdled and shoeless, to seek for absolution, with his fellow-warriors, from his own pavilion to the cardinal's tent; where (after first giving an oath that he would stand to the judgement of the church; and that he would within a certain period evacuate England of himself and his followers) he at last obtained the desired absolution. Also the barons and knights who had on either side been captured and imprisoned, were delivered and set free; and all Englishmen without exception were released from the homage that they had done to the said Louis.[1]

[1] Peace was restored between Henry and Louis on 11th September, 1217 (see the treaty, in Foedera, i, **1**, 148: cf. R.S. **84**, ii, 224; **44**, ii, 222; **57**, iii, 30). Coggeshall (186), and the Annals of Tewkesbury and of Worcester, say, on the 13th of September (R.S. **36**, i, 63; iv, 409); some celebration of the peace may have taken place then. Louis was absolved on that day, according to Coggeshall (on the 20th, according to W.C., ii, 239; erroneously). He received letters of safe-conduct on the 14th (Foedera, u.s.); and returned to France about Michaelmas. Cf. C.L., 25.

These clauses are in the treaty of peace: "This is done concerning the king of the Scots, that sir Louis announces to him the form of the peace made between the lord king of England and himself; and if [the king of Scots] wishes to be included in that peace, let him restore to the lord king of England all the castles, and prisoners, and lands, that he has taken [*occupavit*] on the occasion of this war.

"The lord king of England shall do the same for the said king of the Scots."

Letters were sent to Alexander, requiring him to give up the castle of Carlisle, and all the prisoners that he had taken during this war (see Patent Rolls (1901), 93, 94; letters of 23rd September, 1217. In Bain's Calendar, i, these are nos. 672-674).

On 26th April, 1217, at Winchester, William Marshal wrote in the king's name to pope Honorius III, complaining that the canons of Carlisle adhered to the king of Scotland, and that they presumed to hold divine service in interdicted places, and in presence of the king's enemies who had been excommunicated. They had yielded to the Scottish king, who was under interdict and excommunicate, and who was in hostile occupation of Carlisle; they had received him as their patron and lord, and had done him fealty. At his instance, and in prejudice of the king of England and the church of York, they had elected as their bishop one of his clerics, an excommunicated person. The position of Carlisle made it of vital importance for the defence of England: the pope is requested to remove

But the king of Scotland, and all the earls and barons, knights and magnates, bishops and prelates, of the whole kingdom of Scotland, were placed under interdict, and excommunicated.

In the same year, lord Alexander, the king of Scotland, collected an army and set out for England. And when he had come to Jedburgh, hearing of the peace between Louis and the king of England, he sent back his army, and remained [there] during the month of September.

Lord Alexander, king of Scotland, was absolved from the chain of excommunication at Berwick, on the Kalends of December,[1] by the lord archbishop of York, and the lord bishop of Durham, by authority of the lord legate [then] dwelling in England. And on the third day following,[2] the same king's mother[3] was absolved by the lord bishop of Durham. But the archbishop, immediately after the absolution of the king, took his way to Carlisle, in order to receive seizin of the castle for the benefit of the king of England, by mandate of the lord king of Scotland.[4]

At the same time, while the lord king set out for England, the whole Scottish church, having been placed under interdict,

entirely these irregular canons, and to appoint in their place prebendaries obedient to the Roman see. Patent Rolls (1901), 111 ; Foedera, i, **1**, 147 ; Bain, i, no. 668.

The reply of Honorius, directed to the legate Gualo S. Martini, on 13th July, 1217, bade Gualo inquire into this, and punish the canons' misconduct. Foedera, u.s. ; Horoy, ii, 452-453.

[1] I.e., on 1st December.

[2] I.e., on 4th December.

[3] Ermengarde de Beaumont. See year 1186.

[4] Cf. C.L., 25, s.a. 1217 : "In the same year, all the barons of England did homage to Henry, the son of king John. And before Alexander, the king of the Scots, was accounted worthy of absolution, he gave up Carlisle to the will of the royalists [*regalium*] of England.

"In the same year, the kingdom of Scotland was laid under interdict by the legate Gualo." The same passage stands in tbe 1291 Chronicle of Carlisle, in Palgrave, 74, s.a. 1217 ; but that chronicle reads "day" instead of "year," in the last sentence.

C.L., 27, s.a. 1218 : "In the same year, the canons of Carlisle were sent into exile by the legate Gualo, on the ground that, compelled by the fear of death, they had celebrated divine offices for the king of the Scots, while he was excommunicate.

"In the same year, Hugh, formerly the abbot of Beaulieu [in S.

ceased from divine praises; excepting the white monks,[1] who celebrated, according to privileges conferred upon them by the apostolic see.

When the king came to Northampton, he was received with the greatest reverence both by the new king of England, and by the legate. And he did homage there to the said king of England, for the county of Huntingdon, and the rest of the lands that his predecessors had held of the kings of England; on the next Sabbath-day before the Lord's Nativity.[2]

Hampshire], of Burgundy, was consecrated bishop of Carlisle. And to him the possessions of the canons were entrusted."

Hugh was appointed to supplant a bishop who had been elected by the canons at the instance of the king of Scotland. Hugh had been deposed from the abbacy of Beaulieu. The Annals of Waverley (R.S. **36**, ii, 291) say that Hugh was elected "by the will of the legate Gualo; in revenge for [Hugh's] deposition, as it seemed to many: because he would appear to be immune from the jurisdiction of the [Cistercian] order, if he were promoted to be bishop." The Annals of Worcester date Hugh's election on 2nd August, 1219 (R.S. **36**, iv, 410).

Hugh had been one of the accusers of Stephen Langton, at Rome, in 1215 (R.W., ii, 159). He died in 1223 (on 3rd June, according to the Annals of Waverley—R.S. **36**, ii, 298. Cf. iii, 79. See C.L., 30. A letter written to him by the pope is dated 7th April, 1223; Horoy, iv, 317). He was succeeded by Walter Mauclerc (R.S. **36**, ii, 299, s.a. 1224; **36**, i, 66, s.a. 1223), consecrated about 1st June, 1223, according to R.W. (ii, 270; see R.S. **44**, ii, 255). C.L., 31, however, says that he was consecrated in 1224.

[1] I.e., the Cistercians (of Melrose, etc.). A letter was directed by Honorius III, on 13th November, 1217, to their general chapter held at Cîteaux (II, 57; Horoy, ii, 531). This chapter is mentioned by the Melrose chronicle, p. 129.

[2] *proximo die sabbati ante* . . .; i.e., on Saturday, 23rd December, 1217. Alexander seems to have done homage before the 19th of December.

On 3rd November, 1217, letters of safe-conduct (valid until 2nd February, 1218) were issued for king Alexander II, in coming to the earl William Marshal (Foedera, i, **1**, 149; Patent Rolls (1901), 119; Bain, i, no. 678).

On 6th November, 1217 (Patent Rolls (1901), 122; but in Foedera, u.s., on 7th November; Bain, i, no. 679), earl William Marshal issued an order in the king's name to [John de Lacy] constable of Chester, and to Robert de Ross, bidding them meet the king of the Scots at Berwick on 30th November; and conduct him and others to king Henry, to confer with him, and to do to him what they ought to do.

On [17th December, 1217], king Alexander received letters of safe-conduct through English territory to his own land, from 19th December, 1217, to 2nd February, 1218. He received also letters of protection, directed

? 1217

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 82

In the year 1217, Nicholas, the bishop of the islands, died, and was buried in Ulster, in the monastery at Bangor; and Reginald succeeded him in the bishopric.[1]

to the bailiffs of English ports, in favour of Scottish merchants (Patent Rolls (1901), 132; Bain, i, no. 684).

On 19th December, 1217, at Northampton, sheriffs of the various counties were ordered in the king's name to give king Alexander seizin of the honour of Huntingdon, which earl David had held of Alexander in their counties: because Alexander had come to king Henry's faith and service, and had done to him what he ought to have done [i.e., had sworn allegiance] (Close Rolls, ii, 348; Bain, i, no. 686).

[1] For Nicholas, cf. year 1210, note. From the place of his burial, he appears to have acknowledged the superiority of an Irish archbishop.

Reginald was king Olaf's sister's son, according to the Chronicle of Man, i, 84 (below, 1188-1226; cf. 1229, note). Another bishop, N., was elected to the islands, in subjection to the archbishop of Dublin; but, notwithstanding the support of the pope, seems to have failed to enter the see.

On 9th November, 1219, (Theiner, 14, no. 31; Horoy, iii, 333-334; Bliss, i, 69) pope Honorius III commanded the bishop of Carlisle and the legate Pandulf to admonish the prince of the islands, and other persons of that diocese, not to oppose the bishop, elected by the convent of Furness after the death of N[icholas], bishop of the islands, and consecrated by the archbishop of Dublin, the metropolitan of the place; and to bid the prince to make satisfaction for the injuries inflicted on the bishop.

This prince can hardly have been king Reginald, who had become the vassal of the pope on 22nd September, 1219; but was more probably king Olaf of the Hebrides.

On 23rd May, 1223, the pope declared that he was well pleased with the devotion of Reginald, king of the islands (see 1223, note).

On 15th May, 1224, pope Honorius III wrote to the archbishop of York [Walter Gray], saying that N., the bishop of Man and the islands, had long been in exile from his see, and wished to resign; and giving the archbishop authority to release him, if it were expedient. The letter is to be found in R.S. **71**, iii, 122-123 (not in Theiner, or Horoy; nor mentioned in Potthast's Regesta Pontificum).

It appears from this letter (if its date be correct) that the successor of Nicholas (who died × 1219) cannot have been canonically consecrated before 1224.

List of Bishops, appended to the Chronicle of Man, i, 116: "[Michael] was succeeded [in the bishopric of Man] by Nicholas, of Argyle by race; and he lies in the monastery of Bangor.

"After him, Reginald, a noble man of royal race, was consecrated bishop: and governed the church strenuously. He also was wearied by

1217

Eirspennill's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, c. 22; Unger's Konunga Sögur, p. 256[1]

The letter-writing of earl Skúli.

Earl Skúli had letters sent west beyond the sea, to earl John in the Orkneys. And the king's seals were upon them.[2] Ióstein Paunch went with the letters.[3] And when these letters came to the sea, men became aware of it, upon the ship[4]; and they sent word ashore[5] to Ivar Boddi and Dagfinn,[6] and said [that] the king's seal [was[7]] upon these letters.[8]

Then Ivar went to the king, and asked if he knew anything about these letters. [The king] said that he did not.[9] Ivar said [that it would be[10]] better that he should see[11] [all] the

constant illness; yet he failed not, in spite of prolonged weakness; but, giving thanks to God, breathed his last breath in good confession. And he is buried in the abbey of St Mary, at Rushen.

"He was succeeded in the episcopate by John, Hefare's son; who through a sad calamity of fire, and through the carelessness of his attendants, lost his life. And he lies at Jervaulx [*Jerewos*], in England."

Jervaulx Abbey, a Cistercian house on the Ure, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, was established in 1156. It had been founded at Fors in 1145, as a Savignian abbey. It was subject to Byland. See D.M., v, 568-573. Hefare may possibly be a corrupt form of a Scandinavian name (? Icelandic *Hervarðr*).

For John's successor, Simon, see year 1226.

[1] Parallel passages are in Fr., 402, c. 22 (and F.S., ix, 260); Fl., iii, 19-20, c. 20; Sk., 317, c. 20 (and R.S. 88, ii, 25-26). This incident is introduced by Ibsen in "The Pretenders."

[2] "And the king knew nothing ["not" Fl.] of it, nor what was in the letters" add Fr., Fl., Sk. This explanation anticipates that given below in E., Fl., Sk.; it seems to be redundant, and a conflate reading, in Fl., Sk.

[3] "He was a retainer of the king [*gestr*]" add Fr., Fl., Sk.

[4] "upon the king's ships" Fl.; omitted Sk.

[5] "to the town" adds Fl.

[6] "and Dagfinn Yeoman, the king's counsellors" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[7] "that . . . was" in Fr. Fl., Sk.

[8] "which were sent with Ióstein" add Fr., Sk.; "which Ióstein went with" Fl.

[9] "Then Ivar . . . not" not in Fr., through *saut du même au même*.

[10] "[it] would be" in Fr., Fl., Sk.

[11] "know and see" Fl., corruptly.

letters that were sent under the king's seal to other lands. The king then sent men after the letters.[1]

The earl became aware of this. He then[2] sent his men upon another ship; and they were quicker, and got the letter before the king's men came.[3] And as soon as they came to the town, the earl let [the trumpets] blow for a meeting of the king's men; he had great complaints[4] against Ivar Boddi, and others of the counsellors,[5] and said that they wished a difference to arise between him and the king,[6] who mistrusted him in his counsels.[7]

1218

Eirspennill's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, cc. 40-41; Unger's Konunga Sögur, pp. 266-267[8]

Of dissensions between the king and the earl.

The king and the earl went south to Bergen in the summer. Then some dissensions arose between the king and the earl. Most men were there who followed the one or the other. Andrew Shield-band, and Vegard of Veradalr, every day caused twelve men, fully armed, to accompany the king, in addition to those that formed his retinue.[9]

[1] "to Herdluver" add Fr., Fl., Sk.

[2] "immediately" read Fl., Sk.; "then" not in Fr., which reads: "But when the earl . . . he sent."

[3] "arrived" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[4] "he made a charge" Fr.

[5] "other king's counsellors" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[6] *theira konungs.* "The king and the earl" Fr.; "the king and him" Fl.; "him" (corruptly) Sk.

[7] "and to mistrust the earl" Fr., Fl., Sk.

Skúli had been regent in the last days of Ingi († 1217), and continued to act as regent in the beginning of Hakon's reign (Hakon's Saga, cc. 13, 19, in Eirspennill, Fr., Sk.; cc. 11, 17, in Fl.). After this incident, earl Skúli acquired one-third of the lands and provinces of Norway (c. 25, E., Fr., Sk.; c. 22, Fl.). King Ingi and earl Skúli were sons of Cecilia, daughter of Sigurd Mouth, Harold Gilli's son, legitimately descended; Hakon was the illegitimate son of Hakon, son of Sverri, the illegitimate son of Sigurd Mouth. Illegitimacy was no bar to succession in Norway, but many held that claims in the female line were invalid.

[8] The corresponding passages (with different headings) in Fr., 411-412, cc. 43-44 (also F.S., ix, 278-279, cc. 40-41); Fl., iii, 29-30, c. 34; and Sk., 332-333, cc. 43-44 (also R.S. 88, ii, 39-40, cc. 40-41), differ considerably from E.

[9] This paragraph appears very differently in Fr., Fl., Sk. The last sentence is also in Sk., but not in Fr., Fl.

When summer was well advanced, [the] bishops came to Bergen[1]: archbishop Guthorm, bishop Nicholas, bishop Henry,[2] bishop Ivar,[3] Biarni, bishop of the Orkneys, and many other learned men and lawmen, and the best yeomen.[4]

Earl Skúli was constantly in talk with the bishops.[5]

Demand for iron-bearing.

One day, when the king was with his men in a conference,[6] men came there from the archbishop [Guthorm] and the earl [Skúli]:—Havard, bishop of Bergen, and master Biarni.[7] The bishop spoke[8]: "Sir," said he, "the archbishop and the earl would like that the iron-bearing which was offered on your behalf in the spring, when you were chosen for the kingship, should now take place, so that the talk of [all] those men should be brought to nothing, who have hitherto had any doubt of your parentage." . . .[9]

1218

Frisbók's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, c. 48; Unger's Codex Frisianus, p. 413[10].

In the day,[11] after primes,[12] the king's mother [Inga] bore the

[1] "all the bishops came to the town" Fl., Sk.

[2] "Henry, bishop of Stavanger" Fl., Sk.

[3] "Ivar, bishop of Hamar" Fl., Sk.

[4] "who were summoned thither" add Fl., Sk. This paragraph stands thus in Fr.:—" . . . the archbishop came south to Bergen, and all the other bishops, and the barons, and all the others who had been summoned thither."

[5] "The bishops were constantly in conversation with the earl, but little with the king" Fr. To the same effect, inverted, in Fl., Sk.

[6] " with his barons and counsellors" Sk.

[7] "From Trondhjem" add Fr., Fl. "There were Havard, [bishop] of Bergen, and master Biarni from Trondhjem" Sk.

[8] "and spoke thus" Fr. "The bishop brought forth his errand, in these words" Fl., Sk.

[9] The ordeal of red-hot iron had previously been resorted to, to establish the parentage of king Harold Gilli.

[10] Also in F.S., ix, 283. Parallel passages are in E., 268-269, c. 44; Fl., iii, 31, c. 36; Sk., 336, c. 48 (also R.S. 88, ii, 42-43, c. 45).

[11] After Inga had fasted in preparation for the ordeal. Fl. reads: "One day, after . . . ." The Icelandic Annals (CDA) place "The iron-bearing of Inga, mother of king Hakon" in 1218.

[12] I.e., after 6 a.m.

iron: and that passed off as well as possible.[1] There were present the king [Hakon], and the archbishop [Guthorm], and other chiefs of the land. There was also earl [John] of the Orkneys.[2] . . .

1218

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 132-135

In the year of the Lord 1218, in the beginning of January, sir William Malveisin, the bishop of St Andrews, returned to his episcopate from the general Roman council.[3]

About the end of the same month, sir William, the prior of Durham, and master Walter of Wisbech, the archdeacon of East Riding, were sent on behalf of the lord legate (who still remained in England), in order to release from the chain of anathema, and likewise from the interdict, the church of

[1] " . . . the iron for the right time: and she performed the ordeal as well as possible" E., Fl., Sk.

[2] "There . . . Orkneys" also in Fl., Sk.; not in E.

[3] See above, year 1215.

On 16th April, 1217, pope Honorius III wrote in defence of Eustace, a canon of St Andrews, against unreasonable suspension or excommunication, apparently laid upon him by the bishop of St Andrews (Bliss, i, 46). On 20th April, 1217, the same pope wrote to the bishop and two canons of Dunkeld, commanding them to relieve Eustace of excommunication or suspension (ibid.).

On 27th April, 1217, Honorius wrote to the same bishop and canons of Dunkeld, commanding them to examine the charges made by Eustace against the bishop of St Andrews, and report (Horoy, ii, 379-381; Theiner, no. 6; Bliss, i, 47). Malveisin was accused of conferring orders as bishop of St Andrews while still only postulated to that see. Cf. D.B., 12-13.

He was excommunicated for supporting king Alexander against king Henry III; but was absolved on 12th November, 1218 (Horoy, iii, 48; Theiner, 7), and taken under protection of the pope on 19th December (see below).

On 23rd December, 1218, Honorius III wrote to [Pandulf] the bishop-elect of Norwich, and papal legate, bidding him prevent the bishop of Dunkeld and his fellow-adjudicators (all excommunicate) from proceeding in the case brought by Eustace, a canon of St Andrews (excommunicate), against the bishop of St Andrews (Horoy, iii, 81-82; Theiner, 9, no. 21; Bliss, i, 61). On 17th January, 1219, Honorius wrote similarly, but permitting Pandulf (if the parties were unwilling that he should decide the case) to delegate the case to persons in Scotland, suspected by neither party (Bliss, i, 61).

Scotland—the priests, that is to say, and the people; excluding the bishops and the prelates. And beginning at Berwick they made a circuit round Scotland, and perambulated it. Going to the lord king at Edinburgh, they received even from the king himself, and from his [vassals], an oath, to the effect that they would stand to the judgement of the church, and the mandates of the lord pope; and they proceeded from there into the heart of Scotland, as far as Aberdeen.

During their return, while they lodged at Lindores, the chamber where the prior was sleeping with his monks was burned, through the carelessness and prodigality of the butlers; and the prior, almost suffocated by the smoke and flame, with difficulty survived this for a time: but he did not long evade death. After suffering the greatest weakness, he was brought to Coldingham; and, being [then] reduced to the point of death, he exhaled his spirit there, on the second day before the Ides of May.[1]

In the same year, on the Lord's Annunciation,[2] master Walter of Wisbech gave orders, by mandate of the said legate [Gualo], and by his authority, with which he was invested, that all monks of the Cistercian order, without exception, throughout the kingdom of Scotland, should cease from celebrating divine offices. But the abbots (namely Ralph, of Melrose; Adam, of Newbattle; Alexander, of Coupar; Ralph, of Kinloss; Hugh, of St Serf[3]) placed all that they had under the peace of God, and the protection of the lord pope; and went to the said legate, at York. There, after many prayers, and the intercession of many men, they with difficulty obtained for themselves [alone] the grace of absolution. And in the meanwhile, the aforesaid Walter of Wisbech held a council with many clerics and prelates, at Berwick, on the day of Palms, and the following day[4]; in which council he denounced as excommunicate the

[1] I.e., on 14th May. The name of this prior is unknown. Lindores was still ruled by its first abbot, Guido (?1191-?1219; Bower, ii, 34. Cf. Lindores, pp. 301-303).

[2] 25th March.

[3] Ralph was abbot of Melrose, 1216-†1219; Adam, of Newbury, 1201-1213; Alexander, of Coupar-Angus, 1209-1240; Ralph, of Kinloss, 1194×-†1220. Hugh was the first abbot of St Serf's, Culross (1217-×1232).

[4] I.e., on Sunday and Monday, the 8th and 9th of April, 1218.

aforesaid monks, in the kingdom of Scotland; and also those who communicated with them. But the monks there appealed to the presence of the lord pope, as they had done before; both against the said legate [Gualo], and against Walter. And, while they renewed the appeal that the lord [abbot] of Cîteaux had interposed, for the state of the order, they held the denunciation invalid.

Hearing this, the said legate [Gualo] was exceedingly angry, and swore to the abbots (then in his presence) that he would give no grace at all to them or their convents, unless first he learned, by testimony of the bishops and their deans, that these convents of theirs had accepted the interdict. At last, after receiving letters from their abbots, the monks did cease for some time both from entering the church, and from celebrating divine offices; until by mandate of the lord legate they received absolution, by the hands of sir William, the bishop of St Andrews: after they had first given an oath to the effect that they would stand to the judgement of the church, and the mandates of the lord pope—without prejudicing their order, and their privileges.

In the same year, in the month of May, sir Stephen [Langton], the archbishop of Canterbury, returned from the general council; and he entered England, while all exulted in his arrival, as in the arrival of an angel of peace, a father, and a pastor: and shouted again and again, "Blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord!"[1]

In the same year, the said legate Gualo departed from England; and to that land came Pandulf, formerly a clerk of the Roman see; having at that time been appointed legate of England, and elected bishop of Norwich.[2]

[1] Cf. above, year 1214. For Stephen's return, see W.C., ii, 240; and the Annals of Worcester, R.S. **36**, iv, 410.

[2] According to Coggeshall (186), Gualo left England about the 30th of November (the Annals of Waverley say, about 23rd November; R.S. **36**, ii, 291); and Pandulf came to London on Monday, 3rd December, 1218. Cf. R.S. **36**, iii, 53; i, 63; **44**, ii, 231; **57**, iii, 42-43; **58**, ii, 241.

Gualo died in 1227 (R.S. **36**, iv, 69).

On 10th November, 1218, Honorius III gave Pandulf authority to confirm or annul the treaties of peace made between king William and king John (Theiner, 7, no. 15; Foedera, i, **1**, 157; Horoy, iii, 46): i.e., to decide whether Scotland was subject to England, or not. See below.

Sir W[illiam of Blois], the archdeacon of Buckingham, was elected bishop of Worcester.[1]

The bishop of Brechin[2] died; and sir Gregory, the archdeacon of the same bishopric, succeeded him.[3]

In the same year, Otho, the emperor of Germany, died; and Frederick, called the Infant of Apulia, succeeded him.[4]

Also the count of Burgundy died[5]; and earl Simon de Montfort was killed.[6] May their souls rest in peace!

On the third day[7] before the Nones of October, Henry, the abbot of Kelso, died; and sir Richard, the prior of the same house, succeeded him, on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of November.[8]

In the same year, nearly all the abbots of England, Wales, and Scotland, set out for the general chapter, at the mandate of the lord [abbot] of Cîteaux, to treat of difficult affairs of their order. From this chapter, the lord [abbot] of Cîteaux, and [the abbot] of Clairvaux, with six other fellow-abbots, proceeded to Rome, to bring up a complaint concerning the injuries inflicted on their order by the said cardinal [Gualo]; and there,

[1] Coggeshall says that William of Blois was consecrated on 7th October, 1218; but the Annals of Tewkesbury and of Worcester say that he was enthroned on 28th October (R.S. **66**, 186; **36**, i, 63; iv, 410. Cf. **36**, iii, 52; ii, 289-290; **58**, ii, 240).

William had visited Scotland several years before 1218, and had witnessed a few Scottish charters.

[2] *de Breiyin.* Cf. pope Honorius III's letter of 27th April, 1217 (Horoy, ii, 379; Theiner, no. 6).

This was bishop Hugh, who succeeded Ralph. See year 1202.

[3] On 15th December, 1218, Honorius III wrote to William Malveisin, the bishop of St Andrews, giving him authority to consecrate Gregory (Horoy, iii, 72-73; Theiner, 8, no. 19: cf. 18, no. 42).

Gregory was succeeded in 1246 by Albinus († 1269). Cf. year 1249, note.

[4] Cf., among the English chronicles, R.S. **36**, ii, 290; iii, 54; ii, 83; **58**, ii, 240. See B.R., xvii, 112 (William the Breton); xviii, 634, 663, 788.

This was emperor Otho IV, who died on 19th May, 1218.

[5] This was duke Odo or Eudes III. His death is noticed by the Annals of Dunstable (R.S., **36**, iii, 54), s.a. 1218. Cf. B.R., u.s.

[6] Simon de Montfort was killed at the siege of Toulouse, in 1219 (cf. s.a. 1219, R.S. **84**, ii, 252; **44**, ii, 239-240; **57**, iii, 57; and s.a. 1218, R.S. **58**, ii, 240; **36**, iii, 54; ii, 290).

[7] 5th October.

[8] I.e., on 19th October. In the margin is an added note: "8th abbot of Kelso." Henry had succeeded in 1208. Richard died in 1221.

by the favour of God, and of his mother, the ever-virgin Mary —the peculiar advocate and patroness of the order—, they obtained their desires against the often-mentioned cardinal Gualo. Moreover, on the same occasion, to the honour of God and the order; and in testimony of the confusion of the cardinal Gualo, sir Conrad himself, the abbot of Cîteaux, was elected and consecrated, by the chief pontiff, bishop of Porto[1]; and he was also made a cardinal. Sir Gaucher, the abbot of Longpont,[2] succeeded him as abbot of Cîteaux.[3]

Bishops Walter, of Glasgow; Bricius, of Moray; and Adam, of Caithness,[4] set out from Scotland for the apostolic see, in order to ask for their absolution. And they returned in the following year.[5]

[1] I.e., Porto, near the mouth of the Tiber. Cf. B.R., xix, 215 (and R.S. **84**, ii, 272).

[2] I.e., Longpont, WSW of Soissons. Cf. R.S. **66**, 79-80. For Gaucher or Gulcher, see Sainte-Marthe, Gallia Christiana, iv, 992 ff (Stevenson).

[3] With this paragraph, cf. the Annals of Waverley (R.S. **36**, ii, 291). A letter of Honorius III was directed to this council on 20th June, 1218 (II, 302; Horoy, ii, 812-813).

[4] Walter was bishop of Glasgow, 1207-†1232; Bricius, of Moray, 1203-†1222; Adam, of Caithness, 1213-†1222. See year 1222.

[5] On 6th June, 1218, the pope wrote to the chapter and clergy of Glasgow, bidding them receive their bishop, who had been excommunicated in connection with the wars between the kings of England and Scotland, but was then absolved (Bliss, i, 55).

On 7th June, 1218, the pope declared that Robert de S. Germano, a cleric, had, at the prayers of the king of France, been absolved of the charge of rebellion against king [Henry III] (Theiner, 6, no. 13). Cf. year 1215, note.

On 5th November, 1218, Honorius III wrote to the Moravians, recalling them to obedience to their bishop [Bricius], who had been excommunicated for his offences in connection with the wars between England and Scotland, but was absolved (Theiner, 6, no. 14. On 30th January, 1219, an inquiry was ordered into the conduct of the bishop of Moray, who had been accused of extortion, and of taking bribes; ibid., 9, no. 22; Horoy, iii, 111-112).

On 10th November, 1218, the pope gave authority to his legate, Pandulf, to revise the agreement between kings William and John (see above). See year 1219, note.

On 12th November, 1218, Honorius III absolved William de Bois, king Alexander's chancellor, without his going to Rome; and restored him to his office and benefices. He had been excommunicated for rebellion against king Henry III (Horoy, iii, 46-48; Theiner, 7, no. 16). A similar letter was issued in favour of the bishop of St Andrews.

On 21st November, 1218, Honorius III gave his protection to king

1219

Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 27, s.a. 1219

The illustrious earl David, of great memory, died; a man of great power, both in Scotland and in England, the brother of William, formerly king of the Scots.[1]

Alexander, and restored the old privileges of the Scottish church and realm (Horoy, iii, 53-54; Theiner, no. 18; Foedera, i, **1**, 152).

On 19th December, 1218, the bishop of St Andrews and his successors were taken under the protection of the apostolic see (Theiner, 8, no. 20; Horoy, iii, 76-77): the case of Eustace against the bishop being still undecided (see above).

On 21st December, 1218, following the example of popes Celestine and Innocent, pope Honorius III declared that the Scottish church was immediately subject to the Roman see; that none but a legate *a latere* could pronounce sentence of excommunication or interdict in Scotland; that none but a Scot should be papal legate in Scotland; that litigants were not to be summoned out of Scotland, except on an appeal to Rome; and that this concession should not be prejudiced by future enactments (Theiner, 8, no. 18; Bliss, i, 60).

Bishop Walter of Glasgow was accused in 1219 before the pope, Honorius III, who wrote on 7th December in that year (Horoy, iii, 359-361; Theiner, 13, no. 29): "Our beloved son, master William (a cleric from the bosom of the Glasgow church) has by his insinuations shown us that our venerable brother — —, the bishop of Glasgow, . . . while he was chaplain of — —, of renowned memory, the king of Scotland, gave 100 marks [i.e., 66 pounds] to Philip de Valognes, the said king's chamberlain [† 1215], and promised a far greater sum to the queen, in order that they should procure that the king would give him the bishopric of Glasgow: and so it happened, that he was promoted to be bishop without the intervention of any canonical election. Besides, once when he was at the apostolic see in the time of a general council, he gave 40 marks to master Ralph Malveisin, a canon of Glasgow, so that he should resign his prebend to him. . . ." Honorius instructed the legate Pandulf to hold an enquiry into these and other charges against bishop Walter. The result must have been favourable to Walter, since he retained his bishopric.

On 27th January, 1221, Honorius wrote to bishop Walter, supporting him in his dispute with the canons of Jedburgh (Theiner, 18, no. 43).

[1] Cf. E.C., 334. See above, under years ?1114, 1190, 1214, 1217; and Bain, i, nos. 724, 739, 797. David's widow, Matilda of Chester, died in 1233.

David's heir, John the Scot, was a minor in 1219. Custody of the honour of Huntingdon was given in 1219 to the king of Scotland, who granted it to Randolph, earl of Chester, the uncle of the heir, × 12th March, 1221 (Close Rolls, i, 406; Patent Rolls (1901), 285; Foedera, i, **1**, 165).

See year 1222.

Cf. Fordun, Annals, c. 31; i, 281-282: "The same earl David begot by the

1219

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 135

In the year of the Lord 1219, Thomas de Colville died.[1]

William de Valognes died at Kelso; and, even contrary to the wishes of the monks of that house, his body was carried to Melrose, and honourably buried there in the chapter of the monks, beside the tomb of his father.[2]

same wife, Matilda [see 1190], one son, named John, who afterwards succeeded him; and three daughters, Margaret, Isabella, and Ada. Margaret he gave in marriage to Alan of Galloway, the son of Roland [1209]; and [Alan] had by her a daughter, Derbforgaill. And Isabella, [David's] second daughter, he gave as wife to Robert de Bruce; and by her [Robert] had a son, Robert by name. And the third daughter, Ada, [David] united in wedlock with Henry de Hastings; and by her the same Henry had a son, named Henry.

"Now in the year of the Lord 1219, this earl David had been the victim of a long infirmity; and at last he went the way of all flesh, and closed his last day, in England, at Yardley [*Jerdelay*], on Monday, the day of St Botulf [i.e., Monday, 17th June, 1219].

"And although it had been his wish while he lived that his body should be carried to his own monastery of Lindores, yet by certain men's counsel he was conveyed to the abbey of Sawtry, and there honourably buried on the morrow of St Botulf's day, the third day of the week [i.e., Tuesday, 18th June]: a man of pious remembrance, and worthy of all memory. May God have mercy on his soul. Amen.

"And he was succeeded by his son, who was called by the English John the Scot, and whom afterwards [king] Alexander, in his royal festival on the day of Pentecost, endued with military arms, along with many other nobles, both of Scotland and of England, at Roxburgh.

"Afterwards, about the thirteenth year after the death of earl David, Randolph [de Blundeville], the earl of Chester, died [† Oct., 1232], after losing his children. He was succeeded by John the Scot, his nephew, the son of earl David. But [John] also died without children [† Jan., 1237]. Do thou [O Lord, have mercy upon us]."

Brompton says, s.a. 1075 (Twysden's Scriptores, 975): "Now this David had by Matilda, the sister of Randolph, earl of Chester, [a son,] John the Scot, who died without children; and three daughters: Christina [read "Margaret"], the wife of Alan of Galloway; Isabella de Bruce; and Alda [read "Ada"] de Hastings." Margaret was the mother of Derbforgaill. All three daughters had descendants among the competitors of 1291. See D.K., 65-68; Foedera, i, 2, 776, 777. Fordun, cc. 75-76, i, 316-317.

Ada, an illegitimate daughter of earl David, had married Malisse, son of earl Ferteth of Strathearn (Lindores, no. 2; a charter of 1198 × 1199).

[1] Cf. year 1210. Here Stevenson's translation reads erroneously "Adam de Colville."

[2] William de Valognes died before 21st June, 1219: Close Rolls, i, 393 (cf. Patent Rolls (1901), 243).

G[ervase] Avenel died; and his body was buried in the same chapter.[1]

Upon the Kalends of June,[2] sir Ralph, the abbot of Melrose, died; and sir Adam, the abbot of Newbattle, succeeded him in the charge of the government, on the eighth day before the Ides of August.[3] In his place also was put sir Richard, the master of the lay-brothers at Newbattle.

Sir Henry, the abbot of Newminster, died at Pipewell; and sir Robert, the master of lay-brothers of the same house, succeeded him.[4]

After being besieged for nearly three years,[5] that most famous city of the pagans that is called Damietta was taken, by Christ alone, and was given up to be possessed by worshippers of Christ, through a great miracle, on the Nones of November[6]; as is more fully contained in the first leaf of this volume.[7]

[1] This was probably Gervase, Robert Avenel's son, who was still alive after the death of king William (cf. Melrose, i, nos. 174, 196). He is called "Gervase" by Bower, ii, 43.

Gervase Avenel appears in some charters as a justiciar (6 Nov. 1208; Melrose, no. 103).

[2] *In kl. Junii:* i.e., 1st June.

[3] I.e., on 6th August. There is here an added marginal rubric: "15th abbot of Melrose."

The Melrose chronicle does not notice the death of this abbot. He was still alive in 1235; and his successor, Matthew, was elected in 1246. See that year, below. The "D., abbot of Melrose" who appears in Glasgow, no. 186 (7 Feb. 1244), is probably a misreading of "A."; and in that case Adam died 1244 × 1246.

[4] Henry had become abbot of Newminster in 1217 (C.M., 129).

[5] Jacques de Vitry's account of these crusades begins with the year 1216 (1st letter to Honorius III).

[6] 5th November.

[7] The leaf referred to is now the inserted folio 38, which contains a copy of part of a letter written by "H., master of the house of the Germans [*Teutonicorum*] in Jerusalem," describing the capture of Damietta. See Stevenson's edition, 135-137. The writer was Hermann (de Salza); see B.R., xix, 663 (cf. ibid., xviii, 608).

Damietta ("the key of all Egypt," according to Jacques de Vitry) was taken by the crusaders on 5th November, [1219] (inserted folio 37 in C.M.; Jacques de Vitry, 4th letter to Honorius III). The same day is named by R.W., M.P., W.C., etc.; but Coggeshall dates the capture about the 6th of November: and 6th November is the day named in C.L., 27-28.

The capture of Damietta is noticed by innumerable chronicles. Cf. letters written in 1218 to and by Honorius III, in B.R., xix, 663-664,

1217-1219[1]

1219

List of Cistercian Foundations to 1247, s.a. 1219[2]

[The house] of Deer [was founded].[3]

668-669. The English chroniclers notice the crusade under 1218 (R.S. **66**, 187 ; **58**, ii, 240-241 ; **84**, ii, 228-237 ; **44**, ii, 227-230 ; **36**, ii, 289 ; iii, 54-55 ; and C.L., 25).

For events of 1216-1219, see, in Jacques de Vitry, four letters to Honorius III ; in Martène and Durand's Thesaurus Novus, iii, 287-306.

Damietta was lost in 1221. This part of the Melrose chronicle may have been written before news of the loss was received. Cf. year 1221, note.

[1] A.L.C., i, 256, s.a. 1217 (with ferial and e. of 1217, and erroneous note "bissextile") : "All the herring-fishers [*scathánaigh*] of Ireland went from the south, from Waterford and from Wexford, northward to Derry of Columcille ; in order to go to Man, to fish. Violence was done by them there ; and they were all killed in Man, in retribution for their violence."

On 16th January, 1218, safe-conduct was given to Reginald, king of the islands, in coming to king Henry III, remaining, and returning, before 29th April, 1218. Reginald was required to do homage, and to make amends for excesses committed by men of his land against king Henry's subjects, both in Ireland and in England (Patent Rolls (1901), 133).

Safe-conduct was issued to Reginald for the same purpose on 10th October, 1218 ; remaining valid until 24th June, 1219 (ibid., 170).

On 21st September, 1219, Reginald, king of the islands, gave his island of Man, for which he declared that he owned subjection to none, to the pope ; and received it again as a fief of the apostolic see, agreeing to pay yearly, on 2nd February, at Furness, a tribute of 12 marks of sterlings (Theiner, 11, no. 26 ; Chronicle of Man, ii, 290-293 ; Bliss, i, 69-70. Cf. Theiner, nos. 31, 50, 51 ; of 9th November, 1219 ; 20th and 23rd January, 1223).

On 24th September, 1219, king Henry's "dear and faithful [subject] Reginald, the king of Man" received safe-conduct in going to his own land of Man ; the conduct to be valid until 25th December, 1219 (Patent Rolls (1901), 204-205 ; Foedera, i, 1, 157).

On the same day a royal proclamation was issued, informing king Henry's subjects that Reginald, king of Man, had come to the king's faith and service, and had done homage to the king ; and that they might have free and safe access to Reginald's lands. At the same time, the justiciar of Ireland was instructed to give Reginald his protection (Patent Rolls (1901), 205 ; Foedera, u.s.).

Cf. years 1205, 1210, 1223, notes ; and 1212.

[2] Cottonian MS. Vespasian A VI, fo. 59 verso. J.B.A.A., xxvi, 364. "The abbey of Deer" is entered under 1219 in the Cistercian Foundations to 1234 (ibid., 292).

[3] The founder was William Comyn, the earl of Buchan († 1233). The

1219[1]

first abbot was Robert, who became abbot of Kinloss in 1220. The abbey of Deer was affiliated to Kinloss.

An erroneous account of the foundation is given by Ferrerius, History of the Abbots of Kinloss (written ca. 1537), B.Cl. **68**, 24: "At the beginning of [the abbacy of] this Ralph," (who was abbot of Kinloss, according to Ferrerius, 1219-†25 Oct. 1233) "that is, in the year of the Lord 1219, there was an election of the monastery of Deer, on the fourth day before the Kalends of February [29th January]; and on the same day some monks set out from Kinloss for Deer, as a new colony. The monks' names were Hugh, Arthur [*Ardorus*], and John. These were successively appointed abbots of the same place, one after the other's death.

"These things happened under the fourth abbot of Kinloss, sir Ralph, in the first year of his administration (so thinks sir Robert Stephen, now prior of Deer, in his Catalogus).

"To these three abbots a fourth, Valerantius by name, succeeded in Deer: a learned man, for his generation, and a Frenchman [*Gallus*] by race. Valerantius was succeeded by Richard, who was afterwards the ninth abbot of Kinloss."

For an earlier establishment at Deer, see above, 1131×.

[1] On 3rd May, 1219, letters of safe-conduct were issued for Thomas of Galloway, the earl of Athole, in going to the king of England, to do him homage and fealty as his lord, between 24th June and 8th July (Patent Rolls (1901), 194; M.Cl. **28**, 28). Thomas had many lands in England and Ireland.

On 21st July, 1219, commissioners were appointed on behalf of the king of England to settle disputes with the king of Scotland, in a council to be held on 2nd August, 1219, at Norham. Patent Rolls (1901), 197; Foedera, i, **1**, 154.

In [August, 1219], the legate Pandulf announced that he, king Alexander, and king Henry's proctor, S[tephen] de Segrave, had by the pope's command met at Norham, on 2nd August and following days, to discuss the terms of the treaty made between king John and king William. A day for discussion of peace in presence of the legate, between the two kings, had been fixed, on the 3rd of November; "and if then peace cannot result, the case shall be proceeded with, as it lawfully ought to be proceeded with." Foedera, i, **1**, 157.

About the same time (on 8th August, 1220, according to Hardy's Syllabus, i, 25), the legate wrote to Peter, the bishop of Winchester, informing him that "the affairs of our lord king with the king of Scotland had been, for the time, expedited in a praiseworthy manner"; and urging him to be solicitous, as usual, in the affairs of king Henry; "and so to direct them, valiantly and prudently, that it may be for the honour and benefit of the said lord king, and that your prudence may be able to be recommended thereby." Foedera, u.s.

The pope was an interested party in this dispute. He was overlord of England. If Scotland were a fief of the English crown, the pope could exact tribute from Scotland as well as from England.

On 4th January, 1235, pope Gregory IX wrote to the king of Scotland,

1219-1221 [1]

1220

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 137

In the year of the Lord 1220, on the Nones of April,[2] sir Richard, the abbot of Newbattle, died. And sir Richard, the prior of the same house, succeeded him.[3]

requiring him to abide by the terms of the treaty of Falaise; and at the same time requested the archbishop of York and the bishop of Carlisle to admonish the king of Scotland to perform the conditions of that treaty. Foedera, i, 1, 214-215; Theiner, 29, no. 73 (cf. Bliss, i, 142).

On 27th April, 1236, the same pope wrote to king Alexander, expressing astonishment that he did not preserve the fealty that he had sworn to king Henry, whose liege man he was; and exhorting him to study more fully to observe the things in which he was bound to king Henry (Theiner, 33, no. 83; Bliss, i, 154).

[1] On 26th January, 1219, pope Honorius III directed to [Gilbert] the abbot and the convent of St Thomas of Arbroath letters of protection, and confirmation of their possessions (Horoy, iii, 106-108; Arbroath, i, nos. 222, 223).

Walter Steward, the patron of Paisley monastery, and grandson of the founder, granted to that house the free election of an abbot (1218 × 1220; Paisley, 1). About the same time, the Steward changed his designation from *dapifer* (Paisley, 17) to *senescallus* (Paisley, 1). New grants were made to the monastery (1219 × 1220; Paisley, 17).

On 12th June, 1219, pope Honorius III gave to the prior and convent of Paisley, of the Cluniacensian order, permission to raise the priory to an abbacy; protection; and confirmation of their possessions (Horoy, iii, 248-249; Paisley, 111-112. Cf. his letters of 15th July, 1219, in Paisley, 8-10). On 23rd January, ?1226, he again granted to the Benedictines of Paisley protection; and confirmation of their possessions (by name), and of their rights and privileges (Theiner, 23-25, no. 59; Paisley, 410 ff.; Bliss, i, 106-107).

The first abbot of Paisley was William, who seems to have held that office on 3rd May, 1220 (Paisley, 325).

On 13th May, 1220, pope Honorius III gave apostolic protection to the abbot and convent of St Thomas of Arbroath (Horoy, iii, 430-431; Theiner, 15, no. 33. Cf. the letter of 18th May, 1220, in Horoy, iii, 431; Arbroath, 159, no. 225).

On 18th October, 1221, pope Honorius III granted protection to the prior and canons of St James, in Buchan; with confirmation to them of their possessions, especially the churches of St James, All Saints, St Andrew, Buchan, and Chenigale, and their chapels and appurtenances (Bliss, i, 83).

[2] I.e., on 5th April.

[3] In the margin is the note: "9th abbot of Newbattle."

In 1222 (*u non. Jun.*; read *ii non. Jun.*, 4th June?), pope Honorius III

On the day[1] following the octaves of Peter and Paul, the relics of the blessed martyr Thomas were translated. The day of his translation is ordered to be held as a festival in the districts to this side of the sea.[2]

On the fourth day[3] before the Nones of November, sir Ralph, the abbot of Kinloss, full of good days, in holy old age migrated, as we believe, from the earth to heaven. And he was succeeded in the charge of administration by sir Robert, the first abbot of Deer; in whose place sir Alexander, the prior of Kinloss, was elected abbot of Deer.[4]

In the land of our redemption, master Robert de Curzon, as we believe, migrated from this light to the land of divine promise; full of catholic faith, [and] adorned with virtues and wisdom. According to what those say who return from [Palestine], great and frequent miracles are performed through his merits in God's sight.[5]

wrote to the bishop and chapter of St Andrews, regarding a dispute with the abbot and convent of Newbattle. Bliss, i, 88.

Richard was still abbot on 21st May, 1223. He appears to have been succeeded by Constantine (see year 1236).

[1] 7th July; the true date.

[2] *in cismarinis partibus:* i.e., in Britain, to the south of the Forth. Cf. W.C., ii, 246: "And the same archbishop, Stephen [Langton], by counsel of the lord Pandulf, the legate, and of the archbishops, and bishops, and other prelates of the church, appointed that the day of the translation of the blessed Thomas the Martyr should be celebrated as a festival throughout England, for ever, like a Sunday."

For the translation of Thomas Becket, see the English chroniclers, s.a. 1220 (R.S. **58**, ii, 245-246; **66**, 188; **84**, ii, 254; etc. Cf. C.L., 29).

[3] 2nd November.

[4] In the margin are the added notes: "4th abbot of Kinloss"; "2nd abbot of Deer." See year 1219.

Robert appears to have been succeeded in Kinloss by Herbert (× 1226; see year 1251). Alexander died in 1222.

[5] Robert de Curzon [*Curzun*], as papal legate to France (see year 1212, note), was mediator between kings John and Philip, in 1214 (R.S. **44**, ii, 152; **95**, ii, 152; cf. **66**, 170). He went with the papal legate, Pelagius, to Damietta (**44**, ii, 229; **57**, ii, 40); and died there, in the winter [1218-1219] before that city was captured. See Jacques de Vitry, 3rd letter, u.s., 296-297 [*R. de Corchon*]. The Melrose chronicler appears to have entered this record of Robert's death at the time when persons returning from Palestine had brought news of it.

1220[1]

[1] On 13th August, 1220, safe-conduct until 18th November was issued for the king of Scotland to treat with the king of England at York (Foedera, i, **1**, 162; Patent Rolls (1901), 247).

On 31st July, 1220, pope Honorius III wrote to the king of Scotland, to the king of the islands, and to the clergy and kings of Ireland, enjoining upon them obedience to his legate, Jacobus, papal chaplain and penitentiary; similarly also to the clergy of Scotland (Horoy, iii, 491-492; Theiner, 16, no. 35; Bliss, i, 74).

On 7th August, 1220, the pope wrote to legate Jacobus, bidding him try and decide the case of the prior and convent of St Andrews against the bishop and céli-dé of St Andrews; the clerks, masters H. of Melbourne, Adam Ovidius, Adam of Scone, Henry of Wells, and Roger of Huntingfield; the bishop and archdeacon of Dunblane; the prior of Man; D. of Perth, knight; Hugh of Nydie (*de Nidin*); Henry, lord of Inchture; and other clerks and laymen of the dioceses of St Andrews, Aberdeen, and Dunblane, in respect of encroachments upon the possessions and rights of the priory of St Andrews. Horoy, iii, 500-501; Theiner, 16, no. 37; Bliss, i, 74.

On 9th August, 1220, pope Honorius wrote to the bishop of Dunkeld; the legate Jacobus; and the abbot of Dunfermline, bidding them decide the case of the prior of St Andrews and his canon, H. of Dundee, against the bishop of St Andrews (Horoy, iii, 502-503; Theiner, 17, no. 39; Bliss, i, 74-75).

On 18th August, 1220, pope Honorius wrote to P[andulf], the elect of Norwich, his chamberlain and legate of the holy see. The pope expressed pleasure at the marriage-alliance [*parentela*] contracted between king Henry and the king of Scotland; especially if peace between the kingdoms were strengthened by it. He urged the legate to foster the peace of England; and to collect Peter's pence, the taxes due to the Roman church, and the twentieth; and to have them sent from England, because his treasury had been emptied in aid of the Holy Land. Jacobus, whom he had deprived of his office [of legate?] in writing [*scriptorie*, Theiner; *scriptoris*, Horoy], he refused to receive: but he had caused him to be absolved, ordering him to go to [Pandulf] to make satisfaction (Horoy, iii, 508; Theiner, 17, no. 40; Bliss, i, 75).

If this was the legate Jacobus, he had apparently cleared himself before 15th December, 1220 (see below).

On some date between 31st July 1220 and 23rd July 1221 (probably 18 Aug. × 25 Dec. 1220), pope Honorius informed the legate Jacobus that his companions had injured his good fame; and bade him by his actions refute his detractors. With regard to the king of Scotland's desire to be crowned by Jacobus, that was not the legate's affair; because the king of Scotland was said to be subject to the king of England. Jacobus should do nothing except with the king of England and his councillors' consent, and by advice of the prelates of England. Bliss, i, 83.

On 15th December, 1220, pope Honorius directed a letter to the

1220

Alberic of Trois Fontaines, in M.G.H., Scriptores, vol. xxiii, p. 911, s.a. 1220

A certain religious and holy girl, Matilda of Lappion, the king of Scotland's daughter, died. In order to escape marriage she had come secretly to France, and lived an admirable life. She was buried in the diocese of Laon, at St Vincent of Laon.[1]

1221

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 138

In the year of the Lord 1221, master Jacobus, a canon of St Victor in Paris, a penitentiary of the apostolic see, the legate of Scotland and of Ireland, called together the prelates of the whole kingdom; and held a general council at Perth, for four continuous days, beginning on the octaves of the Purification.[2]

On the Sabbath-day next before the festival of St John the Baptist,[3] at York, lord Alexander, the king of the Scots, took

bishops of St Andrews and Brechin, and the abbot of Scone, giving them authority to allow Thomas of Stirling, the king of Scotland's clerk, to hold additional benefices. A similar letter was directed to the legate Jacobus. Bliss, i, 77.

[1] Cf. below, year 1229.

[2] I.e., on 9th February.

C.L., 29, s.a. 1221, reads: "In the same year, Jacobus, chancellor [read "canon"] of St Victor at Paris" (*Parisius*, as in C.M.), a penitentiary of the pope, came as legate to Scotland and Ireland, about the Lord's Nativity" (i.e., ca. 25th December, 1220). See year 1220, note.

[3] I.e., on Saturday, 19th June, 1221. This seems to have been the true date.

The Close Rolls (i, 462) show that Alexander was entertained by Henry at York from 16th to 19th June; and had left York before the 21st. Cf. E.C., 335. For the dower assigned, on 18th June, by king Alexander on his marriage with Joanna, see Foedera, i, 1, 165.

The marriage is mentioned by A.C., MS. B, s.a. 1221 (R.S. 20, 75); and in a chronicle of 1291 (Bain, ii, 115), besides the following:

The Chronicle of Huntingdon, in P. & S., 213: "And in the eighth year of his reign, Alexander married Joanna, a daughter of king John of England, at York, on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of July": i.e., on 18th June, 1222. The year should be 1221; the day may have been taken from the document in the Foedera.

Chronicle of Carlisle, in Palgrave, 74, s.a. 1221: "Alexander, the king of the Scots, married Joanna, the elder daughter of king John, the king of England, about the festival of the blessed John the Baptist" [ca. 24th June].

to himself a queen, by name Joanna, a daughter of king John, and sister of Henry, the king of England.[1] And after celebrating most splendid nuptials, as was fitting, while all the natives of either realm rejoiced, he brought her to Scotland.

[1] C.L. abbreviates C.M.'s account of Alexander's marriage, and adds (29):—"a girl still of tender age; but when she grew up, of comely beauty" (*decentis formositatis*).

Joanna's mother, Isabella, had some time before, without king Henry's consent, married Hugh le Brun, de Lusignan, the count of Marche of Poitou (in inheritance from his mother, Matilda († 1208); who had been made countess of Marche by Richard, duke of Aquitaine, afterwards king of England). Cf. king Henry III's letters of 24th July, 1219, in Foedera, i, **1**, 155-156, before the marriage: where it appears that Hugh was entrusted with defence of the king's lands.

Joanna had previously been betrothed to this Hugh le Brun. She was detained by her step-father as hostage for Isabella's dowry.

On 22nd May, 1220, king Henry congratulated the count of Marche upon his marriage with Henry's mother (Foedera, i, **1**, 160. Cf. 159, 166-169, 183).

On 15th June, 1220, king Henry promised his sister Joanna to the king of Scotland in marriage; and on the same day, king Alexander promised to marry Joanna or Isabella (ibid., 160, 161; Bain, i, nos. 761, 762).

On 20th June, 1220, king Henry wrote to the pope and to the cardinals, requesting that Hugh de Lusignan should be forced to restore Joanna (ibid., 161).

On 13th August, 1220, king Alexander was given letters of safe-conduct in coming to confer with king Henry at York, to last until 18th November, 1220 (ibid., 162).

On 16th September, 1220, king Henry requested Hugh de Lusignan to give up Joanna to Philip de Ulecotes (ibid., 163); and on the same day proclaimed that he had given to Philip de Ulecotes the custody of Poitou and Gascony (ibid., 163-164). Custody of Poitou, Aquitaine, and Gascony, was afterwards given to H. de Viven' (ibid., 165).

On 25th September, 1220, pope Honorius wrote to Hugh de Lusignan, count of Marche in the diocese of Poitiers, stating that king Henry had made to him a serious complaint; that, after Hugh had sworn to marry Joanna as soon as she was of marriageable age, and meanwhile to keep faithfully her and the city of Saintes and the island of Oleron, with other lands and revenues, which king John had given to Hugh with Joanna, Hugh had now without consulting king Henry married Joanna's mother, Isabella, who had consented to Joanna's betrothal: and, still retaining Joanna (whom king Henry intended to marry to another), he refused to restore her to Henry, with the city and lands, although he had frequently been asked to do so. Moreover, he and queen Isabella had occupied certain of Henry's castles by force, and had threatened to seize all Poitou, and to marry Joanna to another, against the king's will. The pope bade

On the fourth day[1] before the Nones of August, sir Richard, the abbot of Kelso, died.[2] And sir Herbert Maunsel, the secretary of the same house, succeeded him.[3]

Philip of Stichill[4] died.

In the same year, lady Margaret, daughter of William, of pious remembrance, king of Scotland, and sister of the lord king Alexander, by consent of both the kings—of England, and of Scotland—, and by counsel of the magnates of both the kingdoms, was given to sir Hubert de Burgh, the justiciar of England and of Scotland.[5]

[6] In the same year, the famous city that is called Damietta, lately acquired by Christ for the Christians,[7] but by them too

Hugh deliver to king Henry his sister, the city, island, lands, and castles, with the revenues; within fifteen days after the receipt of this letter, on pain of excommunication (Horoy, iii, 543-545; B.R., xix, 709-710). Cf. the pope's letter of the same day, to Isabella, who had occupied lands of king Henry in Poitou, claiming from Henry the marriage settlement that she had received from king John (Horoy, iii, 542-543; B.R., xix, 708-709).

On 18th June, 1221 (Foedera, i, **1**, 165), king Alexander announced the marriage portion given by him to Joanna.

On 16th April, 1222, king Henry announced that he had surrendered his mother's dower (ibid., 166. Cf. 9th and 27th August, ibid., 167-168).

On 25th June, 1222, pope Honorius wrote to Hugh and Isabella, threatening them with renewed excommunication if they did not restore Joanna's dowry and certain castles. Cf. the same pope's letters of 5th July, 1222, and 2nd August, 1224 (Horoy, iv, 200-201, 207-209, 691-692; B.R., xix, 726-727, 727-728, 757; Foedera, i, **1**, 169). The dispute was settled on 18th December, 1226 (Foedera, 183).

On 13th August, 1222, king Henry gave safe-conduct to king Alexander, without limit, in coming to the king at Canterbury, conferring, remaining, and returning (ibid., 167).

[1] 2nd August, 1221.

[2] Richard had become abbot in 1218.

[3] See years 1236, 1239. In the margin is an added note: "9th abbot of Kelso."

[4] *de Stichil:* a place about 3 miles north of Kelso.

[5] This paragraph is abbreviated in C.L., 29.

See E.C., 335-336. The justiciar of Scotland at this time was apparently William Comyn, earl of Buchan; while Walter Olifard the Younger was justiciar of Lothian.

Cf. above, year 1209, note.

[6] See year 1219.

[7] I.e., on 28th August. For the recapture of Damietta by the sultan, see the contemporary letters of Peter de Montaigu and Philip de Aubigny, preserved by Wendover (R.S. **84**, ii, 260-265; **57**, iii, 64-70); and the letters

feebly and negligently guarded, was again besieged by the pagans, and wholly taken from the grasp of the Christians on the vigil of the Beheading of blessed John the Baptist.[1] But by what deservings, or by what judgement of God, this has happened, is not known: especially since at that time the excellence of the worship of God had already begun to be magnificently increased in the said city. The bishop newly ordained in that city had revenues of a thousand talents; moreover, there were forty canons in the same city, each of whom had a hundred talents yearly.

1221

Annals of Loch Cé, vol. i, p. 264, s.a. 1221[2]

Diarmait, the son of Ruadri, the son of Toirdelbach Mór Ua-Conchobair, was killed by Thomas Uhtred's son on his way from the Hebrides; where he had been collecting a fleet, in order to take the kingship of Connaught. And this was a great story, the cause of the king of Ireland's falling thus, on the threshold of his [kingly] rank.[3]

Maelruanaid Ua-Dubdai, king of the Ui-Amalgada, was drowned while collecting the same fleet.[4]

of Honorius III, of 19th December, 1221, and 26th March, 1223 (VI, 65, and VII, 81, in Horoy, iv, 53-54, 298-301; B.R., xix, 717, 733-734). Cf. also R.S. **66**, 189-190, 193; **58**, ii, 251 (where the loss of Damietta is dated about 15th August, 1221); **36**, i, 66; ii, 295, 84; iii, 75: C.L., 27, 29. Cf. also the Chronicle of Tours (to 1227), B.R., xviii, 300-302 (on 8th September, 1221); and Alberic, ibid., 791.

Philip de Aubigny implies that the undertaking to surrender Damietta was made three weeks or more after the 1st of August; that the evacuation had begun before 6th September; and that the city was abandoned on 10th September.

[1] This last paragraph has been added by the writer of the year-sections 1223-1233, in the space left blank between the years, and at the bottom of the page.

[2] With ferial and epact of 1221. A similar passage stands in F.M., iii, 198, s.a. 1220.

[3] "And . . . rank" not in F.M.

An addition to A.U., s.a. 1221, reads: "Diarmait Ruadri's son, was killed."

[4] An addition to A.U., s.a. 1221: "Maelruanaid Ua-Dubdai was drowned." His territory was Tirawley.

1221 [1]

1222

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 138-140

In the year of the Lord 1222, Bricius, the bishop of Moray, died; and master Andrew of Moray succeeded him.[2]

Sir Alexander, the abbot of Deer, died, on his journey towards the general chapter; at the valley of the blessed Mary,[3] on the eighth day before the Ides of September.[4]

Also upon the return from the same chapter, sir Geoffrey,

[1] On 27th January, 1221, pope Honorius III wrote to the bishop of Glasgow, bidding him enforce the recognition of excommunications, in Jedburgh and elsewhere (Horoy, iii, 689; Theiner, 18, no. 43. Cf. year 1218, note).

On 9th February, 1221, Honorius wrote to the bishop of Carlisle, stating that the abbot of Jedburgh had informed him that some of his predecessors had granted churches that were not vacant, to the sons (under legal age) of their rectors. The pope commanded the bishop to revoke such concessions (Theiner, 18, no. 44).

On 23rd April, 1221, Honorius wrote to the abbots of Melrose and Newbattle, and the prior of Melrose; declaring that a probationer of one month's standing, R. the Poor, a presbyter, was not to be forced to continue monastic life (Horoy, iii, 774-775; Theiner, 20, no. 47).

[2] Bricius became bishop of Moray in 1203. He was alive on 15th October, 1221 (Moray, no. 52). Andrew († 1242) was elected before 12th May, 1223; and consecrated before 10th April, 1224 (Moray, nos. 56, 57). See below, years 1233, 1242.

During Andrew's bishopric, the see of Moray was removed to Elgin, as a safer and more convenient place; and the church of Holy Trinity at Elgin became the cathedral church of Moray (10 Apr. × 19 July 1224. See Moray, nos. 57, 58). In the time of Bricius, Spynie had been made the seat, and the church of Holy Trinity there the cathedral church, of the bishopric (Moray, no. 46), before 22nd December, 1214 (Moray, no. 47). Previously the episcopal centre had varied, being placed in Birnie, Spynie, or Kinneddar [*Kenedor*].

For the controversy between Andrew, bishop of Moray, and Robert, bishop of Ross, in 1227, see Moray, 75; Batten's Beauly, 27-28.

[3] According to the Cistercian Foundations list to 1234, "the abbey of the Valley of St Mary" was created on 19th May, 1178. Cf. the list to 1247, s.a. 1178 (J.B.A.A., xxvi, 290, 362). This seems to have been the Cistercian house at Croxden (cf. Janauschek, 176-177). But there were other houses of the same name, in Paris and elsewhere.

[4] I.e., on 6th September. Alexander had become abbot of Deer in 1220.

the abbot of Dundrennan, died, in the monastery at Alba-ripa. . . .[1]

Sir Geoffrey, the abbot of Dundrennan, died at Alba-ripa upon his return from the general chapter.[2]

P. de Valognes, by consent of the lord king, received as wife — —, formerly the wife of Walter de Lindsay; but against her will, because they were related in the third or fourth degree of consanguinity or affinity. Therefore this P. went to Rome, and obtained a dispensation from the lord pope, to remain in the marriage he had contracted; as he himself has related.[3]

Robert, the archdeacon of Glasgow, of pious memory, died at London, upon his return from Rome; and his body was honourably entombed there, in the churchyard of the blessed apostle Paul. He was succeeded in the archdeaconate by Thomas, the parson of Lilliesleaf,[4] who died in the same year; and he was succeeded by Thomas, a clerk, afterwards the chancellor, of the lord king of Scotland.

1222

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 139, s.a. 1222

In the same year, the father and notable pastor, of pious remembrance, sir Adam, bishop of Caithness, formerly abbot of Melrose, and truly a monk of the Cistercian order, happily earned, as we believe, the attainment of fellowship with the citizens above, through the triumph of manifold suffering; along with his fellow-monk, named Serlo, a deacon of Newbattle. For it is not fitting to suppose him deprived, in the heavens, of

[1] Here follows an account of the death of Adam, the bishop of Caithness (see below).

[2] This second notice of Geoffrey's death, and the account of P. de Valognes, are written by the chronicler of years 1223-1233.

An appeal was made (1218 × 1227) to pope Honorius III, in a dispute between a knight, Nicholas; and the abbot and convent of the monastery of St Mary at Dundrennan, who sent as their proctor a monk, E., of that abbey. The knight and this monk were heard by Stephen, deacon cardinal, of St Adrian. But because the monk had not received full powers, the case could not be decided. The pope ordered the monastery to pay the knight's expenses; and directed the archdeacon[s] of St Andrews and Dunkeld, and master John, canon of Dunkeld, to try the case. See Horoy, i, 256-257.

[3] *prout ipse retulit, impetravit.*

[4] *de Lillisclive.* Lilliesleaf, a parish of Roxburghshire.

the fellowship of those whose martyrdom he merited to share, while on earth: especially since he chose rather to die for strict justice, namely for the exaction of tithes according to the custom of ecclesiastical taxation,[1] and like the best Shepherd to give his life for the sheep, rather than to permit the flock entrusted to him to continue longer in its former straying. Since then the cause (which, rather than the pain, makes a martyr), sufficiently clear and just, came first; and the pain—a most cruel one—of suffering followed, he is proved to do the bishop wrong, who thinks that less honour or merit should be shown or ascribed to [Adam], than to any other of the holy martyrs: especially since he is known to have endured in one person many of the tortures of holy martyrs.

After the most cruel threats, and frequent revilings in words; after weals from whips, and bloody wounds; having endured both the stoning of Stephen, and the beating of James: he was sacrificed entire as a burnt-offering to the Lord, by the flames and the burning of St Laurence.

He suffered at the episcopal manor that is named, in the English tongue, Halkirk[2]; on the third day before the Ides of September, a Sunday.[3] His body was found, after the fire was extinguished, under a heap of stones: although parched by the burning, and blackened by the stoning,[4] nevertheless entire. And it was committed to honourable burial, as was fitting, beside the holy altar in the baptismal church. And so the father, whom infamous and degenerate sons had most cruelly slain in his mother's lap, was taken by a faithful daughter for protection to her bosom, to be produced again more happily, with glory, in the general resurrection.[5]

[1] *institucionis.*

[2] *Haukirc.*

[3] I.e., Sunday, 11th September, 1222.

[4] *ex lapicidio.*

[5] Chronicle of Lanercost, 29-30, s.a. 1222: "At the same time, Adam, the bishop of Caithness (formerly abbot of Melrose), a native of the territory of Carlisle, most happily obtained the palm of martyrdom, in his own house in Caithness, on the third day before the Ides of September; because he was exacting the Christian and legal tithes from his diocese: after a monk, and a certain servant of Adam's, had been horribly murdered by them, [Adam was] very frequently tortured with darts and stones; and since he could in no way be moved, he was burned, like gold, in fire."

1222

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 126; s.a. 1222[1]

A comet [was] seen.[2]

The burning of bishop Adam in Caithness.[3] The king of

See the account in Fl., ii, 529-530 (R.S. 88, ii, 229-230). Cf. Fordun, i, 289-290; Acts, i, 110; D.B., 234.

On 13th January, 1223 (Horoy, iv, 265-267; Theiner, 21, no. 49; Bliss, i, 89), pope Honorius III wrote to the bishops of St Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, saying that he now knew that the king of Scotland used his power to take vengeance on malefactors, and for the praise of good men; since he did not suffer wickednesses committed in his kingdom to go unpunished. The king had laid aside his own affairs, in order to avenge Christian blood: he was a champion of God.

The bishops' letters had informed the pope that Adam, bishop of Caithness, and his parishioners, had quarrelled over the tithes and other rights of the church of Caithness. An agreement had been reached in presence of the king, by mediation of certain ecclesiastical persons. But when the bishop had returned to his see, and the king had gone to England, on arduous affairs of his kingdom, the parishioners had risen against the bishop, "like wolves against the shepherd, degenerate sons against their father, and satellites of the devil against Christ the Lord; had stripped him of his proper vestments, struck him, stoned him, wounded him to death with a two-edged axe [*bipenni*], and (over-greedy of his death) had burned him in his own kitchen. But the aforesaid king, who on his way to England had already reached the borders of his kingdom, hearing this, was grieved and perturbed over so great perversity of crime; and leaving entirely the affairs that occupied him he immediately collected his armies, and begirt himself to avenge the said bishop's so cruel death; and to destroy with evil the wicked, who had so destroyed the same bishop. . . ."

The pope commended the king's action; approved the sentence of excommunication passed upon the malefactors; and laid an interdict upon their lands.

Alexander had received safe-conduct, issued on 13th August, 1222, to go to Canterbury.

For Adam, see years 1213, 1214; 1218.

Adam was succeeded in the bishopric by Gilbert, for whom see year 1243.

For Adam's translation, see year 1239.

A dispute continued between the bishops of Caithness (Gilbert, William, and Walter) and the earls ("of Sutherland"; William, and his son William). It was settled by bishop Archibald, in the year 1275. See B.Cl. **19**, iii, 21-24.

[1] With dominical and paschal letters of 1222. Similarly in DA (185; Fl., iii, 525).

[2] This comet appeared in August and September, 1222 (Pingré, Cométographie, i, 399).

[3] "The . . . Caithness" similarly in Icelandic Annals, E (corruptly), and P (255, 326), s.a. 1222.

the Scots caused eighty men who had been present at the burning to have their hands and feet cut off[1]; and many of them died.

Biarni, bishop in the Orkneys, died.[2] . . .

The sun red.[3]

1222

Annals of Chester, pp. 50-52, s.a. 1222

John, the son of earl David, took to wife the daughter of Lewelin, for the sake of a final peace between [Lewelin][4] and the earl of Chester.[5]

[1] This probably means "to have one hand and one foot cut off."

KO read, s.a. 1222 (24, 63): "The burning of bishop Adam. The king of the Scots caused 80 men [50 men, O] to be maimed." O generally copies from K, which is the oldest of the Icelandic Annals.

[2] Biarni's death is noted also by KOEP, s.a. 1222. It is placed under 15th September in the Icelandic obituary (Vigfusson's Sturlunga Saga, ii, 395; Langebek, ii, 515).

Biarni's predecessor died in 1188. His successor was Godfrey (*Jofreyr*), 1223-† 1246. List of Bishops of Norway, Langebek, vi, 619; B.Cl. **28**, iii, 184-185. See D.B., 256; and below, years 1246, 1248.

Biarni was the son of Kolbein Hruga and of Herbiorg, a great-granddaughter of earl Paul. Cf. year ? 1064, note; Fl., ii, 472, 512, 514, 515, 519, 645; iii, 29, 52. R.S. **88**, i, pp. xxiv, 222. Cf. Diplomatarium Norvegicum, xii, 3. Biarni was in Norway in 1195, 1210, 1218. He was the author of Jómsvikíngadrápa (J.S., ii, A and B, 1-10; Samfund **8**, 151-152; F.S., xi, s.f.).

Hrafn's Saga, Vigfusson's Sturlunga Saga, ii, 276-277: "Hrafn went young from the land; and he was highly esteemed in other lands, by chieftains: as bore witness the gifts that bishop Biarni sent him (the son of Kolbein Hruga) out hither from the Orkneys:—the finger-ring of gold, which weighed an ounce; and a raven and his name were engraved upon it, so that one may seal with it. Secondly, the bishop sent him a good saddle; and thirdly, coloured clothes."

[3] DA: "The sun became red [to see, A]"; noted also in KOP.

The only eclipses of the sun visible in northern Europe between 1219 and 1226 were a small eclipse in 1222, May 12th, 7½ p.m.; and a very small eclipse in 1222, October 6th, 1 p.m. (Paris time; L'Art).

[4] *ipsum;* "himself" R. C. Christie. "Peace was made between lord Randolph, earl of Chester, and Lewelin, prince of Wales," before Randolph went upon the crusade, in 1218, according to the same Annals of Chester, 50.

This was the Lewelin who had in 1204 married a daughter of king John; and had received with her the castle of Ellesmere (ibid., 48).

[5] Annals of Chester, 50, s.a. 1221: "John [de Lacy] the constable of

1223

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 140-141 [1]

In the year 1223, on the second day [2] before the Ides of July, died Philip, the king of France—full of days; in good old age, and catholic faith—, in the forty-third year of his reign; but [the year] of his age I do not know.[3] In his will, with royal munificence he left fifty thousand Paris pounds to the Temple of Jerusalem; and other fifty thousand to John de Brienne, at that time the king of Jerusalem.[4] [Philip] was succeeded in the kingdom by his son, Louis; then already a strenuous and manly knight.

Chester, married Robert de Quincey's daughter, the niece of sir Randolph, earl of Chester." This was Margaret, daughter of Hawisia and Robert de Quincey; and widow of Walter Marshal, earl of Pembroke († 1245). Cf. year 1232. Margaret was a first cousin of John the Scot.

For the de Quinceys, see year 1234, note.

John came of age, and did homage; was made earl of Huntingdon, and obtained authority to receive his lands, ×25th April, 1227 (Close Rolls, ii, 183; Bain, i, no. 969). On the death of his uncle, in 1232, John became earl of Chester (Patent Rolls (1903), 474; cf. Bain, i, no. 1164). He died, without children, in 1237 (Bain, i, nos. 1164, 1325). See years 1232, 1237.

[1] For the time of writing of this part of the chronicle, see year 1233, note.

[2] 14th July (correctly).

[3] Philip Augustus died in his 59th year, after reigning for 44 years (R.S. **44**, ii, 259; B.R., xviii, 303). Cf. R.S. **66**, 195-197; **58**, ii, 252; **84**, ii, 271; **44**, ii, 256-257; **36**, i, 66, 298-299; iii, 81; and B.R., xvii, 114-115; xviii, 792.

Cf. the letter of Honorius III, written on 25th October, 1223 (Horoy, iv, 443-444; B.R., xix, 737).

[4] Philip's will is edited in B.R., xvii, 114-115. It provided that the king, Temple, and Hospital, of Jerusalem, were to receive 3,000, 2,000, and 2,000, marks of silver in March, 1222; and equal parts of 150,500 marks of silver after Philip's death. The total sum given to the crusaders would thus have been 157,500 marks, or 315,000 Paris pounds. Different accounts are given by William the Armorican, by the Chronicle of Tours, and by Alberic (B.R., xvii, 116; xviii, 304, 792). Cf. R.S. **66**, 193-194; **58**, ii, 252; **36**, iii, 81.

Philip's munificence was a response to the appeals of the pope. Cf. Honorius's letter of 26th March, 1223 (Horoy, iv, 298-301; B.R., xix, 733-734).

Matthew Paris says (R.S. **44**, ii, 259): " . . . A great part of [Philip's] treasure (as he had disposed during his life) was assigned to the succour of the Holy Land, under authorization of a will. But the lord pope, who had been appointed the principal executor in this, laid it all out in a war against the emperor, Frederick, the enemy of the church." See year 1238.

Sir William, the abbot of Rievaulx, died, on the Kalends of February[1]; and sir Roger, the abbot of Warden, succeeded him. In [Roger's] place at Warden was put sir William, the prior of the same house.

Sir Robert Matussal, the sub-prior of Dundrennan, was created abbot of the same house, on the vigil of Epiphany.[2]

About the same time, sir Herbert, a monk of Coupar, was made abbot of Deer.

Sir Adam, the abbot of Holme Cultram, resigned his office. He was succeeded by sir Ralph, the abbot of Jugum Dei, in Ireland; in whose place, in Ireland, was substituted sir John, the cellarer of Glenluce.[3]

Sir John de Brienne, the king of Jerusalem, came to England, at London, to speak with the king of England and his magnates about difficult matters.[4]

Isabel, the daughter of king William of good memory, and sister of Alexander, king of Scotland, returned, still unmarried, from the custody of the king of England.[5]

1223

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 126; s.a. 1223[6]

Olaf, Godfrey's son, king[7] of the Hebrides, caused to be

[1] 1st February, 1223. This succession is placed under 1224 by the Annals of Waverley (R.S. **36**, ii, 299); and since abbot William was still alive in 1223-4 (i.e., after 25th March, 1223; Melrose, no. 195), 1st February 1224 was probably the day of his death. It is to be noted that years 1224 and 1225 are left blank in C.M. Perhaps the events that follow belong to 1224.

[2] I.e., on 5th January (1224?). Fulman and Stevenson spell this man's epithet *Matursal;* the MS. has *mat'sal.*

[3] A note added at the foot of the page, in a later hand, says: "It is not known who succeeded this Ralph"; i.e., in Jugum Dei (Grey Abbey, county Down).

For the death of Hugh, bishop of Carlisle, in 1223, see above, year 1217, note.

[4] For the coming of John de Brienne to England in 1223, see R.S. **66**, 194; **58**, ii, 252 (about 8th September); **36**, iii, 85; ii, 299 ("in autumn"); **44**, ii, 259-260, and **57**, iii, 82 (about 6th July).

[5] See above, year 1209; and E.C., 369, s.a. 1253.

[6] With dominical and paschal letters of 1223. Similarly in DA (185; Fl., iii, 526).

[7] "Godfrey's son, king" not in A.

blinded his brother's son Godfrey,[1] the son of Reginald, king of Man.[2] . . .

Godfrey[3] was consecrated bishop to the Orkneys.

1224

Eirspennill's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, c. 98; Unger's Konunga Sögur, p. 296[4]

After that,[5] king [Hakon] went[6] [from Tönsberg] to Bergen. Then Gillecrist, and Ottar, Snækoll's son, and many Hebrideans, came to meet him there, from west beyond the sea[7]: and they had many letters concerning the needs of their lands.[8]

Then came also earl John from the Orkneys, and made peace with the king, in the disputes that there were between them; and he gave his son Harold as hostage.[9]

[1] "his brother Godfrey" A.

[2] KO read, s.a. 1223 (24, 63): "King Olaf, Godfrey's son, maimed Godfrey, the son of king Reginald." P reads (326; with letters of 1223): "Godfrey, the son of Reginald king of Man, [was] maimed." (Reginald † 1229; Olaf † 1237.)

On 20th January, 1223, pope Honorius III issued letters requiring the diocesans of the Hebrides to pay full tithes (see Diplomatarium Norvegicum, vii, 11, no. 10); and requiring Reginald, "king of Man," to allow to churches in his kingdom, if they had no free land, at the least 30 paces of land, outside the cemetery (Theiner, 21, no. 50; Dipl. Norv., vii, 10, no. 9; Chronicle of Man, ii, 299-300; Horoy, i, 315-316).

On 23rd May, 1223, Honorius wrote to Reginald, "king of the islands," thanking him for his ready faith, and devotion to the church; repeating the terms of the enfeoffment of Man to the pope; and taking him and his land under the special protection of the Roman see. Theiner, 21-22, no. 51; Diplomatarium Norvegicum, vii, 10, no. 9; Chronicle of Man, ii, 301-302; Horoy, iv, 360-361. See year 1219.

[3] *Jófréyr*. This is an Icelandic spelling of the Irish form of the name. See year 1246. An "elect of Orkney" was taken on a ship of war at Grimsby, and killed, before 18th June, 1228: Bain, i, nos. 1007, 1009.

[4] Parallel passages are in Fr., 440-441, c. 105 (also in F.S., ix, 340, c. 101); in Fl., iii, 61, c. 84; in Sk., 390, c. 106 (also in R.S. 88, ii, 86-87, c. 101).

[5] After the Trinity Sunday following Hakon's 7th winter; i.e., after 9th June, 1224.

[6] "north" adds Fr.

[7] "from the west" Fr.; "from . . . sea" not in Fl.

[8] "many letters, and messages from their land" Fr.

[9] "And [John] remained during the summer with [the Fr.] king [Hakon Fl.]" add Fr., Fl., Sk.

In the previous year (1223), a great council had been held at Bergen, to consider the claims of the pretenders to the kingdom of Norway.

1224 [1]

1225 [2]

ca. 1188-1226

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, pp. 82-90 [3]

We may still repeat rather briefly, for the edification of the readers, something of the history of the brothers Reginald and Olaf.

Reginald gave to his brother Olaf a certain island that is called Lewis. It is said to be more extensive than the other islands, but it is cultivated by few inhabitants, because it is mountainous and rocky, and almost wholly inarable. Its inhabitants live principally by hunting and fishing.

This council began on the 28th July [1223]. ". . . There were also John, earl of the Orkneys, and bishop Biarni [† 15 Sep. 1222]; Gregory Kikr, from Shetland . . ." Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, c. 80, in E., 288; c. 89, in Fr., 433 (also in F.S., ix, 325, c. 86); c. 89, in Sk., 376 (also in R.S. 88, ii, 74). "So have wise men said, who were there in Bergen at that time, that not in their days has a better choice of men come together in Norway" (next chapter in E., Fr., Fl., Sk.). The result of this conference was that Hakon was confirmed in his claim; and that earl Skúli was given the northern third of Norway—a part loyal to Hakon. Skúli had formerly had one third of the king's revenues of Norway and the provinces. This division of Norway is placed by the Icelandic Annals in 1223 (CDPA).

[1] In 1224, before 19th July, the see of Moray was transferred from Spynie to Elgin. See above, year 1206, note.

[2] On 19th May, 1225, pope Honorius III sent a letter to all the bishops of Scotland, permitting them to hold provincial councils, notwithstanding that they had no metropolitan archbishop (Horoy, iv, 855). See the canons ed. in Hailes' Annals, iii (1819), 163-219; Moray, no. 257; Aberdeen,1ii, 3-36.

On 29th July, 1225, the same pope wrote to [Gilbert] the bishop of Caithness, the precentor of Moray, and the archdeacon of Aberdeen, giving them authority to restore to Maurice Caech (*Cecus*) certain named churches and lands, if it were proved that he had been despoiled of them; otherwise to report to the pope (Bliss, i, 103). For bishop Gilbert, see year 1243.

On 20th December, 1225, Honorius wrote to the king of Scotland, in favour of a widow, Alice, who had been banished from Scotland. At the pope's request, the king had restored her goods; but because he had sworn, after the manner of an angry man, that she should never re-enter his kingdom, she could not profit by their restoration. The pope requested the king to allow her to return home. Bliss, i, 104.

[3] In Munch's ed., pp. 16-19. This passage stands after the annal of 1217 (see above). It continues the narrative of 1187-1188.

Therefore Olaf set out to take possession of this island; and dwelt in it, leading a sorry life. And when he saw that it was by no means sufficient for his own support, and that of his army, he went confidently to his brother Reginald, who then abode in the islands, and spoke to him thus: "Brother," said he, "and my lord king, thou knowest that the kingdom of the islands pertained to me by hereditary right. But since the Lord has chosen thee to govern it, I do not grudge it thee, or bear it ill, that thou art raised up in royal eminence. Now therefore I beg thee to provide me with some portion of land in the islands, in which I can honourably live with my followers; because the island of Lewis which thou gavest me is unable to support me."

And when his brother Reginald heard this, he promised to hold council concerning it with his subjects; and to answer him on the following day regarding this petition. When the morrow had dawned, and Olaf had been summoned and had come to Reginald's conference, Reginald ordered him to be seized and bound with chains, and to be taken bound to William, the king of Scotland, in order to be kept by him in prison; and it was so done, and Olaf was chained in the king of Scotland's prison for nearly seven years.[1] But in the seventh year William, king of Scotland, died, and his son Alexander succeeded him. And before [William] died he ordered that all the prisoners that were held by him in his prisons should be set free.

So Olaf was freed from chains, and restored to liberty. And he came to Man, to his brother Reginald; and presently set out with no small accompaniment of noble men for St James.[2] And returning from pilgrimage he came again to his brother Reginald, and was peacefully received by him.

At the same time Reginald caused his brother Olaf to marry the daughter of a certain noble of Kintyre, the sister of his own wife, named Lavon[3]; and gave him the aforesaid island of Lewis in possession; and Olaf bidding his brother farewell set out with his wife, and dwelt in Lewis.[4]

[1] I.e., 1208-1214.

[2] "To the shrine of St James at Compostella, Spain" Goss.

[3] This name appears to be corrupt. "Johnstone and Oliver read this name Jauon, and translate it Joan" Goss. The MS. reads clearly *lauon*.

[4] I.e., 1217×, since bishop Nicholas died in 1217.

And after some days Reginald, bishop of the islands, who had succeeded Nicholas, came to the island regions, to visit the churches. Olaf met him with rejoicing; and, glad of his arrival, as that of his sister's son, he ordered a great feast to be prepared. But [bishop] Reginald said to Olaf: "I will not communicate with thee, brother, until the catholic church frees thee canonically from the bond of illicit wedlock"; and added: "Art thou unaware that thou hadst before the cousin of the woman whom thou now hast as wife?"

Olaf did not deny what was true, but declared that he had for a long time had her cousin as concubine. So bishop Reginald assembled a synod, and canonically separated Olaf Godfrey's son and Lavon his wife.

After this, Olaf took in marriage Christina, the daughter of Ferchar, earl of Ross.

And king Reginald's wife, the queen of the islands, grieving at that time over the separation of her sister and Olaf, and moved by the gall of bitterness; being also the originator of all the discord between Reginald and Olaf, sent a letter secretly in the name of king Reginald to her son Godfrey in the island of Skye, [bidding him] seize Olaf, and kill him.

As soon as he had heard the letter, Godfrey collected an army; and came to Lewis, intending to carry into effect the perverse wishes of his mother. But Olaf entered a small boat with a few men; and escaping from Godfrey's face with difficulty, came to his father-in-law, the earl of Ross. Godfrey returned home, after destroying nearly the whole island, and slaying certain men.

At that time, the sheriff of Skye, Paul Balki's son,[1] (a vigorous man, and powerful in the whole kingdom of the islands) fled from Godfrey's face, because he refused to consent to the slaughter of Olaf. And he dwelt with the earl of Ross, along with Olaf.

After a few days had passed, Olaf and the aforesaid sheriff formed a treaty of friendship, by mediation of an oath of each. And together, with one ship, they came to Skye, and they hid themselves in remote places for several days. At last by sending spies they learned that Godfrey was inapprehensively

[1] *Vice-Comes de Ski . . . Pol filius Boke.* Munch identified this man with the Paul Balki's son of Hakon Hakon's son's Saga.

abiding with few men in a certain island that was called the island of St Columba.

Collecting to themselves all their friends and acquaintances, and such men as were willing to join them voluntarily, in the silence of the dead of night they brought five ships from the nearest shore of the sea (which was at a distance of two furlongs from the aforesaid island), and surrounded the island.

Godfrey and those that were with him, rising in the earliest dawn and seeing that they were shut in on all sides by enemies, were dismayed. But they put on their armour of war, and endeavoured to make a valiant resistance: in vain, because about the ninth hour of the day[1] Olaf and the aforesaid sheriff Paul entered the island with their whole army; and they slew all whom they found outside the enclosures of the church; and they seized Godfrey, and blinded and emasculated him. Nevertheless in this deed Olaf did not consent, but he could not oppose it because of Balki's son, the sheriff aforesaid.

This was done in the year of grace 1223.

In the next following summer [? 1224], having taken hostages from all the nobles of the islands, Olaf came to Man and landed at Ronaldsway with a fleet of thirty-two ships. At that time Reginald and Olaf divided between them the kingdom of the islands; Man being given to Reginald in addition to his share, with the name of king. And Olaf received provisions from the people of Man, and with his company returned to his own share of the islands.

In the following year [? 1225], Reginald took with him Alan, the lord of Galloway; and set out with the Manxmen to the island regions, to take away from his brother Olaf the part of the land that he had given to him, and to subject it again to his own dominion. But because the Manxmen would not fight against Olaf or the islanders, because they loved them, Reginald and Alan, lord of Galloway, effected nothing, and returned home.

After a short time, under the pretext of going[2] to the court of the lord king of England, Reginald received from the people of Man a hundred marks, and set out for the court of Alan, lord of Galloway. At the same time he gave his daughter in

[1] I.e., about 2-3 p.m.

[2] *sub occasione eundi.*

marriage to Alan's son. And when the Manxmen heard it, they were very indignant; and sending for Olaf they appointed him their king.

In the year of grace 1226, Olaf recovered his inheritance, namely the kingdom of Man and the islands, which his brother Reginald had governed for thirty-eight years; and he reigned securely for two years.[1]

1226

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 127; s.a. 1226[2]

Simon was consecrated bishop of the Hebrides.[3] . . .

The drowning of Harold, the son of John,[4] earl of the Orkneys.

1226

Eirspennill's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, c. 147; Unger's Konunga Sögur, 321-322[5]

Capitulum.

King Hakon now[6] put all the Uplands in order; and he allowed all the ships to remain in Mjösen,[7] while he prepared to go north to the conference that he had appointed with the archbishop [Peter] and earl Skúli. The king had learned that they had come.[8] Then he sent north[9] his standard-bearer Thorstein [of] Hemnes, to say that they should await him.

Thorstein was eight[10] nights upon the way. The earl and

[1] I.e., 1226-1228. See below, 1228-1229.

[2] With dominical and paschal letters of 1226. Similarly in A (Fl., iii, 526-527).

[3] His consecration to the Hebrides is noted also by DP (186, 326; with letters of 1226); but D calls him "Sæmund."

Simon probably died in 1248 (see below, 1247-1248).

[4] "The drowning . . . John" also in KOD, s.a. 1226 (24, 64, 186).

[5] Parallel passages are in Fr., 466, c. 153 (also F.S., ix, 395-396, c. 147); Fl., iii, 89, c. 121; Sk., 441-442, c. 159 (also R.S. 88, ii, 128, c. 147).

[6] After his success over the Ribalds, and his offer of terms to their newly-appointed king, Knut, son of Hakon Galinn.

[7] "and set men to guard them" add Fr., Fl., Sk.

[8] "from the north" adds Fr.

[9] "in advance" add Fr., Fl., Sk.

[10] "nine" Fr.

the archbishop thought that they had learned that the king would not be altogether pleased with them; and[1] they took this plan, that the archbishop went north home, while the earl awaited the king.[2]

And when the king came to Portör, Thorstein Hemnes came to him[3] (and [Thorstein] had been three nights upon the way from the north, and two in the town[4]), and said that the archbishop had promised[5] to await the king, before he and the earl had had a conference; but that then it was at an end,[6] and [the archbishop] had prepared for his journey with all possible eagerness.[7]

Thorstein said also that many men had come from west beyond the sea to meet the king.[8] And when king Hakon came to Bergen, he found there earl Skúli, and John, earl of the Orkneys; Simon, bishop of the Hebrides, and abbot of the holy island. The king decided first the cases of those who had come from the west[9]; and all with the advice of earl Skúli.

1226

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 141

In the year of the Lord 1226,[10] [L[ouis], the king of France, died; and R[ichard] de Marisco, the bishop of Durham.][11]

[1] "thought . . . and" not in Fr. "Thought that they had learned that king Hakon would bring up some letters, in which he might think there was not complete fidelity to him on their part" Fl., Sk.

[2] "King Hakon held assemblies in Oslo and in Tönsberg; and all the yeomen leagued themselves with him [the king Fl., Sk.] against the Ribalds. Then he went north, and . . . " add Fr., Fl., Sk.

[3] Fr. and Fl. read: "T. H. came to him [in Portör Fr.]."

[4] "(and . . . town)" not in Fr.

[5] "[had] intended" Fl.

[6] "quite different" Sk., corruptly.

[7] "but . . . eagerness": similarly Sk. But Fr. reads instead: "but after that, the archbishop [had] turned northwards"; Fl.: "but after that, it was all at an end."

[8] "and begged him to hasten" add Fr., Fl., Sk.

[9] "first their case" Fr.

[10] The space for this year is blank. The following notes are written in the margin, not by the text hand.

[11] For Richard de Marisco's death, cf. R.S. **84**, ii, 307; **36**, iii, 100: C.L., 32. See above, year 1217.

For the death of Louis VIII (the opponent of king John), see R.S. **84**,

1227

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 141

In the year of the Lord 1227 died the venerable pope Honorius, the father and defender of the Cistercian order; may his soul live in glory. Pope Gregory, formerly bishop of Ostia, succeeded him.[1]

Alexander, the king of the Scots, endued John the Scot, the earl of Huntingdon, his kinsman, and many other noble men, with the arms of knighthood, in the castle of Roxburgh, on the day of Pentecost.[2]

Thomas, the king's chancellor, and archdeacon of Glasgow, died. Master Hugh of Potton received the archdeaconry after him; and master Matthew Scot was made the king's chancellor.[3]

ii, 312-313; **44**, ii, 287-289; **36**, iii, 102; ii, 302; and B.R., xvii, 310; xviii, 317, 796. He died on 8th November, 1226 (Alberic says, on the 7th).

The notes of years 1226-1233 in the Melrose chronicle are written by a hand which disappears from the chronicle in 1234. See that year below; and year 1222, note, above.

On 13th January, 1226, pope Honorius III wrote to the abbot and convent of Dunfermline, regarding their churches of Hailes and Kinglassie, in the diocese of St Andrews (Theiner, 23, no. 58).

On 29th January, 1226, pope Honorius III ordered the prior and convent of St Andrews to give the church of Rossinclerach (which was not vacant), or a church of equal value, to master William de S. Germano, a papal chaplain; and ordered the bishop, dean, and treasurer, of Glasgow to compel this gift. On the same day, the pope ordered master William of Greenlaw to resign Rossinclerach; and bade the archdeacons of Dunkeld and Dunblane, and master John, canon of Dunkeld, to compel him to do so. Bliss, i, 106.

[1] Honorius III died on 18th March, 1227. Gregory IX was elected on the 19th, consecrated on the 21st, of March (Potthast).

Cf. C.L, 35.

On 15th December, 1228, pope Gregory IX wrote to the prior and convent of St Andrews, concerning pensions to the secular clergy. Theiner, 27, no. 66; Bliss, i, 120.

[2] I.e., 30th May, 1227. Cf. the Annals of Chester, 54, 127, s.a. 1227.

An announcement was made on 25th April, 1227, at Havering in Essex, that John had done homage to Henry III for the lands that he held of that king *in capite* (Close Rolls, ii, 183). These were four manors (Close Rolls (1908), 538). John held the earldom of Huntingdon of king Alexander.

[3] Thomas of Stirling became a clerk of chancellor William de Bois in 1222, after having been a clerk of the king for a couple of years. He became archdeacon of Glasgow, Feb. 1224 × May 1225; and succeeded to the chancellery in January, 1226. He was still chancellor on 26th February,

William, John's son, the lord of Hounam,[1] died; [and John de Laundeles, his nephew, succeeded him.][2]

1228

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 141

In the year of the Lord 1228,[3] [the transference of Richard, the bishop of Salisbury, to Durham.[4]

Stephen, the archbishop of Canterbury, died.][5]

1228-1229

Eirspennill's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, cc. 164-165; Unger's Konunga Sögur, p. 332[6]

Of the messengers of earl John.

This summer, messengers came from west beyond the sea,

1227; and appears as archdeacon, not chancellor, on 23rd September, 1227 (Soutra, no. 28). Hugh of Potton was archdeacon of Glasgow on 9th November of the same year.

Matthew appears as "master Matthew, the Chancellor" on 5th June, 1227 (Raine's North Durham, appendix, no. 66); on 17th August, and in September, 1227 (Dunfermline, nos. 78, 74). He was still chancellor on 12th February, 1230 (Scone, no. 69. In the same charter, William Comyn, earl of Buchan, appears as justiciar of Scotland. He was succeeded in that office by Walter Steward II, within the same year).

Matthew was elected bishop of Dunkeld in 1229, in succession to bishop Hugh de Sigillo (see year 1214); and died, unconsecrated (in the same year according to Bower, ii, 58; erroneously). See D.B., 53-54. Cf. year 1236.

[1] *dominus de Hunum:* i.e., Hounam, eight miles east of Jedburgh. This was William, son of John, son of Orm. See Melrose, i, nos. 127-133; and Kelso, i, 9.

[2] "and John . . . him" added later by the same hand.

Cf. Melrose, ii, 677.

[3] The space for the year is blank; the following notes are written in the margin, not by the text hand.

[4] Cf. R.S. **36**, iii, 109; i, 70; ii, 304; **84**, ii, 334; **44**, ii, 300. Richard Poor was elected in place of William the Scot, whose election had been quashed.

[5] Cf. R.S. **36**, u.s.; **84**, ii, 347; **44**, ii, 307. There is some confusion about the day of Stephen Langton's death. Wendover says that he died on 8th July (which date Paris changes to the 9th), and that he was buried on the 6th (for *pridie nonas* read *pridie idus* "the 14th"?). The Annals of Tewkesbury say that he died on 23rd June (for *ix kal. Jul.* read *ix die Jul.*; "9th July"?); the Annals of Winchester, on 7th July (for *non.* read *nono* "9th"?).

[6] Parallel passages are in Fr., 475-476, cc. 168-169 (also in F.S., ix,

from earl John, with good[1] gifts, which the earl sent to king Hakon. In autumn, the king sent to the earl a good long-ship and many other good treasures.[2]

The king sat this winter at Bergen; and this was the twelfth winter of his kingship.[3]

This summer,[4] great dispeace was reported from the west beyond the sea, from the Hebrides.

[c. 165] *Of the Scots.*[5]

An earl in Scotland was called Alan, the son of Roland, earl of Galloway.[6] He was the greatest warrior.[7] He plundered about the Hebrides.[8]

At that time, Olaf Godfrey's son was king in Man; and he held manfully under Norway's king.[9] But the kings of the

416-417, cc. 162-163); Fl., iii, 100, cc. 135-136; Sk., 461-462, cc. 177-178 (also in R.S. **88**, ii, 144, cc. 162-163). The later portion of the Stockholm MS. version is edited by Vigfusson, in R.S. **88**, ii, 380; also the second chapter is in the surviving fragment of Kringla (ibid., 381; Samfund **24**, last page).

[1] "many good" Fr.

[2] "many other gifts" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[3] Hakon's 12th winter was 1228-1229.

"There was then good peace in the land, and good agreement between the king and earl [Skúli]" add Fr., Fl., Sk.

"In the winter, archbishop Thori sent word to all the bishops in Norway, that they should come north to him in the summer" add Fr., Fl., Sk.

[4] I.e., summer of 1229. These words in E. show that E. has omitted a passage similar to the second sentence quoted in the previous note from the other versions.

[5] This chapter is entitled "Of the Hebrideans" in Fl.; it begins there a section (*háttr*), which ends with the Norwegians' return from the Hebrides to Norway, in 1231.

This section is in Johnstone's "Anecdotes of Olaf the Black." Cf. Oliver's Monumenta, i, 43-46.

[6] "the son . . . Galloway" not in Kringla, which reads: "A man was called Alan, and was an earl in Scotland."

[7] "at that time. He had a great army, and many ships" add Fr., St. Similarly Fl. (reading: "many ships with a great army"), and Sk. (reading: "At that time, he had . . . ").

[8] "for a long time" adds Kringla.

Fr., Fl., St., and Sk., read: "[both Fl., St.] about the Hebrides and Ireland; and made great warfare [damage Sk.] widely throughout the western lands."

[9] "and he held that dominion manfully against the earl, and [in St.] great fidelity to king Hakon" Fr., Fl., St., Sk.

Hebrides, who had come of Somerled's race, were very unfaithful to king Hakon. The kings in the Hebrides were Dugald Screech, and his brother Duncan, the father of John, who was king afterwards. These were sons of Dungal,[1] Somerled's son.

Uspak was the name of a man who had long been with the Birchlegs: it came out that he was a son of Dungal.[2]

Somerled was the name of a relative[3] of theirs, who was then another king in the Hebrides.[4]

1228-1229

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, pp. 90-92

In the year 1228, Olaf with all the nobles of Man and the larger part of the people sailed over to the islands.[5]

A little while afterwards, Alan, lord of Galloway, and Thomas, earl of Athole, and king Reginald, came to Man with a great army; and devastated the whole southern part of Man, and despoiled the churches, and slew all the men whom they could take; and the southern part of Man was almost reduced to a desert. And after this, Alan returned with his army to his own land; and left his bailiffs in Man, to render to him the taxes of the land. But Olaf arrived and routed them,

[1] *Dungals*, here and below, in Eirspennill. Eirspennill alone makes this distinction between the names of the father and son: both are called *Dugall*, more correctly, by St. The son is called *Dufgall* and *Duggall* in Kringla. The form *Dufgall* corresponds to the Gaelic *Dubgall*, in which *b* and *g* are aspirated. But in the form *Duggall*, the double *g* appears to be unaspirated.

[2] "and brother of these" Fl.; so read in Fr.; "of those" Sk.

[3] "brother" Fr.

[4] "But the kings . . . ." Kringla reads instead: "These were kings in the Hebrides:—Dugald Screech, and Duncan, his brother. Somerled, their brother, was king then also. Then too a brother of theirs was called Uspak, who was then with king Hakon."

[5] On 12th April, 1228, letters of safe-conduct were issued for Olaf, king of Man and the islands, in coming to the king of England, in order to make peace with his brother Reginald: valid 29th September - 13th October, 1228 (Foedera, i, 1, 190; Patent Rolls (1903), 184).

and took his kingdom again. And the Manxmen, who had previously been scattered everywhere, began to assemble and to dwell in confidence.

In the same year, unexpectedly, in the middle of the night, king Reginald came from Galloway with five ships, and in the same night burned all the ships of his brother Olaf, and of the nobles of Man, at St Patrick's island; and going round the land and asking peace from his brother he remained at the harbour of Ronaldsway for nearly forty days. And meanwhile he drew to himself the minds of all the islanders who were in the southern part of Man, and allied them to himself. And certain of them swore to him that they would risk their lives for him, until he should obtain the half of the kingdom of the islands.

On the other hand, king Olaf united all the northern inhabitants of Man to himself; and in speaking to them, so prevailed upon them that they were of one mind with him. And it happened on the fourteenth day of the month of February, namely on the festival of St Valentine the martyr,[1] King Olaf came with his people to the place that is called Tynwald, and there awaited for only a little while. His brother Reginald approached the place and arranged his people in companies, to fight with his brother. Olaf came against them with his men; and falling upon them suddenly he routed them like sheep. And wicked men coming upon king Reginald slew him in the same place; his brother, however, did not know of it. And when he heard it he grieved deeply, but never in his life did he take vengeance for [Reginald's] death. And after slaying many men there they came as robbers to the southern part of Man: they wasted it, and left it almost without an inhabitant.

And the monks of Rushen carried the body of king Reginald to the abbey of St Mary at Furness, and there he was buried in the place that he had chosen for himself while he was alive.

[1] I.e., 14th February, 1229.

1229

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 128; s.a. 1229[1]

A battle in the Hebrides. Fall of king Reginald.[2]

1229

Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 40, s.a. 1228

In the same year, Reginald, the king of the islands, fell a victim to the arms of the wicked. And Olaf, his brother, the king of Man, reigned in his place.

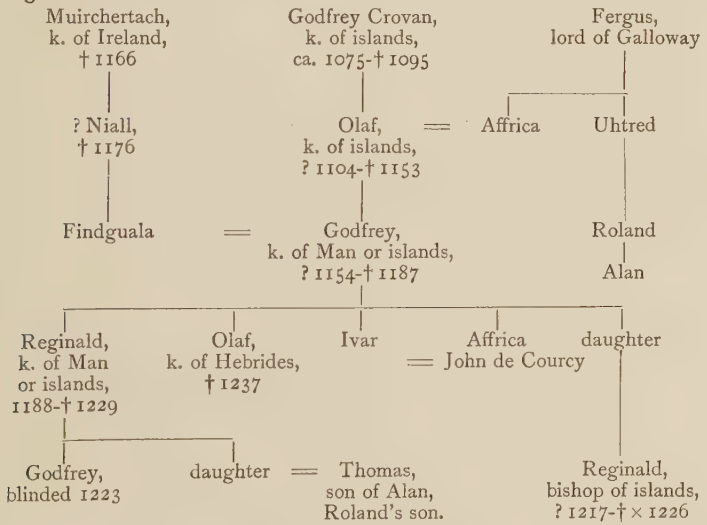
? 1229

Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 40

In the year of the Lord 1229, Alan, the lord of Galloway, with an immense retinue set out for Ireland; and there married the daughter of Hugh de Lacy.[3]

[1] With dominical and paschal letters of 1229. Similarly in A (Fl., iii, 527; but for *f.* in A, read *.f*).

[2] He is called "Ronald" by the Icelandic Annals and Sagas. His pedigree is:



For a proposed marriage of king Reginald's daughter, see P.L. **214**, 791-792; **215**, 49-50 (papal letters of 24th November, 1199; and 19th April, 1203).

[3] Cf. E.C., 341. Alan had in 1209 married Margaret, earl David's daughter. After her death, he married a lady Juliana.

On 30th March, 1222, pope Honorius III wrote to the archbishop of

While he was returning from there, the ship in which he was miscarried. He barely escaped, with only a few; while the others that were in her were drowned there.[1]

York, the bishop of Carlisle, and the bishop of Oxford, stating that Jacobus, while legate, [see year 1220, note] and many bishops of Scotland, had informed him that Alan, the constable of Scotland, and his wife, were related in a prohibited degree of affinity. The pope had instructed Jacobus to try the case, with the bishops of Scotland; but Alan's proctor, who bore the letter, reached Jacobus only when he was departing to return to Rome. Therefore Alan appealed again for trial. Honorius, considering the case to be suspicious, bade the receivers of his letter examine the case with care, and decide. Horoy, iv, 130-131; Theiner, 20-21, no. 48.

On 28th February, 1225, the same pope wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, informing him that the case of the marriage of Alan, knight, and Juliana, had been heard before the abbot of Bruern [in Oxfordshire; then in the diocese of Lincoln. The abbot was Richard (1218-† 1228): R.S. **86**, ii, 291, 304], and fellow-judges. Witnesses had proved the marriage, although Alan had pleaded *alibi*. Alan appealed to the pope; but withdrew the appeal, and continued to litigate. He obtained from the pope letters directed to the dean of Andover and others, bidding them try the case.

Juliana pleaded before these judges that the letters had been obtained by misrepresentation; and wished the suit to be continued before the former judges. Failing in this, she appealed to the pope.

The first judges continued the case, but pronounced no judgement, and remitted it to the pope. Juliana appeared at Rome, as she had been ordered to do, in the beginning of last Lent [12th February, 1225], praying for judgement. But the pope doubted whether the acts and attestations she had brought were true. He bade the archbishop examine the original acts, and decide the case, if Alan would not accept the woman as his wife (Bliss, i, 101).

Juliana seems to have lost her case before the marriage of Alan with Hugh de Lacy's daughter, Rohais.

On 29th November, 1229, pope Gregory IX wrote to the abbots of Melrose and Dryburgh, and the prior of Melrose, giving them powers to act in a dispute between the monastery of Dercongal [Holywood] and F., a knight of the diocese of Glasgow, who had seized some of the monastery's lands. Gregory IX had also written to Alan of Galloway, constable of Scotland, for assistance against F.; who was excommunicated, but contumacious. Theiner, 27-28, no. 67; Bliss, i, 122.

[1] This is followed (in the same year-section) by notices of the death of Malcolm, earl of Fife († 1230); the death of St Antony of Padua († 13th June, 1231); and the consecration of Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury (consecrated 2nd April, 1234). The last two events are noticed in the same chronicle under the correct years also.

1229

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 141-142

In the year of the Lord 1229, the abbey of St Edward of Balmerino was made by king Alexander and his mother; and the convent was sent to it from Melrose, with sir Alan as their abbot, on the day of St Lucy the virgin.[1]

[The consecration of Richard, the archbishop of Canterbury; and of bishops Roger, of London; Hugh, of Ely; and Robert, of Salisbury.][2]

[1] I.e., on 13th December, 1229. In the margin is the added note: "First abbot of St Edward."

The foundation charter is dated 3rd February, 1231 (A.Cl. **22**, 3-4; D.M., vi, **2**, 1154-1155. Cf. M.Cl. **28**, 21-22).

Cf. below, year 1233.

[2] This paragraph is written in the margin, not by the text hand.

The Annals of Tewkesbury place the four elections in 1228; they, and the Annals of Dunstable and of Waverley, place the four consecrations in 1229 (R.S. **36**, i, 72; iii, 115-116; ii, 307). Robert de Bingham, elected in the place of Richard Poor, in 1228, was consecrated in May, 1229; the other three were consecrated on 10th June, 1229 (R.S. **84**, ii, 378, 380; **44**, ii, 318). For archbishop Richard's election, see R.S. **84**, ii, 362-364; **44**, ii, 310-311.

The consecrations to Canterbury, London, and Ely, are entered in C.M. erroneously under 1230.

On 21st January, 1229, J[ohn de Lacy], constable of Chester, and others, were ordered to meet the king of Scotland at Berwick on Sunday [18th March] before Mid-Lent, and to conduct him to the king of England at York (Foedera, i, **1**, 193).

On 22nd January, king Henry announced that he had given safe-conduct to king Alexander, and to all whom Alexander might bring, in coming to him at York on 25th March; in conferring, remaining, and returning (Patent Rolls (1903), 235; Foedera, u.s.).

On 3rd December, 1229, safe-conduct was given to king Alexander in coming to York for Christmas, remaining, and returning (Patent Rolls (1903), 318).

At Christmas, 1229, king Alexander was with king Henry at York (R.W.; E.C., 338).

Brian, Alan's son, was among those who were ordered to escort Alexander back to Scotland (Bain, i, no. 1056).

Alexander spent 8 days in coming, 4 days at York, and 8 days in returning; and received from Henry 100 shillings a day for travelling expenses, and 30 shillings a day during his visit:—altogether 86 pounds (Bain, i, no. 1057).

The Annals of Dunstable say that a papal legate *a latere* was sent to Scotland in 1229 (R.S. **36**, iii, 114).

For the Christians' re-occupation of Jerusalem in 1229, v.i.a. R.W., ii,

1229

Alberic of Trois Fontaines, in M.G.H., Scriptores, vol. xxiii, p. 925; s.a. 1229

At Foigny, a certain lay-brother, brother Alexander, died. Of him it was found that he was the son of the king of Scotland, and the brother of Matilda[1]; and he rests in the village of Lappion.

1230

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 142

In the year of the Lord 1230, sir Simon of Rise was elected abbot of Rufford, in the chapter at Melrose, on the day of the Conversion of St Paul.[2]

Earl Malcolm of Fife died. He was buried in the church of St Serf, which he had founded.[3] He was succeeded by Malcolm, his nephew, his brother [Duncan]'s son, who afterwards married the daughter of Lewelin.[4]

[In this year, the Jacobine friars, and the monks of Vallis Ole[a]rum, enter Scotland for the first time.][5]

364-375; and R.S. **36**, i, 37, 72; ii, 305-307; iii, 118; **44**, ii, 311-312; **57**, iii, 172-177.

Sifridus of Balnhusin says (Compendium, M.G.H., Scriptores, xxv, 702):—"In the year of the Lord 1228, Jerusalem was restored to the Christians. At that time the nation of the Scots wandered for nearly two years, in passing through the lands" (*discurrendo terras pertransiit*).

[1] See above, year 1220.

[2] I.e., on 25th January, 1230.

[3] "At Culross, an abbey which he himself had founded and endowed" C.L., 40. This was St Serf's abbey. See above, year 1217.

[4] I.e., Helen. The same chronicle speaks of this marriage again, s.a. 1232 (see that year, below). Cf. C.L., 40, s.a. 1229, which says: "To [Malcolm] also was united in wedlock the daughter of Lewelin the elder, the lord of Wales."

Helen survived her husband († 1266). For the two earls Malcolm, see S.P., iv, 8-10.

[5] This paragraph has been added in a different hand.

For the Jacobites or Dominicans, cf. (among English chronicles) R.S. **84**, i, 272-273; **57**, ii, 443; **44**, ii, 66; **36**, iv, 405. The Annals of Worcester say that they came to England in 1221 (R.S. **36**, iv, 413).

In the additions to Bower, ii, 540, the Jacobite houses in Scotland in 1510 are named:—Wigton, Ayr, Glasgow, Stirling, Edinburgh, Perth,

1230

Chronicle of Lanercost, pp. 40-41, s.a. 1230

In this year,[1] there arose in Scotland certain wicked men of the race of Mac-William; and his son; and one Roderic. They raised up treachery in the remotest territories of Scotland; and wished to obtain the kingdom by force, by allying with themselves a great[2] number of wicked men of that realm. But by the vengeance of God, they and their accomplices were betrayed. And after the enemy had been successfully overcome, a somewhat too cruel vengeance was taken for the blood of the slain:—the same Mac-William's daughter, who had not long left her mother's womb, innocent as she was, was put to death, in the burgh of Forfar, in view of the market-place, after a proclamation by the public crier: her head was struck against the column of the [market] cross, and her brains dashed out. Yet God says, to the contrary effect, "Sons shall not be slain for their fathers"[3]; and so on.

In the same year, Norwegians came to the island regions with Uspak, Ogmund's son,[4] surnamed Hakon (whom the king of Norway had appointed king over the Hebridean islands); along with Olaf, and Godfrey Dond, the son of [Olaf's] brother.

And when they came to the island that is called Bute, they attacked the castle boldly, and stormed it. But the said Uspak, who was surnamed Hakon, was struck with a stone, and perished.

After this, Olaf and Godfrey came to Man; and they divided the kingdom of Man and the islands between them.

Cupar-Fife, Aberdeen, Elgin, Inverness, Montrose, St Andrews. See K.B., 440-457.

The order of Vallis Caulium (here called Vallis Olerum) was founded by Virardus in 1193, at Val-des-choux, in the diocese of Langres, between Dijon and Autun in Burgundy. See K.B., 426-428. Their possessions in Beauly were confirmed by pope Gregory IX, 1227 × 1241 (Beauly, i, 14). They were a branch of the Benedictine order. They had three priories in Scotland in 1510 (additions to Bower, ii, 539, 540):—Beauly, in Ross (founded by John Bisset); Pluscarden, in Elgin (founded by Alexander II); Ardchattan, in Argyle (founded by Duncan Mac-Cowle).

[1] The previous entry in this year-section is a notice of Henry's campaign in Brittany (in 1230).

[2] Reading *multam* for *multum*.

[3] Deuteronomy, XXIV, 16 (2 Kings, XIV, 6; 2 Chronicles, XXV, 4; Ezekiel, XVIII, 20).

[4] *cum Husbac filio Owumundi.*

Godfrey obtained the island regions; and Olaf, Man. And after Godfrey Dond was killed, Olaf reigned in Man, and over all the islands of the Hebrides (excepting those that Somerled's sons held), for eleven years.[1]

1230-1231

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, pp. 92-94

After this,[2] Olaf went to the court of the king of Norway. But before he arrived there, Hakon the king of Norway had appointed a certain noble man of royal lineage, called Uspak Ogmund's son,[3] king over the Hebridean islands; and had called his name Hakon. And this Hakon came with Olaf and Godfrey Dond, Reginald's son, and with a great company of Norwegians, to the Hebridean islands.

And when they had come to the island that is called Bute, and wished to storm the castle that is in it, the aforesaid Hakon was struck down with a stone, and perished; and he was buried in the island of Iona.

In the year of the Lord 1230, Olaf came with Godfrey Dond and the Norwegians to Man. And they (namely Olaf and Godfrey) divided the kingdom of Man[4] and the islands between them. Olaf obtained Man; and Godfrey set out for the island regions, and was slain[5] in the island that is called Lewis. And after [Godfrey's] death, Olaf [held] the kingdom of Man and of the islands until [his] death.

1230

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 128; s.a. 1230[6]

King Hakon gave to Uspak, the Hebridean, kingship[7] in the Hebrides; and the name of Hakon.

[1] Olaf died, according to the Chronicle of Man, in 1237.

[2] This follows the narrative translated above, years 1228-1229.

[3] *nomine Usbac filium Owmundi.*

[4] From "of Man" to the end is written in the lower margin.

[5] Godfrey Dond (an Irish epithet, "the Brown") is called Godfrey the Black in Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, which implies that he was still alive in 1231.

[6] With dominical and paschal letters of 1230. Similarly in A (Fl., iii, 527).

[7] "the title of king" A.

Thereupon [Uspak] led a military expedition to the Hebrides; and he died the same autumn.[1]

1230-1231

Eirspennill's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, cc. 167-169; Unger's Konunga Sögur, 333-335[2]

Uspak is given the king's name.

King Hakon sat in Oslo during the winter; and this was the thirteenth winter of his reign.[3] When the winter was well advanced, the king held an assembly in the town; then he gave Uspak the name of king, and gave him the name Hakon.[4] The king said[5] that he would give him a force in the summer, [to go] west beyond the sea.[6] . . .

[c. 168] *The king prepared a force for the west beyond the sea.*

In the spring, king [Hakon] went[7] to Bergen; then he prepared the host [that was to go] west beyond the sea with Uspak.[8] Earl [Skúli] procured some [men] for [this expedition].[9] These were the leaders[10] on [earl Skúli's] behalf[11]: Sigurd

[1] KOD read, s.a. 1230 (24, 64, 187): "[the death] of Uspak, king in the Hebrides." Similarly P (327).

[2] Parallel passages are in Fr., 476-478, cc. 171-173 (also in F.S., ix, 418-423, cc. 165-167); Fl., iii, 101-103, cc. 137-138; Sk., 463-467, cc. 180-182 (also in R.S. 88, ii, 145-148, cc. 165-167. The version in Kringla (Samfund 24, last page) is edited by Vigfusson in R.S. 88, ii, 381-382.

[3] I.e., in 1229-1230. "and this . . . reign" not in Kringla.

[4] I.e., in 1230. For "When . . . Hakon," Kringla reads:—"And then during the winter he gave to Uspak the title of king, and with it the name Hakon." The name Uspak (*Úspakr;* more commonly *Óspakr*) means "unwise" or "unruly."

Fl. and Sk. read:—"But he was called Uspak the Hebridean. Therewith he gave him the name of Hakon." Fr. has the first of these sentences, but omits the second.

[5] "Then the king made it clear" (i.e. "announced"), Fr., Fl., Sk., and Kringla, which adds: "before men."

[6] "to go . . . sea" not in Kringla.

[7] "north" add Fr., Fl., Sk., Kringla.

[8] Fr., Fl., Sk., read:—"[and when he came there, Fl., Sk.] he caused to be got ready the army that was to follow [king Fr.] Uspak, to the west beyond the sea." Kringla reads:—"And when he came there, he caused to be prepared an army, [to go] west beyond the sea."

[9] "Skúli . . . expedition" in Fl., Sk.

[10] "ships'-commanders" Fl., Sk.

[11] Fr. reads: "procured some men, and these ships'-commanders."

Sæpill, Sigurd Smith, Paul Balki's son; and on king [Hakon's] behalf were king Uspak,[1] Serk Sogners'-cheese, Olvi Ilteitt, Sveinung the Black, Paul Goose. They had twelve[2] ships from Norway.[3]

When they were ready to start, there came from the west beyond the sea Olaf the Black, king of Man. He had come over from the Hebrides because of the dispeace. Alan had collected a great army. [Olaf] reported of them to the Norwegians many disputes in the west.[4]

Olaf[5] remained for four nights in the town, before he went west.[6] Olaf[7] went in the ship with Paul, Balki's son, to the Orkneys; and then earl John gave him the ship that was called the Ox.[8]

They had from the Orkneys twenty ships.[9] And when Balki the Young, Paul's son, and Ottar Snækollr,[10] learned that,

[1] "king Uspak" not in Fr., which adds here:—"Thormod Thing-skaun." "Thormod Thingskorinn" adds Fl.; "Thormod Thing-skomm" Sk.

[2] "eleven" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[3] "Earl Skúli procured . . . " not in Kringla.

[4] Fr., Fl., Sk., read: "[And Fr.] he reported great dispeace [from the west, Fl., Sk.] in the islands. He said [also Fr.] that he had come over [from the islands and Sk.] from Man, because earl Alan had collected together a great army, and intended to attack [the vassals of Norway Fr.; the Manxmen Fl., Sk.]. He reported great disputes of the earl with the vassals of Norway [*til Noregsmanna*]." Fl. and Sk. add to this:—"He said that [the earl] [had declared Sk.] it was not more difficult to invade Norway, than from Norway to invade Scotland; and that there were there no worse harbours for those who wished to plunder. But that was spoken, and not done."

This paragraph stands thus in Kringla: "And when king Uspak and his followers were quite ready, Olaf, king of Man, came to Bergen; and he had escaped from earl Alan [s.l.], who was preparing to plunder in the Hebrides, from Scotland."

[5] "King Olaf" Fr., Fl., Sk., Kringla.

[6] "again" adds Fr.; Fl. and Sk. read: "before they went west." "before . . . west" not in Kringla.

[7] "King Olaf" Fl.

[8] "Olaf went . . . Ox" not in Fr. Kringla reads:—"He went on board ship with Paul, Balki's son. They made after that for the Orkneys."

[9] "[And Fr.] when they went from the Orkneys [from there Kr.], they had twenty ships" Fr., Fl., Sk., Kringla.

[10] "Paul Balki, son of the young king, and Ottar Snækollr" Fr.; "Ottar Snækollr, and Balki the Young, Paul's son" Fl.; "Balki the Young, and Ottar Snækollr" Sk.

they went before, south to Skye; and they met there[1] Thorkel, Thormod's son, and fought there. There fell Thorkel and two of his sons; but his son Thormod escaped in this manner: he leapt into a cask, which was floating beside a ship[2]; and it drifted with him along Scotland, to the north of Hattarskot.

After that, Ottar and Balki went to meet with king Uspak.[3]

[c. 169] *Slaying of Somerled.*

Now they came, with their whole army united, south to Islay sound.[4] Then were there Uspak's brothers, and their relative Somerled[5]: they had a great and fair[6] army. They invited the Norwegians to a feast, because[7] they had strong wine; the Norwegians did not trust them.[8] Duncan slept on the ship of Uspak, his brother. In the morning,[9] the Norwegians made an attack upon them,[10] and slew Somerled, and many men with him. They took Dugald prisoner, and put him in fetters. Few[11] of the Norwegians fell.

Uspak was not present in this; but when he became aware of it, he let his brother Duncan escape; and Dugald he took under his protection.

Now they collected their force and their ships, about the

[1] "went south to Skye, and met in Vest-fiordr Thorkel, Thormod's son" Fr.; "went with their [ship] across Vest-fiordr, and met . . . " Sk.; "and met then in Vest-fiordr . . . " Fl. This "western firth" may have been Dunvegan Loch.

[2] "leapt upon a rock, and there floated by a ship" Fl., erroneously.

[3] "and his company" Fr., Fl., Sk.

"And when Balki . . . " not in Kringla, which reads: "They sailed then first south to Skye; and they found there Thorkel, Thormod's son. The Norwegians made an attack upon him. He fell there, and two of his sons."

[4] "south" not in Fr.; "Islay sound" corruptly spelt in Fl.

[5] "king Uspak's two brothers, Dugald and Duncan; and the third chief, their relative who was called Somerled" Fr.; similarly in Fl., Sk.

[6] "and fair" not in Fr., Fl., Sk.

[7] "and" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[8] "but the Norwegians were told that all would not be without treachery" Fr., Fl., Sk.; Fl. and Sk. add: "and therefore they would not go to the feast. Then both parties drew together their forces, because neither trusted the other."

[9] "A little later" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[10] "upon the Hebrideans" Fl., Sk.; "they made an attack upon the Hebrideans" Fr.

[11] "Ten" in Dasent's translation, 153, is a mis-print.

islands; and they got eighty ships.[1] And[2] they sailed south round the Mull of Kintyre, and so in to Bute. The Scots sat there in the castle; and a certain steward was over the Scots.[3] [The Norwegians] attacked[4] the castle, but the Scots defended it, and they poured out boiling pitch.[5] The Norwegians hewed the wall with axes, because it was soft. The torch-bearer who was called Skagi[6] shot the steward to death.[7] Many of the Norwegians fell,[8] before they won the castle. There they took much treasure, and one Scottish knight, who ransomed himself for three hundred marks of refined silver.[9]

They learned then that[10] Alan was south upon the headlands,[11] and had nearly two hundred ships[12]: then they sailed

[1] "altogether" add Fr., Fl., Sk.

[2] "Now they came . . . And" not in Kringla, which reads: "Afterwards."

[3] Kringla reads instead: "and in to Bute. Then there had come, to meet Uspak and his company, Uspak's brothers, Dugald and Duncan. And then they had in all seventy ships.

"And when they came to Bute, many Scots sat there, in the castle."

[4] Fr., Fl., and Sk., read: "proceeded to the castle, and made a hard assault [there Fl., Sk.]."

[5] Fr., Fl., and Sk., read: "defended themselves well, and poured [down Fl.] upon them boiling pitch and lead. There fell many of the Norwegians, and many were hurt. The Norwegians bound over themselves shields of wood, and then hewed [into Fr.] the wall, because the stone was soft; and the wall fell down after that." Fl. and Sk. add: "They hewed it up [out Sk.] close to the ground."

[6] "Skagi Skitradr" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[7] "at the moment when he leapt upon the castle wall" add Fr., Fl., Sk.

[8] "Many . . . fell" not in Fr., Fl., Sk., which read instead: "They fought with the castle men for three days, before they won the castle" ("it" Fl.).

[9] Fr., Fl., Sk., add: "There fell, of the Norwegians, Sveinung the Black; and nearly 300 men altogether of the Hebrideans" ["Norwegians and Hebrideans" Sk., incorrectly]. "They met with a great storm; and three ships were lost there, with their crews, and all that was in them."

"but the Scots . . . ." Kringla reads instead: "and they gained it; but yet no fewer than 300 of the Norwegians and the Hebrideans perished."

[10] "earl" add Fr., Fl., Sk., Kringla.

[11] Or "Nes" (plural).

[12] Fr., Fl., Sk., read: "that earl Alan was south upon the headlands, and had drawn together a hundred and fifty ships, and intended to attack them." Similarly Kringla, omitting "drawn together" and "and intended . . . them."

north under Kintyre.[1] There king Uspak fell ill, and died.[2] His death was very greatly lamented.[3] Then Olaf was chief over the whole army.

Then they sailed to[4] the Merchants'-island,[5] and then south to Man. The Norwegians took the man who was called Thorkel Niall, and kept him for a while in fetters.[6] Sigurd Smith and Sigurd Sæpill let Thorkel go away; and the men of the army liked that very ill.[7]

In the spring, the Norwegians went away[8]; and king Olaf remained behind. They went on land in Kintyre, and plundered there. There the Scots came against them, and a battle was fought there[9]; and many fell, upon both sides. But when the Norwegians came to their ships, the Scots had killed the Norwegians' cooks.[10]

[1] Fr., Fl., Sk., add: "And they lay there for a while, and made many incursions."

"then they sailed . . . Kintyre" not in Kringla. After the following "Then king Uspak fell ill," the fragment of Kringla ends.

[2] "and lay there but a little while before he died" Fr.; "and lay a little while, and died" Fl., Sk.

[3] "by his own men" add Fr., Fl., Sk. Fl. and Sk. continue: "They conveyed his body to [church and Fl.] burial."

[4] "over under" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[5] Or "Kaupmanna-ey." This lay between Kintyre and Man. Copeland Island, off the southern limit of Belfast Lough, has been suggested, and is probably the same.

Fr., Fl., Sk., add: "and they lay there for a great part of the winter."

[6] Fr., Fl., and Sk., read: "[Then Fr.] they went [south Fl., Sk.] to Man. And there was an army collected there against them. Over this force was the man who was called Thorkel, [and was Fl.] Niall's son. The Manxmen refused to fight against king Olaf, and they broke up the levy in opposition to Thorkel: and the Norwegians took him prisoner, and kept him with them for a while, in fetters."

Fl. alone continues: "They laid taxes upon the Manxmen: three English pennies for every cow, and to feed the whole army during the winter."

[7] Fr., Fl., Sk., read: "and some [of their men Fr.] liked that ill."

[8] "When it began to be spring, . . . away from Man" Fr., Fl., Sk. This was in spring, 1231. Cf. the Annals of Dunstable, below.

[9] "and fought against them. And they were very loose in the battle; they leapt to and fro" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[10] Fr., Fl., Sk., read: "all their servants, who had gone on shore to prepare food; [and all their meat-pots were gone Fl., Sk.].

"The Norwegians made many incursions into Kintyre; and they went from there north to the islands."

Then[1] the Norwegians went to Lewis; they found there Thormod, Thorkel's son. He fled away, and they took there as a captive of war his wife, and great treasure that he had.[2]

Then they sailed to the Orkneys. Paul Balki's son remained behind in the Hebrides; and he fell, a few weeks later, before Godfrey the Black, son of king Reginald.

Most of the Norwegians sailed immediately[3] to Norway. And the king's honours had been[4] won in this expedition,[5] in the west beyond the sea; and when they came to king Hakon he thanked[6] them well for their expedition.[7]

1231

Annals of Dunstable (Rolls Series, no. 36, vol. iii, p. 126), s.a. 1231

In the same year, Danes and Norwegians invaded Scotland, and the island of Man; and after many losses had been inflicted [by them], they were with great labour repulsed.

1231

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 142

In the year of the Lord 1231, Thomas, the earl of Athole, the brother of Alan of Galloway, died; and he was buried at the abbey of Coupar.[8]

[1] "When" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[2] "they chased him out of the islands, and slew some of his retainers; and they took all his baggage, and took as a captive of war his wife" Fr., Sk., similarly Fl.

[3] "east" add Fr., Fl., Sk. This was in spring, 1231.

[4] "very well" add Fl., Sk.

[5] "And in this expedition they had won great honour for king Hakon, in the west beyond the sea" Fr.

[6] "and when . . . thanked": Fr. reads: "the king thanked."

[7] Fl. adds: "And here ends the section of the Hebrideans."

[8] See S.P., i, 419-421. Thomas had married the countess Isabella (× 1211), the daughter of earl Henry, son of earl Malcolm, Matad's son. Countess Isabella appears as widow on 9th August, 1232. Her second husband, Alan the Doorward, appears as earl of Athole on 9th January, 1234, and 23rd February, 1235. Thomas of Galloway's son obtained the earldom when he came of age (1235 × 1237; † 1242).

On 12th July, 1230, king Henry III issued a contrabreve to Geoffrey de Lucy [constable of Porchester Castle], ordering gangways to be made for four ships, for earl Thomas of Athole's use (Liberate Rolls (1916), 183).

In this year, the Lesser Friars enter Scotland for the first time.[1]

John, the earl of Caithness, was killed in his own house, and burnt. And he received deservedly from God vengeance of the same kind as the torture that the venerable bishop Adam had suffered under him.[2]

[Richard, the archbishop of Canterbury, died.][3]

1231

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 129; s.a. 1231[4]

The slaying of John, earl in the Orkneys.[5]

[1] This second paragraph has been entered later, in a space left blank between the first and third.

For the Fratres Minores, Minorites, or Franciscans, see (among English chroniclers) R.S. **84**, ii, 328-330; **57**, ii, 443; iii, 131-133; **36**, iv, 405. Cf. Alberic, in B.R., xviii, 772. See C.L., 30-31, s.a. 1224 (in which year that chronicle says that they first arrived in England); and R.S. **4**, i, 6-72.

Cf. year 1264.

C.L. (42) says that Franciscans came to Carlisle about 15th August, 1233.

In the additions to Bower (ii, 540), the Franciscan houses in Scotland, in 1510, are named:—Berwick; Roxburgh [founded × 1235]; Dumfries [× 1305]; Lanark; Haddington; Inverkeithing; Dundee; St Andrews. See K.B.

[2] See year 1222.

[3] This last note has been added in the margin. Richard died in 1231 (R.S. **36**, i, 39; iii, 126), on August 3rd (R.S. **84**, iii, 15; **44**, ii, 335-336. But the Annals of Tewkesbury say, on the 4th: **36**, i, 79).

On 3rd April, 1231, pope Gregory IX gave permission to the Benedictine abbot and convent of Aberdeen to convert part of the church *de Culdedono* [? Cullen of Buchan, near Gamrie] into a hostel. Theiner, 28, no. 68.

On 27th April, 1231, the same pope rebuked the king of Scotland for not observing his oath to the king of England. Foedera, i, **1**, 199.

[4] With dominical and paschal letters of 1231. Similarly in DA (187; Fl., iii, 527).

[5] KO read, s.a. 1231 (25, 64): "The slaying of earl John" ["Harold's son vii" K; by which K may mean that John was the seventh child of Harold Matad's son]. See year 1206, note.

1231

Eirspennill's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, cc. 170-173; Unger's Konunga Sögur, pp. 335-336[1]

Home-coming of archbishop Sigurd.

This winter, king Hakon sat[2] in Bergen: and this was the fourteenth of his kingship.

This autumn, archbishop Sigurd came to land.[3]

Olvi Ilteitt[4] remained behind in the Orkneys[5]; and he went to Hánef the Young, who then had the bailiffdom in the islands.[6] Hánef was a cup-bearer of king Hakon. Hánef the Young, Kolbein, and Andrew, were three brothers.[7]

[c. 171] *Of Snækoll.*

A man was called Snækoll, there in the islands, and was Gunni's son. His mother was Ragnhild, daughter of Eric Stag-brellr, and of Ingigerd, daughter of earl Ronald the Holy. Snækoll laid claim there in the islands to certain estates that those relatives had had[8]; but earl John held them, and would not let them go; and because of this, enmity arose between them.[9] Earl John asked whether he did not wish to follow the example of earl Harold, his mother's brother, and lay claim to the Orkneys from him.[10] Snækoll answered: "I have expecta-

[1] Parallel passages are in Fr., 478-480, cc. 174-177 (also in F.S., ix, 423-426, cc. 168-171); Fl., iii, 103-104, cc. 139-141; and Sk., 467-470, cc. 183-186.

[2] "had sat" Fr., Fl., Sk., correctly. This was the winter of 1230-1231, during which the Norwegian army was in the British Isles.

[3] "from his consecration, and went north to his chair" Fr., Fl., Sk.

The Icelandic Annals (OCDEA) place Sigurd's consecration in 1231, and (KOCDEA) his return to Norway in 1232.

[4] "Olvi Ilteitt, from the Norwegians" Fr.; "[the ship's commander Fl.] [the man Sk.] who was called Olvi Ilteitt" Fl., Sk.

[5] Fr., Fl., Sk., add: "he was a bodyguardsman of king Hakon, and a very overbearing man."

[6] "in the islands" also Fr.; "in the Orkneys" Fl.; not in Sk.

"on the king's behalf" add Fr., Fl., Sk.

[7] Fr., Fl., Sk., add: "Hánef had a great company [of men Fr., Fl.], [and was rather difficult to deal with Fr.]."

[8] "who had come of Ronald's family" add Fr., Fl., Sk.

[9] Fr., Fl., Sk., read: "but which earl [John Fl., Sk.] had in his keeping. He had evaded giving up the estates. But Snækoll constantly [often Fl., Sk.] brought this up before him. Then the earl began to answer angrily, and asked whether . . ."

[10] "'But I certainly intend to keep from thee my dominion, as my father did from thy mother's brother'" add Fl., Sk.

tion of this, that thou wouldst grant me but little of the Orkneys, since thou wilt not that I have that which I own by rightful inheritance."[1]

Snækoll went to Hánef. They had a great company there, all together.[2]

[c. 172] *Of slander against earl John.*

In the autumn, both parties went over to Caithness, to Thurso; and each party had its own quarters.[3] It happened one evening when Hánef and his fellows sat, and drank,[4] that a man came[5] in there before Hánef, and spoke: "Consider thy plans, Hánef, and you [his] companions; seeing that the earl intends to make an attack upon you in the night, and kill you,[6] because he has no confidence in you, if you and he are so near as has now been the case for some time."[7]

[c. 173] *Slaying of earl John.*

Hánef now took these for true words. They wished to be beforehand with them: they sprang at once to their weapons, and attacked with fire and violence the lodging in which the earl lay. The earl leapt into an underground closet, and thought to save himself so.[8] They got information of where he

[1] "Then earl John put on great coldness towards Snækoll. [Snækoll Fl.] took it up so, that he was in danger from the earl. Then he went . . . " Fr., Fl., Sk.

[2] "to Hánef, and entered into his company and fellowship" Fr.; "to Hánef and his followers, and entered into their company" Fl., Sk.; Sk. adds "and fellowship."

[3] Fr., Fl., Sk., add: "— the earl [and his men Fl.], and Hánef and his companions. Both parties had a great company [great companies Fl.], and constantly [often Fl., Sk.] those in their companies had differences, when they met drunken in the evenings."

[4] "and were very cheerful," add Fr., Fl., Sk.

[5] "sprang" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[6] "and to let it now come to a decision between you" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[7] Fr., Fl., Sk., read: "if you remain together long [longer Fl., Sk.]."

[8] From the beginning of the paragraph, this passage stands thus in Fr.: "And when Hánef heard this, he told it to his brother Kolbein, and Snækoll. They now took this for truth, and wished not to be behindhand with them" ("and planned that they should be beforehand with them" Fl., Sk.). "They bade now the men of their company to arm themselves. But the drink so disposed things that they all thought this a good plan [advisable Fl.] [which they took up Fl., Sk.]. And when they were armed, they attacked [with violence and fire Fl., Sk.] the lodging in which the earl slept, and used

was; Snækoll, Sumarlidi Hrólf's son, Olvi Ilteitt, Thorkel, and Hrafn,[1] sprang into the closet. Snækoll found the earl beside a barrel, and they slew him there.[2] There fell some of the earl's men.[3] The earl had nine wounds.

After that,[4] Hánef and his companions went out to the Orkneys.[5] They went to Viera,[6] and placed themselves in a castle[7] which Kolbein Hruga had caused to be built; they drew to themselves sufficient stores.[8]

But when this was known in the Orkneys, the earl's relatives and friends collected together,[9] and went out to Viera, and besieged the castle.[10] Now the relatives and friends of Hánef and his companions assembled together, and went there,[11] and tried to make peace; and they made a truce.[12] Both parties[13] were to be in the Orkneys during the winter, and in the following summer they were both[14] to go to Norway, to king Hakon; and he was to decide in this case. So this dispute remained dormant during the winter.[15]

their weapons at once upon those whom they found there. But when the earl was aware of the dispeace, he took refuge in an underground closet, and thought to hide himself there."

[1] "and many men of their company besides" Fr.; "and many more" Fl., Sk.

[2] "they gave him at once his death-wound" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[3] "There died also some men of Hánef's party" Fr.; "There died also many men" Fl.; "There died some men with the earl, at the hands of Hánef's party" Sk.

[4] "that deed" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[5] "went home from Caithness" Fr.; "went away from Caithness, and out to the Orkneys" Fl., Sk.

[6] *Vigr.* Viera (or Wyre) is an island near Rousay, in the Orkneys.

[7] "the castle" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[8] *föng.* Fr. adds: "into the castle"; Fl. and Sk.: "sufficient stores, and many cattle; and they placed guards upon the outworks."

[9] "But when the earl's friends in the Orkneys learned this, they collected a great force" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[10] "But it was difficult to effect an attack there" add Fr., Fl., Sk.

[11] "Then collected together also the relatives of Hánef, Kolbein in Rendall, and many others" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[12] "peace with them. It so came about that truce was given them" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[13] "They" Fr., Fl.; no pronoun in Sk.

[14] "they were both" not in Fr., Fl., Sk.

[15] Fr., Fl., Sk., read: "in [all Fr.] this case. Then the assembly broke up, and [this dispute Fl., Sk.] remained without causing trouble during the winter" [1231-1232].

In the spring, Hánef and his companions went to Norway; and the earl's friends went[1] upon another ship, and nearly all the best men in the Orkneys.[2]

1232

Eirspennill's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, cc. 174-175; Unger's Konunga Sögur, p. 337[3]

Of the penalty.

This[4] was the fifteenth winter of the kingship of Hakon. He had gone in the spring east into Vik[5]; and he had not come from the east when[6] Hánef and his companions came to Bergen.[7] Earl Skúli was there when they came[8]: he had but little to do with Hánef and his companions. Some while later, the king came from the east.[9] And when he had remained for a little while in the town, the king let [the trumpets] blow for a king's-men's-meeting of all his liege-men[10]; and when Hánef came to the meeting with his men, the cup-bearers took the brothers Hánef and Kolbein,[11] and[12] Sumarlidi and Andrew, and led them up to the fortress, and they were imprisoned there.

[1] Fr., Fl., Sk., read: "relatives and friends went [were Fr.]."

[2] "and nearly . . . Orkneys" not in Fr.; "nearly" not in Fl.

[3] Parallel passages are in Fr., 480-481, cc. 178-179 (also in F.S., ix, 426-427, cc. 172-173); Fl., iii, 105, cc. 142-143; Sk., 470-472, cc. 187-188 (also in R.S. 88, ii, 151-152, cc. 172-173).

[4] Fr., Fl., Sk., read: "This winter king [Hakon Fr.] sat in Bergen; and this . . . ."

[5] "upon his own affairs" add Fl., Sk.

[6] "He had gone . . . when" not in Fr.

[7] Fl., Sk., add: "They went into [Aura- Sk.]-Paul's garth." Fr. has skipped the words between *voru* and *voru* in Fl.'s text, and reads: "Hánef and his companions went into Aura-Paul's garth."

[8] Fl., Sk., read: "and when they had remained but a little while in the town, earl Skúli came from the north, from Trondhjem." Similarly Fr., below.

[9] "There was also lord Knut" add Fl., Sk. This earl Knut was the son of Hakon Galinn; and had married Ingirid, the daughter of earl Skúli, in 1227 (E., c. 160; Fr., c. 164; Fl., c. 133; Sk., 173).

[10] Instead of "earl Skúli . . . liege-men," Fr. reads: "A little later, earl Skúli came from the north. Then [the trumpet] was blown for a king's-men's-meeting of all the liege-men."

[11] "and Snækoll" adds Fr.

[12] "the sons of Hrólf Kitten, [named]" add Fr., Fl., Sk.

But Olvi Ilteitt, and the others who had been at the slaying, were conveyed out to Toluhólmr.

Biorn was the name of a king's-retainer who[1] had been at the slaying. He had come opposite to Mary's-church when mass began there.[2] He said: "I think it more incumbent upon me to go to mass than to the king's-men's-assembly." Then he turned in to the church.[3] And when Olvi and those with him went out upon the street, earl Skúli said (he was standing upon a balcony)[4]: "Do not kill Thorkel,[5] unless he be exceedingly guilty." Then answered Sigvaldi, a kinsman of the earl[6]: "He is by so much more guilty than the others, that he struck the earl [after he was] dead."[7]

There were beheaded five men who had been at the slaying of earl John.[8]

[c. 175] *Of the Orkneymen.*

This same autumn, nearly all the Orkneymen went upon one ship—the best men in the islands. This ship was lost, and all the men who were in it.[9]

[1] "also" add Fl., Sk.; "with them" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[2] "And he was intending to go to the king's-men's-meeting" add Fr., Fl., Sk.

[3] Here Fr., Fl., Sk., add: "And before the mass was finished, he was told that Olvi [Ilteitt Fr.] and his companions had been slain [taken Fl., Sk.]: and his going into the church saved his life.

"Sigvaldi, Skialg's son, the earl's kinsman-in-law, went fastest in this murder-prosecution [in this suit, Fl.; after this suit, Sk.]. He took Thorkel the Black [inside Black's-booths Fl.], and they drove him out along the street."

[4] Fr., Fl., Sk., read: "And when they came before the garth in which earl Skúli was, the earl was standing by a window [in a balcony-window Fl., Sk.], and called to him [to Sigvaldi Fl., Sk.]."

[5] "[Sigvaldi! Fr.] Let not Thorkel be slain" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[6] "Then . . . earl": Fr., Fl., Sk., read: "Sigvaldi answered."

[7] "struck . . . dead" so also Fr., Fl.; Sk. reads: "struck a dead man, where the earl was."

[8] Instead of this sentence, Fr., Fl., Sk., read: "Thorkel went out to the Holm along with Olvi. [And Fr., Fl.] five men were beheaded there: Hrafn, [and Olvi, and Thorkel, Fr.] and two other men [who had been at the slaying of earl John Fr.]."

[9] Fr., Fl., Sk., add: "And of this [many Fr., Sk.] men have been long in getting [awaiting Fl., Sk.] the atonement."

In the autumn, earl Skúli went north to Trondhjem.[1]

Hánef remained during the winter with Paul Vágaskálm.[2] In the spring he fell ill, and died.[3] Kolbein his brother died in Trondhjem, a little later. Snækoll remained long[4] with earl Skúli and king Hakon.[5]

1232

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 129; s.a. 1232[6]

A ship of nobles from the Orkneys was lost. Four shipwrecks in the south of the land.[7]

1232

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 142-143

In the year of the Lord 1232, sir Walter, the bishop of Glasgow, died, in the twenty-fourth year of his episcopate.[8] After him, William, the king's chancellor, was elected.[9]

[1] "and with him Hánef, and Kolbein, and Snækoll" add Fr., Fl., Sk. Skúli left Bergen before 11th November, when king Hakon's son Hakon (Skúli's grandson) was born (next chapter in all versions).

[2] "[He Fr.] [Hánef Fl.] and the brothers remained during the winter with Paul Vágaskálm, in the north, in Dyniarnes" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[3] Fr., Fl., Sk., read: "In the spring, he went to king [Hakon], and then got leave to go home. He was [storm-]driven back to Hernar, and there he fell ill, and died."

[4] "after that" add Fr., Sk.

[5] "and king Hakon" not in Fl.

[6] With dominical and paschal letters of 1232.

[7] KO read, s.a. 1232 (25, 64): "Four ships [were] lost in [off O] Iceland. [47 nobles were lost. K]." DP read (187, 327; with letters of 1232): "Four ships lost [in the south of the land; and great loss of men. D]. A ship of nobles [Jews, P] was lost in the Orkneys." P reads erroneously *gydinga* for *gædinga*.

A (Fl., iii, 528, with letters of 1232): "Five ships were wrecked in the south of the land [i.e., Iceland]; and 53 men were lost, and much treasure. A ship of nobles was lost in the Orkneys."

On 7th October, 1232, earl Malcolm of Angus appears as earl of Angus and Caithness. See below, year 1239, note.

[8] I.e., before 2nd November, 1232. Cf. years 1208, 1215, 1218.

Bishop Walter was alive on 19th May, 1232 (Kelso, i, no. 279). See D.B., 301-302.

For the dispute between Glasgow and Guisbrough in 1223, see Guisbrough, ii, 346, no. 1184 (cf. nos. 1185-1188); Glasgow, i, nos. 123-125. The Augustinian priory of St Mary at Guisbrough passed from the diocese of Glasgow to the diocese of York, between 1223 and 1252. See Theiner,

Sir William de Ramsay, the abbot of St Serf's, died. After him, sir Hugh, the master of lay-brothers at Melrose, was elected, on the day of the Assumption of St Mary.[1]

Randolph, the earl[2] of Chester, died. He was succeeded by John the Scot, the earl of Huntingdon, his nephew; who a few years before had married the daughter of Lewelin.[3]

The venerable Patrick, the earl of Dunbar, called together his sons and daughters, kinsmen and neighbours, to celebrate along with him, with joy, the festivals of the Lord's Nativity. But after four days had passed, being attacked by a serious infirmity, he summoned A[dam], the abbot of Melrose, his friend and kinsman; and he received from him the last unction, and the habit of religion. And bidding a last farewell to all, he closed his last day on the day of St Silvester, in the fiftieth year of his earldom.[4] And he was buried in the church of St Mary at Eccles. He was succeeded by Patrick, his son, a strenuous knight, and nephew of the king.[5]

Consecration of Edmund, the archbishop of Canterbury.[6]

72-73, no. 189; Bliss, i, 337; and Bliss, i, 277-278. Cf. the confirmation charters given to the priory by king Henry III, on 11th May, 1229: Charter Rolls (1903), 95; Bain, i, no. 1034.

Cf. year 1148.

[9] Cf. C.L., 41, s.a. 1231: "Also in the same year, William de Bondington, the chancellor of the king of the Scots, was elected to the church of Glasgow."

See year 1233.

[1] I.e., on 15th August. There is here an added marginal note: "2nd abbot of St Serf" [i.e., of Culross]: which erroneously implies that William de Ramsay was the first abbot. See year 1217.

For Hugh's death, see year 1245.

[2] A similar sentence stands in the Chronicle of Lanercost, 42, s.a. 1232 (reading "noble earl" instead of "earl").

[3] Cf. above, year 1230. The marriage took place 1230 × 1232, and a few years before 1232; therefore we must understand the Melrose chronicler to mean that it occurred in 1230.

[4] I.e., on 31st December, 1232. See year 1182. For this Patrick (now called the 5th earl of Dunbar), see S.P., iii, 252-255.

Patrick's death, and the succession of his son Patrick, are noticed in C.L., 41, s.a. 1231.

[5] This Patrick died in the year 1248 (q.v.). His mother, Ada, was king Alexander's sister; see year 1184. He is called "earl of March" in Foedera, i, 2, 775.

[6] This last note is written in the margin, in a different hand.

Edmund was consecrated on 2nd April, 1234 (R.S. 36, iii, 135; 84, iii, 78; 44, ii, 367; 36, ii, 312. Hardy's Le Neve, i, 13).

1232

Annals of Chester, pp. 58, 127-128, s.a. 1232

Also Randolph, the earl of Chester and Lincoln, died at Wallingford, on the seventh day before the Kalends of November.[1] And on the third day before the Nones of the same month,[2] he was buried at Chester.

Also on the eleventh day[3] before the Kalends of December, at Northampton, John of Scotland was made earl of Chester by king Henry, the son of king John.

1232

Chronicle of Peterborough, pp. 132-133, s.a. 1232

Also in the same year, or in the following year according to some, Randolph, the earl of Chester and lord of Bolingbroke, died at his castle of Wallingford, on the vigil of Simon and Jude.[4] He was exceedingly renowned and famous in the whole kingdom.

And because he had no children, his heritage was divided among his four sisters; namely Matilda, the wife of earl David; Mabel, the wife of the earl of Arundel[5]; and Agnes, the wife of earl William de Ferrieres[6]; and Hawisia, who had married Robert Quincey, the earl of Winchester.[7]

Of [Randolph's] lands, the eldest sister, that is Matilda, acquired the earldom of Chester. She bore a son, John of Scotland, afterwards the earl of Chester.

This John had four sisters[8]; namely Margaret, who married

[1] I.e., on 26th October. This was Randolph de Blundeville, son of earl Hugh, son of earl Randolph de Gernons.

[2] I.e., on 3rd November.

[3] 21st November.

[4] 27th October.

[5] This was William de Aubigny III, earl of Sussex and of Arundel († 1221). His son was Hugh († 1243), who married in 1234 Isabel, a daughter of William de Varenne († 1240), earl of Surrey; and granddaughter of William Marshal, earl of Pembroke († 1219). (G.E.C.)

[6] This was the earl of Derby. They married in 1192, and died in 1247 (G.E.C.).

[7] See year 1234. This Robert was the brother of Roger, earl of Winchester; and is here erroneously called earl. He died in 1217 (Annals of Waverley, R.S. **36**, ii, 289). See Giraldus Cambrensis, iv, 174-175.

[8] For the heirs of John the Scot, see year 1237, note.

Alan of Galloway, and had a daughter named Derbforgaill,[1] who married John de Balliol. John's second sister, called Isabella, married Robert Bruce; and her son was king Robert.[2] The third sister, Matilda, died unmarried. The fourth sister, Ada, married Henry Hastings; and her son was Henry Hastings the younger.

These three cousins afterwards laid claim to the kingdom of Scotland:—John, son of John Balliol; Robert, son of Robert Bruce; and Henry,[3] son of Henry Hastings.

And Hawisia Quincey,[4] the fourth sister of Randolph, acquired the earldom of Lincoln. And she bore a daughter, Margaret, [wife of Walter] Marshal, earl of Pembroke; upon whose death she married John de Lacy, the constable of Chester[5]: and his son was Edmund Lacy, whose son was Henry Lacy, whose daughter and heir was Alice de Lacy, who died in the year of the Lord 1349.[6]

1233

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 143-144

In the year of the Lord 1233, Ermengarde, the queen of William, king of Scotland, [and] mother of king Alexander, died, on the third day before the Ides of February, in the forty-seventh year of her marriage[7]; and she was buried in

[1] In text *Deinagelam*. See year 1233.

[2] King Robert I was the great-grandson of Isabella.

[3] The claimant was this Henry's son, John.

[4] Chronicle of Peterborough, 136, s.a. 1241: "Lady Hawisia Quincey, the countess of Lincoln, died." She is said to have obtained the earldom of Lincoln as a gift from her brother, Randolph de Blundeville. Her daughter Margaret inherited it from her.

[5] Cf. year 1222, note. Margaret married John de Lacy first, and after his death Walter Marshal, earl of Pembroke (27th October 1241 - †24th November 1245; G.E.C.).

[6] John de Lacy († 1240), his son Edmund († 1257), and Edmund's son Henry (1272 - †1311), were earls of Lincoln. Henry's daughter, Alice († 1348), married various people, and died childless. The earldom of Lincoln was then assumed by the crown. See G.E.C.; Burke's Extinct Peerages.

[7] I.e., on 11th February, 1233. See year 1186. She died before 28th March, 1233 (Balmerino, nos. 19, 20).

the abbey of St Edward of Balmerino, which she herself had founded.[1]

The church of St Mary of Newbattle was dedicated by bishop Andrew of Moray, on the third day before the Ides of March.[2]

Also, the church of Arbroath was dedicated, on the eighth day before the Ides of May.[3]

Also, the church of St Mary of Coupar was dedicated, on the Ides of May.[4]

Sir Gilbert, the abbot of Glenluce, resigned his office, in the chapter of Melrose; and there he made his profession.[5]

Alan of Galloway gave his daughter[6] as wife to John de Balliol; and his sister, to Walter Bisset.[7]

[1] See above, year 1229. The king's foundation charter was thought by Stevenson to imply that on 3 Feb. 1231 queen Ermengarde was no longer alive (B.Cl. 49, 141; M.Cl. 28, 21). The charter says that Alexander had founded the abbey "to the honour of God, and of the glorious virgin Mary, and the most holy king Edward, and for the exaltation of holy religion; for the salvation of ourselves, and of all our predecessors and successors; and for the souls of the illustrious king William, our father; and of queen Ermengarde, our mother; and of all our predecessors and successors" (Balmerino, no. 1; D.M., vi, 2, 1154; cf. M.Cl. 28, 21-22).

This charter is dated 3rd February, 17 Alexander II, i.e., 1231. It implies that queen Ermengarde was dead. But the date of the charter is probably erroneous. It must have been 3 Feb. 1234×, if C.M.'s dating is correct.

In the same charter Walter Comyn appears as earl of Monteith. His predecessor, Maurice, was still earl of Monteith on 22nd October, 1231 (Dunfermline, no. 196). Walter Comyn obtained the earldom before 9th January, 1234 († 1258).

Ermengarde had been accused, in 1219, of being induced by the offer of a bribe to support the election of Walter to the bishopric of Glasgow. Cf. years 1215, 1218, notes.

In 1234, a manor in Huntingdon was given to her daughter-in-law, queen Joanna, by king Henry III (Bain, i, no. 1214).

[2] I.e., on 13th March, 1233.

[3] I.e., on 8th May.

[4] I.e., on 15th May.

[5] See year 1235.

[6] I.e., Derbforgaill, or Dervorgilla. See S.P., iv, 142. Her son, John Balliol, was the successful claimant in 1292. Cf. Foedera, i, 2, 776. C.L. (below, year 1235, note) says that the marriage of Dervorgilla did not take place until after her father's death. This seems to be erroneous.

[7] For Walter Bisset, the lord of Aboyne, see years 1243 and 1244. His wife's name was Ada (according to S.P., iv, 139).

Clement, a canon of the order of Preachers, was elected to the bishopric of Dunblane; and was consecrated by bishop William of St Andrews, [at Wedale,[1]] on the day of the Translation of St Cuthbert.[2]

Also William, the bishop of Glasgow, was consecrated by bishop Andrew of Moray, [in the church of Glasgow,[3]] on the Sunday after the Nativity of blessed Mary.[4]

[1] "at Wedale" (i.e., Stow) added in a different hand.

[2] I.e., on 14th September. Clement was later one of the defenders of Gamelin, bishop of St Andrews (see year 1257). He died in 1258.

For Clement and the previous bishops of Dunblane, see D.B., 193-198.

Laurence was bishop on 27th February, 1155 (E.C., 238); and still bishop 1165 × 1171 (Cambuskenneth, no. 219).

Simon or Symeon was bishop 1178 × 1180 (St Andrews, 147); 1191 × 1194 (Arbroath, i, no. 211): but had ceased to hold that office before 1199.

For William, see Cambuskenneth, 160, no. 122 (1191 × ?1198).

Jonathan was bishop 1194 × 1199 (Inchaffray no. 3); bishop, and papal judge-delegate, 1203 × 1210 (Melrose, i, no. 145). He died in 1210, and was buried in Inchaffray (Bower, i, 529).

For Abraham ("elect" in Inchaffray, no. 28 (1210 × 1214); cf. ibid., nos. 26, 27), see Theiner, no. 6. He was bishop on 23rd January, 1215 (Lindores, 113, no. 95).

Ralph ("elect" in Arbroath, i, no. 87; 1224 × 1225) resigned before 12th January, 1226 (D.B., 196).

Osbert died in 1231, "being professed a canon of Holyrood" (Bower, ii, 59).

On 11th June, 1237, pope Gregory IX directed a letter to the bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld. The bishop of Dunblane [Clement] had reported to the pope that since the church of Dunblane had formerly been vacant for 100 years and more, almost all its goods had been occupied by secular persons; and later bishops had neglected to recover them. The pope ordered that provision should be made. Theiner, 35, no. 91; Arbroath, i, 176.

[3] "in . . . Glasgow" added by a different hand.

[4] I.e., on 11th September, 1233. For William de Bondington (probably = Bonnington, in Lanarkshire), see years 1232, 1240, 1241, 1246, 1255, † 1258. Cf. D.B., 302.

William de Bondington and William of Nydie had been clerks of the chancellor Matthew Scot (1227 × 1229). William de Bondington succeeded Matthew in the chancellery (1230 × 1231). According to Crawford, he was made chancellor in 1231. He held that office on 16th May, 1232 (Raine's North Durham, Appendix, p. 15). He ceased to hold it before 21st June, 1246 (Bliss, i, 227): but he was still chancellor on 26th May (Melrose, no. 239). In 1246, Peter, canon of Roskild, is named king's chancellor.

On 13th January, 1235, pope Gregory IX wrote to the abbots of Arbroath and Scone, stating that the clerk Patrick had gone to the pope on business of the bishop of Glasgow, then the king of Scotland's chancellor; and had

William, the abbot of Holme Cultram, resigned his office; and Gilbert, the master of lay-brothers of the same house, succeeded him.[1]

William Comyn, the earl of Buchan, founder of the abbey of Deer, died.[2]

contracted a debt of 1,060 marks, upon duplicate letters of credit. The king of Scotland paid the debt; but Patrick refused to give up the duplicate letter. Therefore the king was not to be held responsible for any further debt contracted by means of this letter (Bliss, i, 144).

On 25th May, 1235, the pope granted to the bishop of Glasgow and his clergy and their successors, in order to relieve them of expense, the indulgence that they should not be summoned out of Scotland for litigious reasons (Theiner, 32, no. 79).

On 5th April, 1237, the same pope wrote to the bishop of Dunkeld, the abbot of Holyrood, and the prior of Scone, bidding them obtain for the church of Glasgow 1,800 marks, dishonestly expended by the proctor, Patrick, a clerk of the diocese of Glasgow. The money was to be raised by confiscating his ecclesiastical income (Theiner, 34, no. 89).

On 20th April, 1248, pope Innocent IV wrote to the bishop and chapter of Glasgow, declaring, in consideration of the fact that their church had been burdened with making provision for four Italians, although it possessed only 9 prebends and 5 dignities; that therefore they should not be required to make provision for other Italians, while these lived and held office (Bliss, i, 257). Cf. the letter of 25th June, 1264, in Theiner, 94-95, no. 239 (wrongly dated 9th July in Bliss, i, 413).

[1] For Gilbert's death, see year 1237.

[2] See S.P., ii, 252-254. For Deer, see years 1219, 1220.

Here ends the hand that first appears in 1221, and writes years 1223 to 1233. It might be conjectured that the writer was the Hugh, prior of Melrose, who left that house in 1234 (below).

A facsimile specimen of this writing is given in the lithographed frontispiece of Stevenson's edition (the last facsimile in the plate). In the plate facing p. 144 of the same edition, facsimiles are given of the writing that follows. The first facsimile given there is of the writing of folio 42 recto; it is of a size commensurate with the writing on the opposite page. The second facsimile is of the writing (by a different hand) that begins on folio 42 verso. This hand continues to the year 1240, in which a new hand begins. Possibly the prior who left Melrose in 1236 wrote the first page of year-section 1234; and the prior who left in 1239 wrote the remainder of 1234, and year-sections 1235 to 1239. No reliance must be placed on these conjectures. Compare, however, year 1243, note.

On 6th May, 1233, the king of England notified an appeal to be made by W[alter Gray], archbishop of York, in defence both of his own right and the king's, against the coronation of Alexander, king of Scotland, in prejudice of the royal dignity, and the privilege of York. S[tephen] de Segrave is witness. Foedera, i, 1, 209; Patent Rolls (1906), 16.

1233

Annals of Chester, pp. 58, 128, s.a. 1233

Matilda, the mother of earl John, died about the Lord's Epiphany.[1]

1234

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 144

In the year 1234, Alan, Roland's son, the lord of Galloway and constable of Scotland, died[2]; and he was buried at Dundrennan. And he left three daughters, as heirs; and one bastard son, who during his father's life-time had married a

[1] I.e., about 6th January, 1233. This was the daughter of Hugh le Meschin, and widow of earl David. See year 1190.

[2] Cf. the Annals of Ulster, i, 290, s.a. 1234 (with f.n. and e. of 1234): "Alan, Uhtred's son, king of the Galwegians, died." Alan was the son of Roland, son of Uhtred.

The Chronicle of Lanercost (below, year 1235, note) says that he died about 2nd February, 1234.

He had become constable of Scotland in succession to William de Morville († 1196), whose sister, Eva or Helen, was Alan's mother († 1217). He appears as constable 1211 × 1212 (Bain, i, no. 508). On 20th July, 1212, he was asked by king John to provide 1,000 of the best Galwegians, for warfare (Close Rolls, i, 131; Bain, i, no. 529; cf. no. 533; and Close Rolls, i, 198, 5th [May] 1215).

On 27th June, 1215, he received a charter of his lands in Ireland (Bain, no. 625). See L.A., 371.

On 5th March, 1219, he had safe-conduct till Whitsunday, to do homage to king Henry (Bain, no. 717).

On 15th March, 1219, his lands in Whissendine were forfeited, unless he did homage before Whitsunday [26th May] (Close Rolls, i, 389). On 20th May, the forfeiture was postponed (ibid., i, 391-392). Before April, 1220, he sent a letter to the king, requesting a hearing for his messengers with regard to his lands in Ireland (Bain, no. 754). On 18th April, 1220, the lands in Ireland, given to him by king John, were restored to him (Close Rolls, i, 415; Bain, nos. 755, 764. Cf. Bain, nos. 573, 890, 905). On 16th June, 1220, at York, the king certified that he had done homage, and had recovered his lands in Whissendine, in Rutland (Close Rolls, i, 420).

For his marriages, see under years 1209, 1229.

His illegitimate son Thomas had married a daughter of Reginald, king of Man, in 1226. Alan's brother, Thomas of Galloway († 1231), had by marriage become earl of Athole. Alan and his family supported king Reginald against his brother Olaf, in the Hebridean wars.

For Alan Roland's son see Bower, ii, 59-60.

On 20th August, 1237, his widow, Rohais [de Lacy], received safe-conduct letters *sine termino* from king Henry. M.Cl. 28, 30; Patent Rolls (1906), 194.

daughter of the king of Man. His daughters were married to these men :—the first [Helen], to Roger de Quincey, the earl of Winchester[1]; the second [Derbforgaill], to John de Balliol;

[1] This was Roger de Quincey, the 2nd earl of Winchester (1221 - † 1264). His brother, Robert († 1217), married Hawisia of Chester (see year 1232). His sister, Hawisia, married Hugh de Vere, 4th earl of Oxford (1221 - † 1263), and was the mother of earl Robert (1263 - † 1296).

Roger was the son of Saher de Quincey, the 1st earl (1207 - † 1219), and of Margaret de Beaumont (daughter of Robert, 3rd earl of Leicester). Cf. year 1232, note.

Saher was the son of Robert de Quincey († 1200, Bower, i, 515 ; L.A., 328), and of Orabilis, called countess of Mar († before 30th June, 1203 ; Inchaffray, no. 21).

Orabilis was the daughter and heiress of Nesius, William's son (St Andrews, 254-255).

Her father granted the church of Leuchars, with its lands, to the canons of St Andrews (1172 × 1188 ; St Andrews, 287). This grant was witnessed and separately confirmed by Orabilis, by Matthew bishop of Aberdeen, and by Duncan earl of Fife (probably all at the same time : St Andrews, 287-289). It was confirmed by king William (1172 × 1189, at Crail : St Andrews, 289) ; and by Hugh, bishop of St Andrews (1179 × 1188 ; ? 1183 × 1188. Ibid., 289-290). The canons obtained Leuchars 1183 × 1187 (ibid., 63) : probably all these charters are 1183 × 1187.

In her confirmation, Orabilis is called "countess of Mar" (ibid., 287). As "daughter and heir of lord Nesius," she granted to the canons of St Andrews the lands of *Dauach icthar hathyn* (possibly "the *dabach* [4 plough-lands] of the lower land of the Eden"?) (1172 × 1199 ; St Andrews, 290-291). Among the witnesses to this grant is "G[illecrist] earl of Mar." The grant was confirmed by Saher [*Seyerus*] de Quincey (1172 × 1200 ; ibid., 291) ; and the first witness to his confirmation is Robert de Quincey, his father.

Neither Nesius, the father of Orabilis, nor her husband Robert, was earl of Mar. Since Robert was alive, Gillecrist can hardly have been the husband of Orabilis ; and since Saher de Quincey was her heir, Gillecrist cannot have been her son by a former marriage. The grant confirmed by her is of a place in Fife, not in Mar. Therefore the title given to her is apparently erroneous. If she became countess of Mar, it must have been at a later date, by marriage (1200 × 1203) with earl Duncan († 1242 ×), son of Morgan and Agnes (cf. Lindores, p. 232).

Orabilis gave lands in Gask, Strathearn, to the canons of Inchaffray (Inchaffray, no. 21).

Both G[illecrist], earl of Mar, and Robert de Quincey, witnessed a grant made by Malcolm, earl of Athole, to the monks of Dunfermline (1183 × 1194 ; Dunfermline, no. 147 ; Acts, i, 387).

See S.P., v., 570-573 ; Genealogist, N.S., iv, 179 ; L.A., 328 ; D.N.B., s.v. Quincy, Saer de ; G.E.C., s.vv. Lincoln, Winchester.

The "Gartnait, earl of Mar" who witnesses a charter of 1204 × 1211

the third, [Christiana] to [William de Fortibus], the son of the earl de Aumale.

Among these [daughters] the land of the aforesaid Alan [of Galloway] was divided. But the natives of that land, preferring to have one lord, rather than several, went to the lord king, and asked him to [dis]inherit the heirs, and take the lordship over them.[1] This the pious king did not take in hand. For this reason the Galwegians became angry beyond measure and prepared themselves to resist. Moreover also they laid waste with sword and fire some of the lands of the lord king

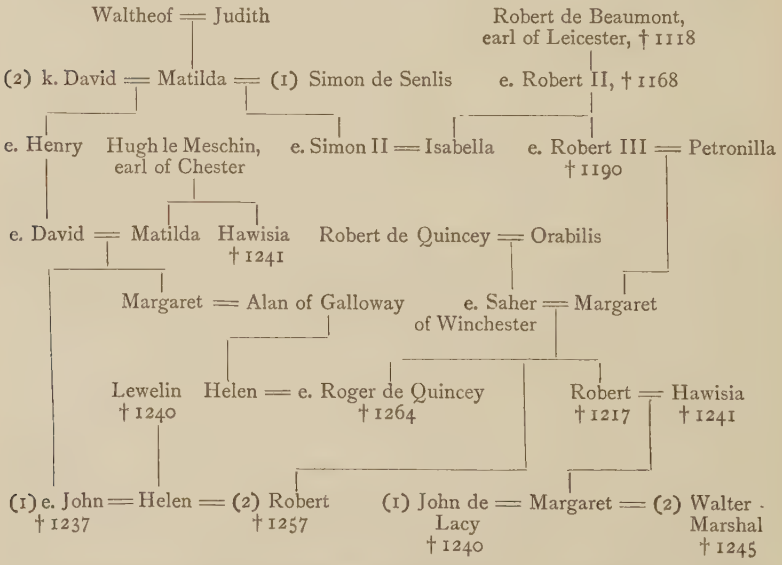
(Coupar, i, 341, no. 62), was probably Gartnait, Cainnech's son, earl of Buchan (see year 1131, note).

Gillecrist, earl of Mar, appears in several charters (1189×98, Moray, no. 13; 1187×1199, in Aberdeen, i, 11; 1199×1207, in St Andrews, 373-376).

His predecessor, Morgan, Morgrunt, or Morgund (? Macc-Gillachlerig), earl of Mar, died before 30th March, 1183 (St Andrews, 59). His wife was countess Agnes (ibid., i.a. 298, 299). He was the father of earl Duncan (ibid., 235; †1242×1244), whose son, Adam, married another Orabilis (ibid., 289).

Morgan's predecessor was Ruadri (cf. above, 1131×1132).

Compare with the following table the table given under year ? 1114:


Waltheof = Judith
Robert de Beaumont, earl of Leicester, † 1118
(2) k. David = Matilda = (1) Simon de Senlis
e. Robert II, † 1168
e. Henry
Hugh le Meschin, earl of Chester
e. Simon II = Isabella
e. Robert III = Petronilla † 1190
e. David = Matilda
Hawisia † 1241
Robert de Quincey = Orabilis
Margaret = Alan of Galloway
e. Saher = Margaret of Winchester
Lewelin † 1240
Helen = e. Roger de Quincey † 1264
Robert = Hawisia † 1217 † 1241
(1) e. John † 1237 = Helen = (2) Robert † 1257
(1) John de Lacy † 1240 = Margaret = (2) Walter Marshal † 1245

[1] *postulantes quatenus heredibus heredatis super se dominium acciperet.*

that were nearest to them. But this did not go prosperously with them, as will appear below.[1]

Also, sir Walran, the abbot of Deer, died; and in his place was elected the venerable Hugh, prior of Melrose.[2]

1235

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 144-147

In the year of the Lord 1235, sir W[alter],[3] the bishop of Whithorn, died. On the first Sunday of Lent,[4] sir Gilbert, master of the novices at Melrose, and formerly abbot of Glenluce,[5] was elected bishop, by the whole people and the clergy of Galloway, excepting the prior and convent of Whithorn.

And on the Sunday on which *Oculi Mei* is sung,[6] the aforesaid prior with his convent elected Odo, formerly abbot of Derecongal[7]; and [Odo] immediately went with [the prior] to the archbishop of York, Walter de Gray, requesting of him the award of consecration; but he did not receive it: because [the archbishop] had heard of the previous election. [The archbishop,] therefore, examined the cause of both parties; rejected Odo, and consecrated the aforesaid Gilbert, the Melrose monk, as bishop, in the greater church at York, on the first Sunday before the Nativity of the blessed Mary.[8]

Also, sir Hugh, the [abbot] elect of Deer, after the completion of one year in which he had ruled that church, returned to the monastery of Melrose, and there resigned his

[1] See year 1235.

[2] Hugh died in 1235.

[3] See year 1209. Bower wrongly calls him William (ii, 61). Walter, bishop of Whithorn, witnesses charters Melrose nos. 199 (1214×1229) and 200 (1221×1235). Cf. H. & S., ii, 1, 56; D.B., 355-356.

For the election of his successor, Gilbert, formerly abbot of Glenluce, see E.C., 347-348; Bower; D.B.; and a letter of pope Gregory IX, written on 19th June, 1241 (Bliss, i, 198). Gilbert died in 1253.

[4] I.e., on 25th February, 1235.

[5] See year 1233.

[6] I.e., on 11th March.

[7] *de Derecongal* in MS. "Odo, abbot of Dercungal," witnessed a charter of Duncan, lord of Carrick, on 21st July, 1225 (Glasgow, no. 139). For the place, see Melrose, i, 182, 183. Derecongal or Dercongal (Irish *daire-Congaill*) was Holywood, in Dumfriesshire.

[8] I.e., on 2nd September, 1235.

office; both because of the asperity of the air in [Deer], and because of the infirmity of his body. Restored to the priorate [of Melrose], he not long afterwards departed faithfully to the Lord. And Robert, a monk of the same house [of Deer], was made abbot of Deer.

[Consecration of Robert Grosseteste, to Lincoln.[1]

Henry, the king of England, married Eleanor.[2]]

In the same year, on the first Sunday before the festival of the blessed Mary Magdalene,[3] after collecting his army, the lord king entered Galloway. And he came to a place sufficiently fair to the eye; where, since the day was now spent, he proposed to fix his tents. But the Galwegians, knowing better the site of the place, after lurking the whole day in the mountains, now on the contrary gave battle to the king. The aforesaid place had given them great confidence; because it was full of marshes, covered[4] over everywhere with grass and flowers; and in these [marshes] the king's army for the greater part had sunk.[5]

But in the beginning of the contest, the earl of Ross, named [Ferchar] Maccintsacairt, arrived, and attacked the enemy in the rear; and after the enemy was aware of this, he turned his back, and made for the mountains and woods. But the aforesaid earl, and many others besides, pursued them, making a great slaughter, and harassing them until dark.

On the following day, the king, with his accustomed piety, granted peace to all who came to him. Therefore the Galwegians who had survived came to the king's peace, with ropes put round their necks.

But the aforesaid bastard Thomas, with his supporter Gilrod,[6] took his way to Ireland.

[1] Cf. R.S. **84**, iii, 102; **44**, ii, 376; **36**, iii, 147; i, 97; ii, 316; ii, 87; iv, 82.

[2] The last two paragraphs are notes added later, in the margin.

A marriage by proxy seems to have taken place on 15th December, 1235 (R.S. **95**, ii, 216). The final marriage ceremony was held on 14th January, 1236; and the new queen was crowned on Sunday, 20th January. See R.S. **36**, i, 99; ii, 316; iii, 144: cf. iv, 427, and **44**, ii, 385-386.

[3] I.e., on 15th July, 1235.

[4] For *coopertus* reading *coopertis*.

[5] *erat dimersus*.

[6] *Gilrodh*. Stevenson's translation adds to the text: "who incited him to his rebellion" (Church Historians, iv, **1**, 179). This is not in the manuscript.

So the king having obtained the victory went to other parts of the kingdom, upon difficult affairs of the realm; leaving behind there the earl of Monteith,[1] to tranquillize the country.

But after the king's departure, certain Scots, not masters of knighthood, but servants of wickedness, despoiled the abbeys of that land with so wicked and villainous madness that they even denuded of the frock in which he was wrapped a monk who had, at the point of death, been placed in the infirmary of Glenluce, and laid upon a hair-cloth[2]; and they carried it away with them. Also at Tongland, they killed the prior, with the sacrist, in the church. But the Almighty did not permit their sins to pass unavenged: not long afterwards the homicide was caught, and was torn to pieces by horses at Roxburgh. And the Scots, hearing that the aforesaid Gilrod had arrived with a fleet from Ireland, and had brought with him Irishmen, and the son of a certain sub-king, in their reckless flight came to a certain water, in which many of that wicked army perished.[3]

And after the aforesaid Gilrod had returned from Ireland, as soon as he touched the land, he broke up all his ships; employing this trick, so that those whom he had brought with him should not be able to return to their country in any way. After this was reported to G[ilbert], the bishop of Galloway; and to A[dam], the abbot of Melrose; and also to P[atrick], the earl of Dunbar, they did not omit to afford to the son (although degenerating[4]) the friendship that they had had for the father, while he lived. The bishop and the abbot went, unsupported[5]; the earl, with his army, as far as the boundaries of Galloway,

[1] Walter Comyn, earl of Monteith. See years 1255, 1257; and S.P., vi, 127-129. His father was the William Comyn, earl of Buchan, who died in 1233.

[2] This passage ("certain Scots . . . haircloth") is copied from the Melrose chronicle's account of the plunder of Holme Cultram, in 1216; see that year, above. The next following sentence is not correctly joined to the quotation; the pronoun "it" does not agree with its antecedent "frock," which is in the plural number.

[3] This retribution (like the whole passage) is modelled upon the incidents recorded of the year 1216; it may therefore be entirely fictitious.

[4] *quamvis degeneranti:* possibly "illegitimate"? This son was Thomas; his father was Alan, Roland's son, who had been a benefactor of Melrose (see Melrose, i, nos. 79, 83).

[5] *simpliciter.*

bidding the oft-named Gilrod either bow his neck to the king, or fight with the earl's army. The oft-mentioned Gilrod, seeing that he was inferior in strength, yielded to their advice; and the king gave him for some time into the custody of the aforesaid earl.

The bastard [Thomas], being thus deprived of counsel and support, was compelled to seek the king's peace. And the king detained him for a short time in Maidens' castle; and afterwards allowed him to go away.

After this, the Irishmen, stealthily departing from the country, took their way near the city of Glasgow. Learning this, the citizens went out in a body; and they cut off the heads of as many as they found, and caused them to give up the ghost. But they kept two of the older men, and had them torn asunder by horses, at Edinburgh.

Ultimately Galloway was tranquillized, and the heirs received their lands; which they divided among themselves impartially.[1]

Also lady Marjory, a sister of lord Alexander, the king of the Scots, was married at Berwick, on the day of St Peter ad Vincula.[2] The king himself was present at her wedding, and the magnates of his realm; and on the other side was lord

[1] The Chronicle of Lanercost (42) abbreviates the Melrose chronicle's account of Galwegian affairs of 1234 and 1235, and places it under the year 1233: "At this time, Alan, the lord of Galloway, died, about the Purification of the blessed Virgin [i.e., about 2nd February, 1234]; and his rough nation [*aspera gens*], eager for wrong, did not hold their hands from evil for two years after the death of their lord; but, wishing to withdraw from their subjection to the king of the Scots, they appointed as their lord, and (as it were) their king, an illegitimate son of the same Alan, Thomas by name; rejecting the daughters. They joined to themselves also a certain criminal, Gilleroth; and, leaving their own territories, they ravaged with sword and fire the adjacent lands, of the king, the barons, and the knights. The king therefore collected an army, and assailed them with war; and, after killing an endless number of the wretched men, and capturing the leader of their wickedness, he restored the land in peace and quietness to the true heirs, the daughters of Alan.

"Afterwards, when sir John de Balliol married the eldest of the sisters, Derbforgaill [*Derforgoyl*], the said bastard Thomas was at the same time given to him for custody; and he remained, till decrepit old age, shut up in the interior of Barnard Castle." Cf. the same chronicle, below, s.a. 1286.

[2] 1st August.

G[ilbert], the marshal of England and earl of Pembroke, who married her; with many noble men of England.[1]

In this year, lord Alexander, the king of Scotland, bestowed the forest of Ettrick upon the monastery of Melrose. And he decreed that the abbey of Melrose, with the four granges surrounding it, were free from his forest.[2]

1236

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 147-148

In the year of the Lord 1236, sir Constantine, the abbot of Newbattle, resigned his office; and sir Roger, the cellarer of Melrose, succeeded him.[3]

[1] See E.C., 34. Cf. Annales Cambriae, MS. B. (R.S. **20**, 81), s.a. 1235: "Gilbert Marshal married the sister of the king of Scotland." A note (to the same effect) is in the Annals of Winchester (R.S. **36**, ii, 87), which say that Gilbert Marshal took the cross in the following year. He had become earl Marshal in 1234, in succession to his brother, Richard (R.S. **84**, iii, 89; **44**, ii, 370).

On 14th July, 1235, it was announced that the marriage of Margery ("Margaret") to Gilbert Marshal had taken place, and that it was pleasing to king Henry (Patent Rolls (1906), 126).

For Margery's death, in 1244, see E.C., 358.

[2] *a foresta sua liberam esse constituit:* i.e., exempt from the forest laws. For the grant of Ettrick Forest, see charters no. 264 and 265 in the Chartulary of Melrose. No. 265 (a confirmation) is dated 28th May, 1236.

On 24th February, 1235, the king of England had announced to his sister Joanna, queen of Scotland, to the king of Scotland, and others, the betrothal of his sister Isabella to the emperor Frederick II. Foedera, i, **1**, 224.

Alexander and Joanna had safe-conduct in coming to London to speak with king Henry, in remaining and returning, issued on 8th December, 1235 (Patent Rolls: Foedera, i, **1**, 221).

King Henry had summoned a conference to meet at London from 13th to 27th January, 1236, in connection with "certain of our difficult affairs that have recently arisen, concerning the state of ourselves and our kingdom"; and he desired Alexander and Joanna to be present. He appointed as their escort W[alter de Gray], archbishop of York; R[ichard Poor], bishop of Durham; William de Vesci; Gilbert de Umfraville; Roger Bertram; John de Veteri Ponte; John Geoffrey's son, sheriff of York. They were to meet Alexander and Joanna at a day and place that should be announced to them by Bartholomew Peche, whom Henry had sent as his envoy to Alexander (Close Rolls (1908), 331; Foedera, u.s.).

For Joanna's entertainment in England, see Bain, i, nos. 1258, 1260 1308-1312.

[3] Constantine became abbot 1223 × 1236; Roger died in 1256.

In the same year, the venerable Gilbert, the bishop of Dunkeld, died; and he was buried in the island of St Columba.[1] In his place, sir Geoffrey, the king's clerk, was elected.[2]

Also Jordan, the abbot of Dundrennan; and Robert, called abbot of Glenluce, were deposed. And sir Leonius, a monk of Melrose, was chosen for the administration of Dundrennan, on the day before the Ascension[3]; and not much later, sir

[1] *in insula sancti Columbani;* i.e., in Inchcolm. Similarly Bower, ii, 64.

On 22nd May, 1235, pope Gregory IX had written to the bishop of Dunkeld, giving permission to raise to the rank of an abbacy the "priorate of the church of St Columba de Insula, of the order of St Augustine"; since the yearly revenues of Dunkeld had been raised to 100 marks of silver. Theiner, 31-32, no. 78 (Bliss, i, 146).

The death of bishop Gilbert seems to have prevented this change from being carried out.

[2] This was Geoffrey de Liberatione (cf. Bower, ii, 64). Geoffrey appears as clerk of the king from 1227 onwards; as Geoffrey de Liberatione on 30th June, 1228 (Moray, no. 109); as clerk of the Livery (de Liberatione) on 25th May, 1229 (Scone, no. 72). He seems to have inherited a house in the borough of Aberdeen from king William's son, Robert of London († × 1227), whose grant of wax to the canons of Scone Geoffrey continued (Scone, no. 93). At the same time, Geoffrey conveyed to the sacrist of Scone land that he had received from king Alexander, in the towns of Clackmannan, Dunkeld, Scone, and Inverness. These grants were confirmed by the king on 24th February, 1236 (Scone, no. 77).

Before his election to Dunkeld, Geoffrey de Liberatione had been precentor of Glasgow (21st February, 1236; Melrose, ii, 667, no. 2); and, later, a canon of Dunkeld. He was still clerk of the Livery on 8th April, 1236 (Melrose, no. 198).

On 6th September, 1236, pope Gregory IX wrote to the bishops of Glasgow, Dunblane, and Brechin, bidding them examine the postulation of Geoffrey, canon of Dunkeld, to the bishopric of Dunkeld; and, if they found it canonical, to extend the dispensation given him for his illegitimate birth, and to consecrate him: otherwise to cause a canonical election to be made. Theiner, 33, no. 85; Bliss, i, 157.

Geoffrey was consecrated 3rd Dec. × 30th Dec. 1236 (Melrose, no. 203, 257; Inchaffray, no. 65).

After the death of William Malveisin in 1238, Geoffrey was postulated to the bishopric of St Andrews; but the postulation was refused.

On 12th February, 1239, pope Gregory IX wrote to the prior and convent of St Andrews, intimating that their postulation of the bishop of Dunkeld had not been conceded; and giving them permission to make another election. Theiner, 38, no. 98; cf. no. 100 (year 1238, note).

See D.B., 13, 55. For Geoffrey's death, see year 1250.

[3] I.e., on 7th May. Leonius († 1240) was elected to Rievaulx in 1239.

Michael, the prior of Melrose, was appointed abbot of Glenluce.[1]

Also sir Alan, the first abbot of St Edward of Balmerino, died, on the vigil of the apostles Peter and Paul.[2] He was succeeded by sir Ralph, the cellarer of the same house.[3]

Also the king of England and the king of Scotland met at Newcastle, where they held a mutual conference.[4]

William, the bishop of Worcester, died.[5]

Also sir Herbert, the abbot of Kelso, placed the staff with the mitre upon the greater altar, on the day of the Nativity of blessed Mary[6]; and so bade farewell to the pastoral charge. He was succeeded by sir Hugh de — —,[7] a monk of the same place.

1236[8]

[1] Michael died in 1243. For the question whether he was chronicler at Melrose, see year 1233, note.

[2] I.e., on 28th June.

[3] In the margin is the later added note: "2nd abbot of St Edward." Ralph died in 1251.

[4] See E.C., 342-343. Alexander had received safe-conduct to Newcastle, dated 4th June, 1236, to last until 29th September. On 29th August, it was extended by 15 days (Patent Rolls (1906), 148, 157; M.Cl. **28**, 28).

The English claims to superiority, the Scottish claims to the northern counties, and the question of the harbourage of fugitives, were among the subjects in dispute. Cf. Bain, i, nos. 1265-1266, 1277 (Gregory IX's letters of 4th January, 1236—in Foedera, i, **1**, 214-215—; and of 26th April, 1236); 1275, 1319, 1335, 1340, 1364.

See year 1237.

[5] Cf. year 1218. William of Blois died in 1236 (R.S. **36**, iii, 144; ii, 317; **44**, ii, 392-393); in August (**57**, iii, 372, 378); on the 17th (**36**, i, 101), or 18th (**36**, iv, 428).

[6] I.e., on 8th September. See below, year 1239.

[7] A name has been erased in the MS.; "but it was Maunsel" (Stevenson). See year 1239, below.

[8] On 7th July, 1236, pope Gregory IX wrote to the bishop of Moray [Andrew; 1222-1242], saying that the island of Lismore had formerly, owing to bad times and much poverty, been entrusted to the charge of the bishop of the islands. But this bishop could no longer undertake its charge, because of frequent attacks of illness; and had requested the pope to be relieved of it. Gregory therefore requested the bishop of Moray [Andrew] to see that a suitable bishop was canonically elected. Diplomatarium Norvegicum, vii, 12-13.

The bishop of the Hebrides, according to the northern sources, was

1237

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 148

In the year of the Lord 1237, sir Richard, of pious remembrance, the bishop of Durham, and notable founder of the new church of Salisbury, went the way of all flesh, on the morrow of saints Tiburcius and Valerius (namely the third-day of the week, before Easter), in the first hour.[1] And his body was buried in the church of the holy nuns at Tarrant, which church he himself had founded.[2] At his tomb, the members of sick people are now frequently restored to health, with whatever disease they may have been afflicted.

In the same year, the aforesaid kings, with their queens, and the noble men of both their kingdoms, met at York, on the day of St Maurice[3]; and there for fifteen days they discussed the affairs of the kingdoms, in presence of Otho, the legate of the lord pope.[4] And at last, after the council had been dissolved,

Simon (1226-1248). An S., bishop of the Hebrides, appears in a charter of Gilbert, bishop of Dunkeld, in August, 1234 (Inchaffray, no. 61). But about the same time (1230 × 1239; ∴ × 1236) there was a Stephen, bishop of the Hebrides, placed by the pope in charge of the see of Argyle (*ecclesie Lesmorensis per dominum papam cure gestor;* Paisley, p. 135); and this Stephen was doubtless the bishop referred to by pope Gregory. Simon's diocese would seem, therefore, not to have included the Hebrides. See 1247-1248, notes.

[1] I.e., between 6 and 7 a.m., on Tuesday, the 15th of April (the day of his death given by Paris also): but that day was not a Tuesday but a Wednesday in 1237.

For Richard the Poor's death and burial, see R.S. **44**, ii, 396-397; **57**, iii, 392; **36**, i, 102; ii, 317.

[2] Cf. R.S. **57**, iii, 479.

[3] 22nd September. The conference seems to have in reality been held from 14th September (Close Rolls (1908), 559, 560) to 25th September (Foedera, i, **1**, 233).

For affairs of 1237, before the conference, see Bain, i, nos. 1317, 1329, 1331, 1333.

Paris says that the year 1237 was "a martial and turbulent year, in Palestine, Italy, Germany, and Scotland, as well as in England and France" (R.S. **44**, ii, 403).

[4] See E.C., 343-345. Cf. above, under years 1219, 1236. The popes had attempted to restore the superiority of England over Scotland.

On 24th March, 1237, pope Gregory IX gave his legate, the cardinal Otho of St Nicholas-in-Carcere-Tulliano, authority to mediate between

the kings of England and Scotland; and wrote announcing this to the kings (Theiner, 34, nos. 87, 88).

On 7th May, 1237, the pope ordered the legate Otho to go to Scotland; and on 10th May, commended him to the king of Scotland (Theiner, 34-35; no. 90).

On 27th March, 1237, king Henry informed the bishops of Glasgow and Moray; Walter Olifard, justiciar of Lothian; and Henry de Balliol, that certain rumours had prevented him from sending envoys to meet king Alexander's envoys, at Doncaster, to treat of peace, as had been arranged: but he had now sent as his plenipotentiaries, to treat with king Alexander:— W[alter de Gray], archbishop of York, J[ohn] de Lacy, earl of Lincoln and constable of Chester, and William de Raleigh, treasurer of Exeter. M.Cl. **28**, 28-29; Patent Rolls (1906), 177.

On 18th June, 1237, king Henry ordered measures to be taken for the capture of William and Robert de Marisco, brothers, who, with their accomplices from Scotland, had been carrying on piracy in the Irish Sea. M.Cl. **28**, 29; Patent Rolls (1906), 187.

King Henry announced to M[aurice] Gerald's son, justiciar of Ireland, to the mayors of Dublin and Drogheda, and to Hugh de Lacy, earl of Ulster, that his disputes with king Alexander down to 25th September, 1237, had been peacefully settled; and bade them release Scottish merchants' goods that had been arrested in compensation for the injuries done by William de Marisco at sea, and permit Scottish merchants to have access to Ireland. M.Cl. **28**, 30-31; Patent Rolls (1906), 197.

An agreement was made between kings Henry and Alexander on 25th September, 1237, at York, in presence of the papal legate Otho (Foedera, i, **1**, 233-234; Patent Rolls (1906), 203. Alexander informed the pope that he had sworn to observe the agreement (Foedera, i, **1**, 234; Bain, i, no. 1359; September, 1237, according to Hardy's Syllabus, i, 39).

On 28th September, 1237, king Henry ordered expenses to be reduced in the upkeep of the castles at Bamborough and Newcastle (Close Rolls (1908), 498; Bain, i, no. 1362).

Alexander abandoned his hereditary claims to Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. See Miss Moore's Lands of the Scottish Kings in England (1915), 7. Henry promised to give him 200 librates of rural land in Northumberland and Cumberland. The decision of the council was reached on 25th September, 1237.

Alexander abandoned also the Scottish claim for compensation over the failure of the agreement made by king John, regarding the marriage of the Scottish princesses. See year 1209.

Alexander did homage, and swore fealty, for the lands conceded to him.

On 10th May, 1238, king Henry's council, in presence of the legate, came to a decision with regard to the 200 librates of land that had been promised to king Alexander in the conference at York. On 29th May, in accordance with this decision, king Henry arranged that a conference of two English and two Scottish knights should meet at Carlisle on 20th June; and, in presence of the legate's clerk, and with the assistance of twelve good men of the country, should examine and decide upon the extent of the

200 librates of land to be given to the king of the Scots. If they failed to agree, the legate was to arbitrate. See Patent Rolls (1906), 236-237 ; Bain, i, no. 1426 ; cf. no. 1428.

Alexander rejected the decision [of the 10th May], on the ground that his envoys had agreed to it under the impression that the four jurors alone were to decide the extent of land to be given. On 20th July, 1238, king Henry arranged for a new conference, to be held at Carlisle on 15th September ; and gave permission to Alexander's representatives to choose the twelve local jurors. See Close Rolls (1911), 141 ; Bain, i, 557-558.

On 20th November, 1240, compensation of 400 pounds was ordered to be given to king Alexander, because the land had not yet been assigned to him (Bain, i, no. 1506).

On 21st November, 1241, king Henry again arranged for a conference, to meet on 27th January, 1242, and to decide the extent and value of the lands that were owing to king Alexander. Henry appointed as his representatives Henry de Neketon [escheator north of Trent], and William de Acre, sheriff of Cumberland. These men were to meet two representatives of the Scottish king, in presence of the legate's clerk, appointed for this purpose. The extents, values, etc., of the lands selected were to be reported to king Henry. Points of dispute were to be reported, so that Henry might adjust them in presence of the legate, or of another arbiter. If lands could not be agreed upon in Cumberland and Northumberland, they were to be chosen elsewhere. The conference was to continue until the business was finished. Patent Rolls (1906), 262.

The jury of twelve local men seems not to have formed a part of this conference. A written agreement was drawn up between the kings, before 16th February, 1242.

On 16th February, king Henry empowered N[icholas de Farnham], bishop of Durham, to assign 200 librates of land in Cumberland, Northumberland, and Westmoreland, to king Alexander (Patent Rolls (1906), 272, 273 ; Foedera, i, 1, 244) ; Henry promising to ratify the assignation.

On the same day king Henry ordered all ships that were capable of carrying 15 horses, or more, to be commandeered in the harbours of Sussex, Southampton, and Dorset-shires ; to be ready for service at Portsmouth on 6th April.

On 20th February, 1242, king Henry gave the bishop of Durham authority to give to the king of Scotland, in addition to the 200 librates, also lands or liberties up to the value of 10 pounds yearly, if Alexander would not be content with less ; and also to grant to Alexander all the liberties that had not been included in the valuation of the lands. The Scottish envoys were to be met on 24th March (Patent Rolls (1906), 273). King Henry's representatives were to be William de Blockele (or, failing him, John de Rumesli), and William de Kamho, sheriff of Northumberland.

On 22nd April, 1242, (before setting out for France) king Henry fulfilled his promise by giving Alexander four manors, and sixty librates of land in the manor of Penrith. See Charter Rolls, i, 268 ; Bain, i, no. 1575, cf. no. 1577 ; and Miss Moore's Lands of the Scottish Kings.

On 23rd April, 1242, king Henry had promised to pay king Alexander

the king of Scotland returned to his country; but the queen of Scotland went with the queen of England, for the sake of prayer, to Canterbury. And she closed her last day in the neighbourhood of London, as will appear below.[1]

Sir Gilbert, the abbot of Holme Cultram, died at Canterbury, while he was returning from the general chapter. He was succeeded by sir John, the abbot of Jugum Dei; and the pastoral charge of Jugum Dei was taken by Nicholas, the prior of the same house.[2]

1237

Annals of Chester, pp. 60, 128, s.a. 1237

John of Scotland, the earl of Chester and of Huntingdon, died at Darnhall, on the seventh day before the Ides of June.[3] He was buried at Chester on the following day.

300 pounds for arrears (Bain, i, no. 1576). Of these, 210 marks (140 pounds) were paid on 18th May, 1243 (ibid., no. 1612).

On 24th April, 1242, king Henry arranged for a conference to be held at Penrith, to adjudge, report upon, and give seizin of, the 60 librates that were owing to king Alexander. Henry's representatives were [William de Acre] the sheriff of Cumberland, and the prior of Carlisle; Alexander's, [William de Bondington] the bishop of Glasgow, and Henry de Balliol († 1246). Two other knights [presumably local jurors], were to be chosen by the Scottish representatives, to take part in the conference (Patent Rolls (1906), 294; Bain, i, no. 1577).

Seizin had not yet been given in Cumberland on 4th May, 1242 (Bain, no. 1581).

An order to report to king Henry the yearly cornage value of the 200 librates assigned to king Alexander was issued on 7th November, 1242 (Bain, no. 1592).

Some addition was made to the treaty of York, in 1244, at Newcastle, by Richard, count of Poitou and earl of Cornwall; this addition was confirmed by Henry III on 13th August, 1244 (Foedera, i, 1, 257). In the same year, at Christmas, Alexander II sent to Henry a ratification of the treaty of York, promising to "preserve perpetual good faith to him, and also love" (ibid.). See year 1244.

On some occasion, Henry undertook to pay to Alexander II 5,000 marks of silver. See below, year 1251, note.

[1] See year 1238.

[2] Gilbert had succeeded in 1233; John died in 1255. Jugum Dei was Grey Abbey, county Down. See year 1204, note.

[3] I.e., on 7th June. He certainly died before the 6th of June: see Patent Rolls (1906), 184-185 (Bain, i, nos. 1325, 1327; letters of 6th June, 1237).

M.P. says that he died "about Pentecost" (i.e., about 7th June). The

Annals of Tewkesbury say that he died on 9th January (R.S. **36**, i, 105; read 9th June?). His death in 1237 is noted by C.L., 46; and by MS. B of A.C., 82.

Cf. the Annals of Dunstable (R.S. **36**, iii, 146), s.a. 1237: "In the same year died Richard, bishop of Durham; and John, the earl of Chester, whose heritage was divided among his sisters. And his wife, namely the daughter of Lewelin, married Robert [de Quincey]; wherefore Lewelin was angry." M.P. notes a report that John had been poisoned by his wife (R.S. **44**, ii, 398. Cf. **57**, iii, 394; **95**, ii, 222).

John was earl of Huntingdon, 1227-1237; of Chester, 1232-1237. See years 1227, 1232.

For the dower of his widow, Helen, see Close Rolls (1908), 467 (a letter of 8th July, 1237); cf. Bain, i, nos. 1585, 1587. In June, 1237, king Alexander received seizin of the earldom of Huntingdon, because the heirs were of age (Close Rolls (1908), 537-538; Palgrave, 1-2; Bain, i, no. 1329).

For John's heirs, see Bain, i, nos. 1375, 1429-1431, 1449, 1550, 1686; Patent Rolls (1906), 234. See Miss Moore's Lands of the Scottish Kings, 10-11.

His widow, Helen (niece of king Henry III; see year 1222), married Robert de Quincey before 5th December, 1237. See Close Rolls (1911), 10. Robert was a son of earl Saher (cf. Bain, i, nos. 779, 1223); he died in 1257 (M.P. Saher's eldest son, Robert, had died in 1217).

Cf. Balliol's petition, in Foedera, i, **2**, 776: "Magota died without an heir of her body; therefore the right returned, and ought to have returned, from her to Margery and Isabella, as her aunts, and single heir, if the kingdom had been divisible, the sisters of Margaret, that Magota's mother: and, since the kingdom is not divisible, the right remained, and ought to have remained, in entirety to Margery, as the eldest sister and heir of the aforesaid Margaret. From this Margery the right descended, and ought to have descended, (since she died without an heir of her body) to one Isabella, as her sister and heir. From Isabella the right returned, and ought to have returned, to one David, as her uncle and heir; the brother of king William, the same Isabella's father.

"From David the right descended, and ought to have descended, to Henry, as his son and heir. Henry died without an heir of his body; therefore the right descended from the same Henry, and ought to have descended, to one David, as his brother and heir. David died without an heir of his body; therefore the right descended from that David, and ought to have descended, to one John, as his brother and heir.

"John died without an heir of his body: therefore the right descended from the same John, and ought to have descended, to Margaret, Isabella, Matilda, and Ada, as his sisters, and single heir, if the kingdom had been divisible: but, since the kingdom is not divisible, the right descended in entirety to Margaret, the eldest sister of the said John, as his sister and heir. From Margaret the right descended, and ought to have descended, to one Thomas, as her son and heir. Thomas died without heir of his body: therefore the right descended from that Thomas to Christiana and Derbforgaill [*Derveguldis*], as his sisters and single heir, if the kingdom

1237-1238

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, pp. 94-96

In the year 1237, on the twelfth day before the Kalends of June,[1] Olaf Godfrey's son, the king of Man and of the islands, died in St Patrick's island. And he was buried in the abbey of St Mary, at Rushen.

Olaf reigned for eleven years in Man. He reigned for two years, during the life-time of his brother Reginald; and held the kingdom for nine years after [Reginald's] death.

When [Olaf] was dead, his son Harold began to reign in his stead. Harold was fourteen years old when he began to reign, and he reigned for twelve years.[2] In the same summer in which he began to reign in Man, he sailed over with all his nobles to the island regions; and he appointed Lochland,[3] one of his kinsmen, guardian in Man, until he should return from the islands.

had been divisible: and since the kingdom is indivisible, the right descended in entirety to the aforesaid Christiana, as the eldest sister and heir of the aforesaid Thomas. The same Christiana died without an heir of her body: therefore the right descended, and ought to have descended, from that Christiana to Derbforgaill, as her sister and heir.

"From Derbforgaill the right descended, and ought to have descended, to Hugh, as her son and heir. Hugh died without an heir of his body; and the right descended, and ought to have descended, to Alan, as his brother and heir. Alan died without an heir of his body. From him the right descended, and ought to have descended, to Alexander, as his brother and heir. Alexander died without an heir of his body: therefore the right descended, and ought to have descended, from him to John de Balliol, as his brother and heir. He now claims his right, as the one who has descended from the eldest sister of [John the Scot], in the indivisible kingdom."

[1] I.e., on 21st May. So also C.L., 46, s.a. 1237, from a cognate source.

[2] This sentence is also in C.L., u.s.

A proclamation of Henry III, dated 24th May, [1236,] preserved among the Patent Rolls, says (Foedera, i, 1, 227): " . . . Know that we have taken into our protection and defence the subjects, lands, affairs, revenues, and all possessions, of our beloved and loyal [subject], Olaf, the king of Man, and of the islands; since he is about to depart, by the king of Norway's command, to the regions of Norway, upon his own affairs. . . ." Cf. ibid., 231; Patent Rolls, 8th April, 1236: and the documents of 13th April, 1235, and 16th July, 1235, in the Patent Rolls (Foedera, i, 1, 217, 218).

[3] *Loglennum.*

And coming to the islands he was received by the islanders joyfully and with honour.

In the following autumn, Harold sent three sons of Niall (Dugald, Thorgils, Maelmuire), and a certain man named Joseph, his friend, to Man; and they landed at St Patrick's island. An assembly of the whole people of Man took place at Tynwald, on the 25th day of the month of October; which was the third day of the arrival of Niall's sons in Man[1]: and the three sons of Niall came to this assembly with all the men whom they had brought from the island regions. Also the aforesaid Lochland, the guardian of Man, came with all his friends, and as many men as he had on that day been able to ally with himself, to the place of the meeting; because they feared Niall's sons, since there were enmities between them.

In this assembly, when they had for a long time thrown expressions of enmity one against the other, and had striven in a bitter contest of words, and could in no wise be brought to an agreement, they sprang out from the assembly of the people, and fell upon each other as foes. The men who were with Lochland prevailed; and they slew in that place two sons of Niall, Dugald and Maelmuire; and the aforesaid Joseph, a friend of king Harold. The remainder fled. After this was done, the meeting of the people was dissolved, and each returned to his own house.

In the following spring-time, Harold came from the island parts to Man, and landed at the harbour that is called Ronaldsway. On the same day Lochland, fleeing from Harold's face, had sailed with all his men to districts of Wales: and he took with him Godfrey, Olaf's son, his own foster-son, a boy of good ability. So spending that day and the greater part of the night in sailing, they approached the land of Wales. But when they desired to enter the harbour of their destination, the wind suddenly became contrary to them; and a great storm arose, and they were driven back from the desired haven, and suffered shipwreck in the same territories, in a rocky place. When Lochland came on land, almost the first, and heard Godfrey his foster-son crying out behind him, he sprang back into the ship, wishing to give his life for the boy. And while he held the boy, and with the greatest effort attempted to bring

[1] Therefore they landed on 23rd October.

him to dry land, they slipped below from the upper deck of the ship, and both alike were drowned. For the whole ship was filled by the waves, even to the upper deck; so that the ship appeared not so much among the waves, as the waves within the ship. Along with them were drowned about forty other men; scarcely so many being saved.

1238

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 148-149

In the year of the Lord 1238, master Hugh of Potton, the archdeacon of Glasgow, died. After his death, the archdeaconry was divided: master Matthew of Aberdeen was called archdeacon of Glasgow, and master Peter de Alintun[1] was called archdeacon of Teviotdale.

William, the abbot of Dunfermline, died. He was succeeded by Geoffrey, the prior of the same house.[2]

[1] *de Alington.*

[2] William seems to have succeeded Patrick, after 1202 (see year 1198, note). Geoffrey died in 1240.

For the dispute between the abbeys of Cambuskenneth and Dunfermline, see pope Innocent III's letter of 27th October, 1204 (Dunfermline, 128-129).

On 20th March, 1207, pope Innocent III wrote to the bishop [of St Andrews]; H[enry], the abbot of Arbroath; Thomas the prior, Ralph the archdeacon, and master Laurence the official, of St Andrews, in a question of tithes belonging to the church of Eccles [St Ninians], claimed by the abbot and canons of Cambuskenneth against the abbot and monks of Dunfermline. The case had been tried before the bishop of Dunblane and the abbots of Coupar and Scone, according to a previous mandate of pope Innocent III; and the question of Dunipace and its tithes had been tried before the prior of Holyrood and the dean of Tynningham. The case was now remitted to the addressees, to whom the pope gave advice, and authority to decide the question. P.L. **215**, 1126-1128; Bliss, i, 28. Cf. Innocent's letter XI, 268, in P.L. **215**, 1583; Bliss, i, 34.

On 28th March, 1207, pope Innocent III renewed their charter of protection and privilege to Patrick, abbot of Dunfermline, and the monks of Dunfermline; adding to their possessions the church of Moulin [which had been given to them, 1184 × 1189, by Malcolm, earl of Athole], and the church of Strathardle, and appending this clause: "We also forbid that any person ecclesiastical or secular presume to molest you, with undue or uncustomary procurations or exactions" (Dunfermline, no. 245. Cf. no. 247).

On 5th April, 1207, pope Innocent III wrote to the abbot and convent of Cambuskenneth, declaring that his grant of a privilege to the abbot and convent of Dunfermline was no new concession, but the preservation of an

Lady Joanna, the queen of Scotland, detained in the neighbourhood of London by a serious infirmity, received the ecclesiastical sacraments, and closed her last day, without children, in the arms of her brothers—namely Henry, the king of England, and Richard, the duke of Cornwall—, on the fourth day before the Nones of March.[1] And the aforesaid brothers buried her body, with great grief and honour, in the church of the holy nuns of Tarrant.[2]

William Malveisin, the bishop of St Andrews, died; and David of Birnam was elected to the episcopate.[3]

earlier privilege conferred by pope Lucius (P.L. **215**, 1134; Bliss, i, 28). See year 1198, note.

On 6th May, 1207, Innocent gave his charter to the abbot and canons of Cambuskenneth (Cambuskenneth, no. 26).

For the settlement of the dispute, see Dunfermline, no. 215 (24th October, 1215).

On 10th February, 1234, pope Gregory IX granted to the abbot and convent of Dunfermline the privilege that they should not be summoned beyond the Forth for litigious reasons, except by papal letters mentioning this privilege (Bliss, i, 139). He renewed their charter of possessions and privileges, on 8th October, 1234 (Dunfermline, no. 272).

[1] I.e., on 4th March.

Joanna had received life-grants of manors at Driffeld and Stanton, in September, 1236 (see Bain, i, nos. 1292-1294). On 21st February, 1238, two years' issues of these manors (from 29th September, 1238) were granted to her, to be left in her will, if she should not recover from her illness (Patent Rolls; Foedera, i, 1, 235).

For the death of Joanna, cf. Bain, i, pp. xlix-li, and nos. 1405, 1458, 1701, 1747, 1886, 1948.

[2] I.e., Tarrant Crawford, in Dorsetshire.

The death of Joanna is noticed by C.L., 47, s.a. 1238.

[3] According to Bower (i, 359), William Malveisin died at Inchemurdauch.

C.L., 47, calls his successor "master David of Birnam, previously the king's chamberlain." The 18th-century abstract of the St Andrews' register (Harleian MS. 4628; Pinkerton's Enquiry, 467) says that David was consecrated in 1239; but that is incorrect.

Before David's election, Geoffrey the bishop of Dunkeld had been postulated to the see of St Andrews; but his postulation was refused by the pope. See year 1236, note. Cf. D.B., 13.

On 12th February, 1239, pope Gregory IX wrote to the prior and convent of St Andrews, giving them authority to make a second election (Theiner, 38, no. 98). Bower (i, 359) says that David was elected on 3rd June, 1239.

On 1st October, 1239, the same pope wrote to the bishops of Glasgow, Caithness, and Brechin, bidding them inquire into the election, to the

The abbot of Clairvaux died; and John, the abbot of Cîteaux, forsook the pastoral charge: great dissension being caused in the [Cistercian] order.[1]

Peter, the bishop of Winchester, died.[2]

In this year, a lamentable war arose between the pope, lord Gregory [IX], and the emperor Frederick, called the Boy of Apulia: between whom holy Church is reported to have passed through in our times unprecedented storms.[3]

In this year for the first time it is heard in our land that a wicked army of Tartars has devastated many lands. Whether this is true, will appear below.[4]

bishopric of St Andrews, of master David of Birnam [*de Bernham*], subdeacon, chamberlain of the king of Scotland; and giving them discretion to confirm or annul it (Theiner, 39, no. 100; Pontificale, pp. vi-vii).

For his consecration, see year 1240. For his death, see year 1253.

[1] Cf. the Annals of Waverley (R.S. **36**, ii, 319; 316). The abbot of Clairvaux appears to have been Ebrardus (Manrique) or Everard.

[2] Peter de Rupibus (des Roches) died on 11th July, 1238 (R.S. **44**, ii, 409; **57**, iii, 489-490; **36**, i, 108).

[3] This paragraph has been added in the space left blank between the years.

Cf. year 1223, note. The hostilities here referred to occurred in 1239 (Frederick II was excommunicated on 20th and 24th March, 1239). See R.S. **57**, iii, 532-538; 545-565; 569-609: **44**, ii, 418: **95**, ii, 232-234, etc.

Frederick died, unreconciled with the pope, in 1250.

[4] Cf. the letter entered by the Annals of Waverley under 1239 (R.S. **36**, ii, 324-325; cf. **57**, vi, 75-76).

According to Paris, the Saracens requested aid of the Christians against the Tartars, in 1238 (R.S. **44**, ii, 409; cf. **57**, iii, 488-489; **95**, ii, 229).

The Melrose chronicle quotes below (s.a. 1244) Innocent IV's letter of 11th September, 1244, in which the Tartar invasion is spoken of (157-158). Cf. R.S. **57**, iv, 386-390. C.L. (47-48) notices the Tartar invasions, s.a. 1239.

On 31st March, 1238, pope Gregory IX gave legate Otho authority to release Scottish crusaders from their oath, on their paying an amount equal to what it would have cost them to go on the crusade (Theiner, 38; no. 96).

On 15th July, 1238, the pope confirmed to Robert, archdeacon of Ross, the possessions of the archdeaconry (Theiner, 38, no. 97).

On 20th July, 1238, king Henry III wrote to king Alexander, concerning 200 librates of land (Bain, i, 556-557).

On 9th August, 1238, king Henry wrote to the king of the Scots, expressing a hope that, although the affair between him [Alexander] and the sister of the queen of the lord king [Henry] could not have the desired result; nevertheless so strong confederacy might unite them, that they might be mutually strengthened (Close Rolls (1911), 143; Bain, i, 558). Before his marriage with Mary de Coucy in 1239, king Alexander had contemplated a

1238

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, pp. 96-98

In the year 1238, Gospatric[1] and Gillecrist, Muirchertach's son, sent by the king of Norway, came to Man. And they drove out Harold from the kingdom of Man, because he refused to go to the court of the king of Norway; and they obtained the principality of the whole country, taking the royal tributes for the benefit of the king of Norway.

And Harold came once and again to Man. But the aforesaid chiefs Gospatric and Gillecrist with their army opposed him upon the shore; and neither was he permitted to come on land, nor was any necessary allowed to be supplied to him. And he returned to the islands, and remained there.

1239

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 98

In the year 1239, Harold took wholesome and useful counsel, and went to the court of the lord king of Norway; and there he remained for two years, and more.

After passing so long time with [Hakon] the king of Norway, [Harold] at last found favour in his sight. And [Hakon] appointed him king over all the islands that Godfrey, Reginald, and Olaf, had possessed; and he confirmed them by the authority of his seal to him and the successors, his heirs, for ever.[2]

marriage with a sister of Henry's wife, Eleanor of Provence: whose sister, Sanchia, afterwards married earl Richard of Cornwall (see year 1256, note); and whose daughter married Alexander's son.

On 21st August, 1238, pope Gregory IX gave to the bishop of Glasgow the privilege of not being summoned beyond the kingdom of Scotland in litigation (Bliss, i, 175).

On 27th August, 1238, the pope wrote to the bishop of St Andrews, giving credence to master P. de Supino, papal clerk, with regard to what he should propose on the pope's behalf (Bain, i, 558-559).

[1] Cf. the Chronicle of Man, i, 98: "In the year 1240, Gospatric died, at the church of St Michael; and he was buried in the abbey of St Mary at Rushen."

An envoy of the king of Norway, called Richard of St Albans, received letters patent of king Henry's protection, without limit, on 15th July, 1238 (Foedera, i, 1, 236).

[2] See year 1242.

1239

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Islandske Annaler, p. 130; s.a. 1239[1]

Magnus, earl in the Orkneys, died.[2]

[1] With dominical and paschal letters of 1239. Similarly also in DEP (188, 256, 327. DE read: "Death of . . . ").

[2] After the death of earl John († 1231), M[alcolm] was earl of Angus and Caithness (Moray, no. 110; 7 Oct. 1232). But there was an "earl of Caithness" on 7 July 1235 (S.P., ii, 317); and this was probably Magnus.

It has been assumed that Magnus was a minor at the time of earl John's death, and that the wardship and the title were given to earl Malcolm. It has also been suggested that Magnus was the son of earl John's daughter, who was given as a hostage in 1214; and that therefore he was born 1215×, and was of age in 1235; his father having been a member of the family of Angus earls.

A "sir Magnus, son of the earl" [of Angus], witnesses a charter of 1220×1238, in precedence to "sir Angus, son of the earl" (Arbroath, i, no. 306). The earl of Angus at the time was either Duncan († ×1231), son of earl Gillecrist; or Malcolm († 1236×1242), son of earl Duncan. But Angus was doubtless the son of earl Gillebrigte (Arbroath, no. 228; 23 Sep. 1219. Cf. nos. 48, 53; 1222×1226). Magnus would appear to have been either an elder brother of Angus, or a son of the earl who ruled the county at the time of the charter. There is nothing to show that this Magnus became earl of Orkney.

In a charter inventory of 1594 (S.P., i, 163-164), earl Magnus is said to have been a son of earl Gillecrist († ×1211). If this is true, Magnus can hardly have been a minor in 1232; but must have been deprived of the earldom of Caithness by the king. He could not then have been a son of earl John's daughter, and his claim to Caithness would be obscure.

There is equal obscurity if he were the son of earl Gillebrigte († 1187×1189), as Arbroath no. 228 suggests. The obscurity extends to the succeeding earl, Gilbert; who, from his name (which was regarded as a Latin equivalent of Gillebrigte or Gillebride), seems to have been connected with the Angus family. See year 1256.

If Magnus, son of earl Gillecrist, obtained the earldom of Caithness by marrying earl John's daughter (1232×1235), earl Gilbert was not his son by that marriage. The 15th-century Diploma of Orkney earls says that Gilbert was the son of a previous earl Gilbert, who is however unknown, and probably fictitious (B.Cl. Inchaffray, pp. liii-liv):—"[Earl John, Harold's son,] was succeeded by earl Magnus the Second; from whom Alexander, the king of the Scots, took the county of Sutherland. This earl Magnus II was succeeded by earl Gilbert I, who was succeeded by earl Gilbert II, his son, who enjoyed the counties of Orkney, and Caithness in Scotland. This Gilbert II was the father of earl Magnus III, and of a daughter called Matilda . . . ."

1239

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 149-150

In the year of the Lord 1239, Gilbert, the bishop of Aberdeen, died. He was succeeded by sir Ralph of Lambley,[1] the abbot of Arbroath.

Sir Roger, the abbot of Rievaulx, resigned his office; and sir Leonius, the abbot of Dundrennan, a monk of Melrose, succeeded.[2]

The most noble king of Scotland, Alexander, married lady Mary, the daughter of the noble man, Ingram de Coucy; on the Ides of May, the day of holy Pentecost,[3] at Roxburgh.[4]

[1] *de Lamley.*

Gilbert of Stirling had been elected bishop of Aberdeen after the resignation of Matthew Scot (Bower; D.B., 103).

On 17th June, 1239, pope Gregory IX empowered the bishops of Glasgow, Moray, and Caithness, to confirm or annul the election of the abbot of Arbroath to the episcopate of Aberdeen (Theiner, 38-39, no. 99).

Ralph was consecrated before 20th August, 1240 (Aberdeen, i, 15). He died in 1247.

[2] In a space left blank after this paragraph, a later note has been added: "Richard, prior of Melrose." Richard succeeded Leonius in Dundrennan. See below.

Leonius died in 1240.

[3] I.e., on 15th May, Whitsun day in 1239. So also in M.P. (E.C., 345); and in C.L., 48.

[4] Here follows an erasure in the MS.

For Ingram, see above, year 1217, note.

For the genealogy of her family see the Chronicon Hanoniense (written 1278-1281), in M.G.H., Scriptores, xxv, 439. Robert, brother of Louis VII, married Agnes, countess of Dreux and of Braisne; they had a son and a daughter. The son, Robert, count of Dreux, married Iolanthe, daughter of Ralph de Coucy: while the daughter, Alice, married Ralph de Coucy, Iolanthe's father. Alice de Coucy had three sons and one daughter. Her eldest son, Ingram de Coucy, married the sister of John de Montmirail, and had three sons and two daughters. The third son, Ingram, became lord of Coucy, and married Margaret, daughter of count [Otto III] of Gelderland. Of the two daughters, "the one who was called Mary was married to king Alexander [II] of Scotland, and had by him one son who was called Alexander, and who held the kingdom of Scotland after the death of his father. And after the death of king Alexander [II] she took a second husband, sir John of Acre, son of the king John of Acre. The other daughter of sir Ingram de Coucy, called Alice, was married to Ernoul, count of Guines, and had by him sons and daughters."

Cf. Alberic, in M.G.H., Scriptores, xxiii, 945, s.a. 1239:

"Isabella, lady of Baye, the mother of Simon of Château-Villain, died.

And sir Herbert was compelled, by precept of the lord pope's legate Otho, to take up the office that he had indiscreetly abandoned.[1]

Sir Richard, the prior of Melrose,[2] was elected to the administration of the house of Dundrennan.

Otho, a deacon cardinal, entitled of St Nicholas-in-Carcere-Tulliano, and legate of the apostolic see, entered Scotland about the festival of St Matthew, apostle and evangelist[3]; and upon the vigil of St Dionysius, at Melrose, the aforesaid H[ugh] is again elected abbot of Kelso. For his predecessor, Herbert, a man of praiseworthy life and customs, full of days, voluntarily abandoned the pastoral charge.[4]

The same Otho held his council at Edinburgh, on the morrow of St Luke the evangelist.[5] And he departed from Scotland after the solemnity of All Saints.[6]

Ingram de Coucy, whose mother was the sister of the said lady of Baye, gave his daughter in marriage to Alexander, the king of Scotland. This Alexander had first had one of the sisters of the king of England; but she died without children.

"There are thus two queens in the connection of Moëslains or of Dampierre[-Saint-Dizier]; this of Scotland, and the daughter of Archibald, the wife of the king of Navarre. For Archibald's father, Guy de Dampierre, had three sisters: one Isabella, the mother of sir Robert of Apremont; and one Oda, the mother of those of Thourotte; the third, Helvidis, bore to sir John of Montmirail Mary, the wife of Ingram de Coucy."

[1] See above, year 1236; and below.

[2] Coincidentally with the change of priors, there is again a change of handwriting. The new hand begins in 1240. Cf. the third facsimile on the plate facing p. 144 in Stevenson's edition. It is possible that prior Richard was the writer of this chronicle, from the second page of year 1234, to the end of year 1239. Cf. year 1243, note.

[3] I.e., about 21st September.

[4] See year 1236, above. There is here a later marginal note: "10th abbot of Kelso."

[5] I.e., on 19th October.

[6] I.e., after 1st November, 1239. See E.C., 346. Paris says that Otho took large sums from Scotland; and that 3,000 pounds were taken from Scotland, about a year later.

Cf. the Chronicle of Lanercost, 48, s.a. 1239: "At this time, the legate of England, master Otho, entered Scotland; and after celebrating in the church of Holyrood, at Edinburgh, he returned to England, before [*citra*] the festival of St Martin [i.e., before 11th November]. Through reverence for the sweet name of Jesus, he gave ten days of indulgence to every one who should devoutly bow his head when he heard [the words] 'Jesus Christ, our Lord' in the preliminary discourse, at the mass of the blessed Virgin."

Also, sir Henry, the abbot of Jedburgh, an aged man, because of the weakness of his body bade farewell to the pastoral charge. Sir Philip, a canon of the same house, succeeded him.[1]

In the same year, the bones of the venerable Adam, bishop of Caithness, were raised from the place where they had been buried after his martyrdom[2]; and they were carried to the episcopal see, and there honourably buried. In their elevation (as it is reported), no few miracles were performed.[3]

1240

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 150-151[4]

In the year of the Lord 1240, the venerable Leonius, the abbot of Rievaulx, died, on the sixth day before the Ides of January.[5] He was succeeded, after Easter,[6] by sir Adam de Tilletai, the abbot of — —.

In the same year, on the day of St Vincent,[7] sir David of Birnam was consecrated in his see by sir William, the bishop of Glasgow.

[1] Philip died in 1249.

[2] See year 1222.

[3] In the margin of this year-section, this note is added: "Edward, the first-born son of the king of England, was born on the day before the Kalends of June" (i.e., on 31st May). Paris says that Edward (I) was born on 16th June, 1239 (R.S. **44**, ii, 422. In **57**, iii, 539, a marginal note indicates the night of 16th-17th June. In **95**, ii, 231, the day is changed to 17th June. The Annals of Waverley and of Winchester say that he was born on 18th June: **36**, ii, 321, 88. So also C.L., 48).

[4] Year-sections 1240-1243 are written in various similar hands.

[5] I.e., on 8th January. See above, years 1236, 1239.

[6] I.e., after 15th April.

[7] 22nd January, 1240 (a Sunday). David had been elected to the bishopric of St Andrews in 1239; see year 1238. Bower says that he was consecrated by the bishops of Glasgow, Caithness, and Brechin (i, 359).

David was consecrated before 8th November, 1240 (see his charters of 1240, in Dunfermline, no. 117; and St Andrews, 161-168).

On 28th March, 1240, pope Gregory IX instructed [William] the bishop of Glasgow, master Matthew of Aberdeen, and the archdeacons of Glasgow and Teviotdale, to admit master John de Civitate Antina into a benefice; preferably (if void) the church of Aberlemno, in the diocese of St Andrews (Bliss, i, 188). This implies that the see of St Andrews was then vacant.

Master David of Birnam had been appointed king's chamberlain in 1235, and still held that office in 1239.

Sir Walter, the abbot of Dryburgh, resigned his office; and sir John, a canon of the same house, succeeded him.[1]

L[ewelin], the king of Wales, died.[2] And David, his son, succeeded him.

John de Normanville died.[3]

Also sir Alexander, the abbot of Coupar[-Angus], left the pastoral charge; and sir Gilbert, a monk of the same house, succeeded him.[4] . . .[5]

Also, the lord pope Gregory commanded all the bishops of the Christian faith in the whole kingdom to come in person to Rome; and present themselves[6] to him there on the following Easter.[7] And from Scotland were called by name the lord [bishop William] of Glasgow, and sir David, [bishop] of St Andrews; and upon the Lord's Advent[8] they set out upon

[1] For Walter, cf. year 1250, note.

On 13th January, 1255, pope Alexander IV wrote to the bishop of St Andrews and the abbot of Jedburgh, bidding them apply all the revenues of the monastery of Premonstratensians at Dryburgh to the payment of debts contracted by John, formerly abbot of Dryburgh; reserving only sustenance for the abbot, and some of the convent: the remainder of the canons to be removed to other places of the same order (Theiner, 65, no. 17; Bliss, i, 309).

The abbot, Oliver (being apparently unoccupied with the rule of his house) was sent on an embassy in 1268.

[2] The father-in-law of earl John the Scot. Cf. above, year 1237, note. Lewelin Iorwerth's son (Llywelyn Ap-Jorwerth) died in 1240, in April (R.S. **86**, i, 114); on the 10th, according to Paris (**44**, ii, 430; but the 13th, in **95**, ii, 236. Cf. also **20**, 82; **17**, 326-328).

[3] John de Normanville, lord of Maxton, granted lands in the territory of Maxton to the monastery of Melrose, probably in July, 1226 (Melrose, i, no. 244).

[4] Alexander had succeeded in 1209; Gilbert died in 1243. For Alexander, see Coupar, i, 8-11.

[5] Here follow notes of the deaths of Joceline, bishop of Bath († 1242); the bishop of Norwich (Thomas de Blundeville, † 1237); Robert de Bingham, bishop of Salisbury († 1246); Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury († 1240, November); Alexander, bishop of Chester (i.e., of Lichfield; † 1238): and the successions of William de Raleigh to Norwich; Boniface of Savoy, to Canterbury; and Hugh of Patshull [*de Patishil*], to Chester. For the death of the last-named, see year 1242.

[6] Stevenson's text has *exhiberunt;* but the MS. reads *exhiberent* (so also in Fulman's text).

[7] I.e., on 31st March, 1241.

[8] 2nd December, 1240. Bishop David was at Tynningham, perhaps

their way, and departed from their own land; leaving many in grief at their departure.

Sir Geoffrey, the abbot of Dunfermline, died[1]; and sir Robert, a monk of the same house, succeeded him.[2]

awaiting a ship for France, on 21st December, 1240 (Dunfermline, no. 119).

On 6th November, 1240, pope Gregory IX had written to his legate, cardinal Otho of St Nicholas-in-Carcere-Tulliano, ordering that the money collected in England, Scotland, and Ireland, was to be sent to Richard, of the Knights Templars, in Paris (Bliss, i, 195).

[1] Geoffrey had succeded in 1238.

[2] This was Robert de Keldeleth ("of Kenleith"), who succeeded in raising the rank of Dunfermline to a mitred abbacy. See the Register of Dunfermline, pp. xi-xiii. Cf. below, year 1268.

On 27th April, 1245, pope Innocent IV wrote to the Benedictines of Dunfermline, defending them from unjust excommunication (Dunfermline, no. 599).

On 3rd May, 1245, pope Innocent IV wrote to the abbot and convent of the monastery of Dunfermline, at the king of Scotland's request, permitting the abbot to use the mitre and ring, and other pontifical indumenta (Theiner, 44, no. 113, with the date 24th April; in Dunfermline, no. 279, 3rd May, which is the day accepted by Potthast).

On 5th May, 1245, the same pope wrote to the dean and treasurer of Glasgow, granting indulgence to the abbot and convent of Dunfermline, that they should not for litigious reasons be brought across the Scottish sea [the Forth] (Theiner, 64, no. 170; Dunfermline, nos. 600, 280. Cf. the similar privilege given to the bishop of Glasgow, on 25th May, 1235).

On 14th March, 1248, pope Innocent IV bade the abbot of Dunfermline abstain from exceeding his powers (Theiner, 50, no. 133; Bliss, i, 243).

Between 1240 and 1252, the pope had ordered abbot Robert to give a benefice in the diocese of St Andrews to Andrew, a canon of Florence. Robert gave him the church of Potin; but the bishop of St Andrews gave the same church to another priest. Andrew sued, and was awarded a pension of 20 marks a year, to be paid by the bishop, until the bishop should give him another benefice, worth 30 marks of silver. The bishop refused to provide this benefice. The pope ordered abbot Robert to do so. Robert had retired to the Cistercian order [at Newbattle, according to Bower]; therefore the pope ordered a papal writer, master Innocent, living in England, to take up the case, and see that at the death of the bishop the benefice was given to Andrew, instead of the pension (Bliss, i, 298).

Robert resigned the abbacy in 1252 (see 1252, note; Bower, ii, 85). He was succeeded by his prior, John; who died in 1256, and was succeeded by the cellarer, Matthew. Matthew was succeeded, before 1st June 1267 (Kelso, no. 398), by Simon; who was deposed in 1275, and was succeeded by Ralph of Greenlaw, the sub-prior (Bower, ii, 91, 113, 123).

In the same year, the Melrose abbots' bones, which used to lie in the entrance to the chapter-house, were elevated, and entombed more appropriately in the eastern side of the same chapter-house; excepting the bones of our venerable father Waltheof: whose burial-place was opened, and his body found in ashes. Those that were present took away with them some of the small bones; and the rest they left in peace.[1]

Present there was a knight of good esteem, called William Earl's-son[2]; a nephew of the lord king. He obtained by his prayers a tooth; by means of which, as he himself related afterwards, sick people acquired[3] many benefits.

1240, April 12th

Frisbók's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, c. 230, pp. 509-510[4]

Then [the trumpet] was blown for an assembly, on Maundy-Thursday,[5] out in Christ's-church-yard. Then[6] the name of king was given to Hakon the Young. Then he swore an oath, according to the custom[7]; and the barons, after him, and the yeomen from all Gulathingslog, and from the Orkneys, Shetland, and Iceland.[8]

[1] Waltheof was believed to have selected his own burial-place. See the account of him given in Morton's Monastic Annals, 202-213, 215, 219. He was the second abbot of Melrose, which he ruled from 1148 to 1159: see those years, above.

[2] I.e., William, the 2nd son of earl Patrick († 1232) and Ada (see year 1184). Cf. year 1241. He died in 1253.

[3] *secuti sunt.*

[4] Also in F.S., ix, 500 (c. 225).

Parallel passages are in E., 377, c. 241; Fl., iii, 144, c. 195; and Sk. (R.S. 88, ii, 207-208, c. 225).

[5] This was after the 23rd winter of king Hakon's reign, according to the saga; i.e., in 1240. According to the Icelandic Annals (CA), "King Hakon caused the name of king to be given to his son Hakon," in 1240. Maundy-Thursday was the 12th April in 1240.

[6] "too" adds E.

[7] "correct custom" Fl., Sk.

[8] "and Iceland" not in Fl., which reads: "also the yeomen from all Gulathingslog, the Orkneys, and Shetland, swore oaths."

E. omits the passage "Then he swore . . . Iceland," retaining only: "Then the yeomen of Gulathingslog swore."

1240-1249

Pontifical Offices of St Andrews, pp. x-xx [1]

These are the churches that bishop David [of Birnam] has dedicated :—

[1240] The church of Lasswade was dedicated in the year of grace 1240, on 6th May.
The church of the Friars Preachers at Perth, in the same year, on 13th May.
. . . St Nicholas at Berwick . . . on 8th July.

[1] The Pontifical, to which this list was prefixed, contains offices for the consecration of churches, altars, cemeteries, and crosses; and for re-consecrations, after a church had been polluted by a crime.

The editor infers "from the handwriting that the entries were not made singly, but in batches of several at a time" (p. iv); and considers that churches previously undedicated were at this time consecrated by order of the legatine council held at Edinburgh in 1239 (pp. iv-vi).

140 dedications are ascribed to bishop David. With the names, cf. the Register of St Andrews, 28-39.

In this list I have translated the days from the Roman to the English calendar; and have omitted the words "The church of," and "in the same year," indicating these omissions by dots.

A few of the dedications are entered in the Register of St Andrews priory, 348: "In the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1242, on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of June [19th May; but 22nd, in Pontifical], the church of St Michael of Linlithgow was dedicated by sir David, the bishop of St Andrews.

"Also in the same year, on the seventh day before the Ides of August, the church of St Cyricus the martyr at Ecclesgreig was dedicated by the same bishop.

"Also in the same year, on the second day before the Kalends of September [31st August], the church of St Mernan the confessor at Fowlis was dedicated by the same bishop.

"Also in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1243, on the fourth day before the Kalends of June [29th May; but 30th, in Pontifical], the church of St Memma [Moninne?] the virgin at Scoonie was dedicated by the same bishop.

"Also in the same year, on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of July [June 17th], the church of the Holy Trinity at Kilrimund was dedicated by the same bishop.

"Also in the same year, on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of August (19th July, 1243], the church of St John the Baptist, and of St Modrust the confessor, at Markinch, was dedicated by the same bishop.

"Also in the same year, on the tenth day before the Kalends of August

[1241] The church of Kirkton, in the year etc. 41, on 16th August.
... Merton, beside Dryburgh.
... Yester.[1]
... Linton.
... Forteviot.
... Kinnettles ... on 11th November.

[1242] ... Calder-comitis[2] ... on 14th March.
... St Cuthbert of Edinburgh, under the castle, ... on 16th March.
... Channelkirk[3] ... on 23rd March.
... Gordon, in the year etc. 42, on 28th March.
... Stichill ... on 30th March.
The chapel of sir W[illiam], son of the earl,[4] at Fogo, ... on 2nd April.
... Greenlaw ... on 4th April.
... Langton ... on 6th April.
... Polwarth ... on 7th April.
... Chirnside ... on 10th April.
The church of Holy Trinity at Berwick was reconciled, after the effusion of blood, ... on 15th April.
... Bara[5] ... on 24th April.
... Pencaitland ... on 1st May.
... Cockpen ... on 4th May.

[July 23rd], the church of St Stephen the Martyr and of St Moanus [Maedán?] the confessor, at Portmoak, was dedicated by the same bishop.

"Also in the same year, on the fifth day before the Kalends of August [July 28th], the church of St John the Evangelist and of St Atherniscus [Ternán?] at Lathrisk [*de Loscheresch*] was dedicated by the same bishop.

"Also in the same year, on the Ides of August [13th August], the church of St Laurence the Martyr and of St Comanus [Commán?] the confessor at Rossie [*Rossinclerach*] was dedicated by the same bishop."

For David of Birnam's death, see year 1253.

[1] *Yestrith~*; the parish in which Gifford is.

[2] *Calledouere Com~*; i.e., Mid Calder. See C.C., iv, 827-829.

[3] *Childenechirch~*.

[4] *fil~ con~*; read *com~*. This was William († 1253), the son of earl Patrick I of Dunbar or Merse; and husband of Christiana Corbet († 1241). Cf. C.C., iii, 241, 367.

[5] *Baruwe*. "Baro (in Garvald), Haddingtonshire" Wordsworth. See C.C., iv, 535-537. It stands between Garvald and Morham, in St Andrews, 30.

[1242] The church of Linlithgow in the same year, on 22nd May.
... Collace, near Perth,[1] ... on 4th June.
The church that is called Falkirk[2] ... on 12th June.
... Strachan ... on 16th June.
... Nigg, beyond the Mounth,[3] ... on 30th July.
... Arbuthnot ...
... Kinneff ... on 5th August.
... Ecclesgreig[4] ... on 7th August.
... Aberluthnot[5] ... on 9th August.
... Tannadice[6] ... on 11th August.
... Inverkeilor[7] ... on 17th August.
... St Vigeans at Arbroath ... on 19th August.
... Aberlemno[8] ... on 21st August.
... Forfar ... on 23rd August.
... Glammis ... on 25th August.
... Airlie[9] ... on 27th August.
... Newtyle ... on 29th August.
... Fowlis,[10] on 31st August ...
... Perth[11] ... on 5th September.
... Abdie[12] ... on 5th September.
... Flisk[13] ... on 7th September.
... Wymet,[14] on 4th October, and in the same year.
... Seton ... on 6th October.
... Gullane ... on 8th October.

[1] *Culas prope Pert.*

[2] *Varia Capella* ("faw kirk").

[3] *ultra lemoneth~*; i.e., Nigg in Mearns. It is north of Stonehaven, and consequently might be reckoned to lie beyond the Grampians.

[4] *Egglesgerch~*; i.e., the church on the shore, below St Cyrus. See St Andrews, above.

[5] *Aberluthenoth;* i.e., Marykirk.

[6] *Tanetheys.*

[7] *Inuerculethere.* This entry is preceded by a paragraph-sign.

[8] *Aberlimenach.*

[9] *Erolyn:* placed between Eassie and Lintrathen in St Andrews, 36.

[10] "Fowlis Easter (with Lundie), Perthshire" Wordsworth. See St Andrews, above. It stands between Benvie and Longforgan, in St Andrews, 35.

[11] This entry is preceded by a paragraph-sign.

[12] *ebedyn.* This was the parish in which Lindores abbey was situated.

[13] *Flisch~.*

[14] Woolmet, now in Newton parish, Midlothian. A paragraph-sign stands before this entry.

The conventual church of nuns at North Berwick ... on 10th October.
... Innerwick ... on 17th October.
... Oldhamstocks ... on 19th October.
... Legerwood ... on 30th October.
... Wedale[1] ... on 3rd November.

[1243] ... Earlston ... on 20th March.
... Kelso, in the year etc. 43, on 27th March.
... Fogo ... on 29th March.
... Lennell[2] ... on 31st March.
... Hilton[3] ... on 2nd April.
... Horndean[4] ... on 4th April.
... Hutton ... on 6th April.
... Aldham, on 23rd April, ...
... Smailholm, on 29th April, ...
... Carrington ... on 2nd May.
... Ratho[5] ... on 5th May.
... Carriden ... on 7th May.
... Airth, on 10th May, ...
... Great Kinghorn ... on 17th May.
... Little Kinghorn,[6] on 19th May, ...
... Kinglassie ... on 27th May.
... Scoonie ... on 30th May.
The parochial church of St Andrews ... on 17th June.
... Kellie ... on 19th June.
... Crail, on 21st June, ...
... Kilrenny[7] ... on 26th June.
... Anstruther[8] ... on 28th June.
... Kilconquhar[9] ... on 12th July.
... Newburn[10] ... on 15th July.

[1] Stow, Midlothian (and Selkirkshire). A paragraph-sign stands before this entry.
[2] *Leinhah* ~ ; i.e., Coldstream parish.
[3] Now in Whitsome parish, Berwickshire.
[4] *Woruerden* ~.
[5] *Rathewe.*
[6] I.e., Burntisland ; formerly called Wester Kinghorn.
[7] *Kilretheny.*
[8] *Eynstrother.*
[9] *Kilcunewath* ~.
[10] *Nithbren.*

[1243] The church of Largo[1] in the same year, on 17th July.
... Markinch ... on 19th July.
... Portmoak ... on 23rd July.
... Kilgour[2] ... on 26th July.
... Lathrisk[3] ... on 28th July.
... Collessie[4] ... on 30th July.
... Dairsie[5] ... on 2nd August.
... Cults[6] ... on 8th August.
... Errol ... on 9th August.
... Inchture ... on 11th August.
... Rossinclerach[7] ... on 13th August.
... Barry ... on 18th August.
... Inchbrayock[8] ... on 23rd August.
... Logie Cuthel[9] ... on 25th August.
... Auldbar ... on 27th August.
... Restennet ... on 30th August.
... Idvie[10] ... on 1st September.
... Meathie-lour[11] ... on 3rd September.
... Inverarity[12] ... on 6th September.
... Benvie,[13] on 9th September, ...
... Logie-Dundee[14] ... on 11th September.
... Blair[gowrie] ... on 13th September.

[1] *Largath~*.

[2] *Kilgoueryn;* now in Falkland parish, Fife. A paragraph-sign stands before this entry.

[3] *Losserech~*. *Losresk*, after Cults, at end of deanery of Fothreve, in St Andrews, 33. This is now the parish of Kettle.

[4] *Callesyn.*

[5] *Deruesin.*

[6] *Cuilte:* the parish in Fife.

[7] Now Rossie, in Inchture parish, Perthshire.

[8] Or Rossie Island, beside Montrose; now in Craig parish, Forfarshire.

[9] *Login cuthel;* now Logie-Pert.

[10] *Edvin.* Now Kirkden parish, Forfarshire.

[11] *Mathynlur.* Meathie parish, now united with Inverarity. It is *Machinlur*, and placed between Inverarity and Restennet, in St Andrews, 36.

[12] *Inverarethin.*

[13] *Baneuyn.* Now united with Liff parish.

[14] *Logyndund~*. "Lochee, Forfarshire" Wordsworth. Logie and Lochee are now *quoad sacra* parishes under Liff. The name is spelt *Logindunde*, and placed between Invergowrie and Strathmartine, in St Andrews, 35.

The church of Auchterderran[1] in the same year, on 27th September.

(100) ... Livingston[2] ... on 30th September.

[3]... St Giles of Edinburgh ... on 6th October.

[1244] ... Ellam[4] ... on 11th March.

... Athelstaneford in the year etc. 44, on 7th April.

... Tranent ... on 11th April.

... Cranston ... on 17th April.

... Salton ... on 21st April.

The church of the Friars Minors at Berwick ... on 6th May.

... Inverkeithing ... on 26th August.

... Leuchars ... on 4th September.

... Kemback ... on 6th September.

... Liston ... on 11th September.

... Ecclesmachan[5] ... on 13th September.

... Bolton ... on 18th September.

The church of the hostel of Scotland's Well ... on 2nd October.

... Fordoun ... on 17th October.

... Conveth ... on 19th October.[6]

[1245] ... Heriot ... on 6th March.

... Morham ... on 9th March.

... Kirkcaldy ... on 21st March.

... Dysart, in the year etc. 45, on 26th March.

... Methil[7] ... on 28th March.

... Auchtermuchty[8] ... on 31st March.

[1] *Vrchardereth~*.

[2] *Leuingest.*

[3] "What follows is in a different hand" Wordsworth. It begins with a paragraph-sign.

[4] Now in Longformacus parish, Berwickshire.

[5] *Eglemanechy~*; according to Wordsworth, Eglismonichty, a chapelry now in Monifieth parish. But since it was dedicated 2 days after Kirkliston in West Lothian, and 5 days before Bolton in East Lothian, it was probably Ecclesmachan, in West Lothian. Ecclesmachan is spelt *Eglismanin* (between Strathbrok or Uphall, and Livingston) in St Andrews, 29.

[6] Now the parish of Laurencekirk.

[7] *Methkal.* According to Wordsworth, this was "Leslie (formerly Fetkill or Fitekill), Fifeshire."

[8] *Vchermukedi.*

[1245] The church of Tarvit[1] in the same year, on 3rd April.
... Moonzie[2] ... on 5th April.
... Whittingham ... on 7th May.
[1246] ... Eassie,[3] in the year etc. 46, on 15th May.
... Fetteresso ... on 25th May.
... Kinross ... on 27th June.
... Hirsel[4] ... on 31st July.
[1247] ... Gogar, in the year etc. 47, on 23rd May.
... Calder-Clere[5] ... on 31st May.
... Methven, in the same year, namely 47, on 25th August
... Simprin[6] ... on 25th June.
... Abercrombie ... on 24th October.
[1248] ... Hailes,[7] on 27th September, in the year etc. 48.
... Eccles ... on 4th October.
... Coldstream ... on 6th October.
[1249] Kettins, in the year etc. 49, on 18th April.
... Strathmartine ... on 18th May.
... Clackmannan ... on 24th August.[8]

1241

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 151-154

In the year of the Lord 1241, frequent miracles are related to have been performed at the tomb of the blessed Edmund, the archbishop of Canterbury.[9]

[1] *Tharvet:* probably St Michaels-Tarvit, now in Cupar parish. But Wordsworth says: "Scotstarvit (in Cupar), Fifeshire."

[2] *Vchthermunesin.*

[3] *Essy.* "Eassie, Forfarshire" Wordsworth.

[4] *Hershill~.* "Hirsel (in Coldstream), Berwickshire" Wordsworth.

[5] I.e., East Calder.

[6] *Simprig~.* *Simpringe* in St Andrews, 32. Now in Swinton parish, Berwickshire.

This entry is wrongly placed. Entries of Methven and Abercrombie were begun and deleted after Calder-Clere, where Simprin should have stood.

[7] In Colinton parish.

[8] There is a paragraph-sign before this entry. For the remainder of the list, see year 1276.

[9] Cf. R.S. **57**, iv, 102-103; etc. Edmund was canonized by Innocent IV in 1246.

Walter, son of Alan the younger, died.[1]

The church of Durham, long widowed of her pastor, at last received master Nicholas de Farnham as bishop: an aged man, and the king's physician; who from being a physician of bodies was made a physician of souls.[2]

Earl William of Aumale died.[3]

Also, Gilbert, the Marshal of England, died; leaving no children.[4]

Also, sir William, the bishop of Glasgow; and sir David, the bishop of St Andrews, returned to their country, along with the bishops of France and England; first having made an appeal against the legates who had been their conductors: for they declared that they were unable to reach the apostolic see without danger of death. Therefore when they returned to their country, their legates, along with many other great men of religion, took the route by sea.[5] . . .

The Welsh (who are also the relics of the Britons), who from the days of Brutus (who was their first prince) have had a prince of their own nation over them, under whom and through whom they decided their causes, are now compelled to hasten to London, and there to determine their causes by the arbitrament of the English. And hence it is known that, according to

[1] Cf. Bower, ii, 59: "In the year of the Lord 1231, the lord king held his Christmas [court] at Elgin; and on his return, at St Andrews, he made Walter, Alan's son (who had been his seneschal), justiciar of Scotland; a little before the Purification of blessed Mary" (i.e., before 2nd February, 1231). He seems in reality to have become justiciar in 1230, after Feb. 12, in succession to William Comyn, the earl of Buchan.

This was Walter, the 3rd High Steward; the father of Alexander († 1283).

[2] Cf. R.S. **36**, iii, 149, 156; **57**, iv, 86; and for his consecration, **57**, iv, 134; **36**, i, 118.

[3] Cf. R.S. **95**, ii, 249, s.a. 1241; **36**, ii, 98, s.a. 1240.

William was succeeded by his son, William; who had married Christiana, daughter of Alan of Galloway. For her death, see E.C., s.a. 1246.

[4] See R.S. **57**, iv, 135-136; **36**, iii, 156.

For the death of Gilbert's widow, Margery or Margaret, see E.C., s.a. 1244.

[5] Here follows a letter, written by William, the abbot of Cîteaux, to the abbot of Savigny. The writer complains of the imprisonment and ill-treatment of himself and many other ecclesiastics by the emperor Frederick II. The letter is translated in Church Historians, iv, **1**, 183-184. It is an interesting illustration of the hostilities between the pope and the emperor.

Cf. i.a. M.P., iv, 124-130, 452; C.L., 49.

the prophecy of Merlin, the red dragon (that is, the Britons) languishes in the end of the pool (namely, the island), being oppressed by the white dragon (by which the English are designated).[1]

Christiana Corbet, the wife of William Earl's-son, died; and she was buried in the chapter-house at Melrose.[2]

Pope Gregory died, on the eleventh day before the Kalends of September.[3] About the festival of All Saints,[4] he was succeeded by Celestine; who sat for fifteen days, and so closed his last day. After his death, the papal see remained vacant; the peace of the church being disturbed.[5]

In the same year, the eldest son of the lord Alexander, king of Scotland, was born at Roxburgh, on the day of the translation of St Cuthbert; on the day before the Nones of September —the fourth day of the week.[6] And he was called Alexander. He was born in the beginning of the forty-fourth year of his

[1] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, books VI-VII. The prophecy was originally attributed to Ambrose Guletic, and had reference to the wars of Vortigern with the Saxons (Historia Brittonum, and Irish Nennius; perhaps derived from Map-Urbagen, according to Duchesne).

For the affairs that led to the submission of David, Lewelin's son (the brother of countess Helen), to Henry III in 1241, v.i.a. M.P., iv, 148-151; R.S. 86, i, 120; Close Rolls (1911), 240-241, 329, 344, 357-360.

[2] In a charter of 22nd September, 1241, "William, son of earl Patrick of Dunbar," with the consent of his son and heir, Nicholas, "For the welfare of my soul, and the souls of Christiana Corbet, my wife, and of all my predecessors and successors," renounced his claim to lands occupied by the monks of Kelso (Kelso, no. 239). This may mean that Christiana was then dead. In another charter (no. 361, ibid.; × ? 1201. "ca. 1230" Innes), William calls her "Christiana, my spouse, the daughter and heir of Walter Corbet."

Cf. also Melrose, nos. 268, 269.

Christiana was the daughter of Walter Corbet, lord of Makerston in Roxburghshire; and of Alice de Valognes, perhaps a daughter of Philip, the chamberlain († 1215). See C.C., ii, 507; iii, 241, 367.

William Earl's-son (cf. above, 1240, 1240-1249; † 1253) was a grandson of king William. See year 1184.

[3] I.e., on 22nd August (see below).

[4] I.e., about 1st November.

[5] Gregory IX died on 22nd August, 1241. Celestine IV was elected on 25th October, and consecrated on the 28th; he died on 10th November, 1241. Innocent IV was elected on the 25th (consecrated on the 28th) of June, 1243 (Potthast).

[6] I.e., Wednesday, 4th September, 1241.

father's age; nearly at the end of the twenty-seventh year of his reign.[1]

John of Maxwell was buried at Melrose.[2]

William, the bishop of Argyle, was drowned in the sea.[3]

[1] The birth of Alexander III is noticed in C.L., 48-49, s.a. 1241. A story is told there of a curse laid upon the young Alexander, by an old woman in Edinburgh.

[2] A John of Maxwell, sheriff of Roxburgh, son of Herbert, witnesses charter no. 213 in the Chartulary of Kelso. He was sheriff on 18th April, 1207 (Kelso, no. 207).

John of Maxwell was sheriff of Roxburgh on 12th, 19th, 22nd, November, 1225 (Glasgow, nos. 129, 138, 133); and on 7th March, 1226 (Melrose, no. 278). John of Maxwell was chamberlain of Scotland on 19th March, 1231, and 9th July, 1233 (Melrose, no. 175; Coupar, i, no. 15). Cf. Moray, nos. 32, 36, 52.

[3] The previous bishop of Argyle (or of Lismore) had been Harold, consecrated 1183 × 1203 (see Bower, VI, 40, 41; D.B., 377-378). Harold was still bishop of Argyle on 17th August, 1228 (Moray, 25, no. 32). But the bishop of Paisley on 18th December, 1225, is called "Hugh," in Paisley, 342, 320; perhaps in error.

During the vacancy of the see before William's election, the diocese had been placed under the charge of [Simon] the bishop of the Hebrides. See Bain, i, 178.

William was elected to the see of Argyle 7 July 1236 × 16 Feb. 1239.

On 7th July, 1236, pope Gregory IX wrote to the bishop of Moray, relieving the bishop of the Hebrides of charge of Lismore, by reason of his ill-health (Theiner, 33, no. 84). Cf. 1247-1248, note.

On 16th February, 1239, pope Gregory IX gave the bishops of Moray, Ross, and Caithness, authority to examine the postulation of William, the chancellor of Moray, to the bishopric of Lismore, of only 25 marks in value; and, if it was found to be canonical, to consecrate him: otherwise to provide a canonical election. William appears as bishop of Argyle on 22nd January, 1240.

After bishop William's death in 1241, the see remained vacant until 1248; and during this vacancy, the diocese was administered by bishop Clement of Dunblane. Cf. year 1258, note.

On 23rd December, 1248, pope Innocent IV wrote to the bishops of Glasgow and Dunblane, bidding them cancel uncanonical elections to the see of Argyle, which had been vacant for 7 years; and, if the canons did not elect a fit person within a given time, themselves to appoint and consecrate a bishop to the see (Theiner, 52, no. 139; Bliss, i, 251).

On 2nd January, 1249, pope Innocent permitted the same bishops to transfer the seat of the bishopric of Argyle from the island [of Lismore] to a safer and more convenient place: the king of Scotland contributing to the expense (Theiner, no. 140).

See year 1262.

1242

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 154-155

In the year of the Lord 1242, master Peter de Alintun,[1] the archdeacon of Teviotdale, died; and master Reginald of Irvine succeeded him.

Master Roger, surnamed the Black, the bishop of London, died.[2]

Sir Hugh of Patshull,[3] the bishop of Chester (or of Coventry, or of Lichfield), died.

Henry, the king of England, crossed the sea, in order to acquire his lands beyond the sea.[4]

John Comyn, the earl of Angus, died in France.[5]

Alas! Patrick of Athole, the son of Thomas (of Galloway and earl of Athole)[6], a notable youth, and one imbued (as far as human esteem is concerned) with all courtly wisdom and wit, was with two of his companions foully slain, by the design of certain ill-wishers; at Haddington, in his lodging, by night, after he had laid himself to sleep. And in order that so great a crime might be concealed, the house in which they lay was burned; so that those who were within should appear not to have been killed, but to have perished in a fire accidentally kindled. But He who reveals what is hidden publicly exposed what the most wicked men had done in secret: as the subsequent narration shall declare.[7]

[1] *de Alintone.* Cf. year 1238.

[2] Roger died in 1241 (R.S. **44**, ii, 457; **57**, iv, 169-170; **95**, ii, 249; **86**, i, 120; ii, 329).

[3] *de Patesil.* Cf. year 1240. Hugh died in 1241 (R.S. **44**, ii, 458; **57**, iv, 171; **86**, iii, 157; i, 120).

[4] Cf. C.L., 50. See the English chronicles (R.S. **86**, iii, 158-159; i, 122; ii, 329; **57**, iv, 181-192; **95**, ii, 251-253). Henry had prepared for this attempt by establishing good relations with Scotland: he had fulfilled his promise of 1237; had betrothed his daughter to the infant prince of Scotland; and had committed the defence of the northern counties to the Scottish king (see E.C., 348-349). Cf. also Foedera, i, **1**, 244 (proclamation issued at Portsmouth; 5th May, 1242).

[5] John was earl of Angus in the right of his wife, Matilda, who married again in 1243. See S.P., i, 167, 506 note.

[6] See year 1231.

[7] This seems to refer to the outlawry of the Bissets in the following year: the chronicler gives no other proof of their guilt. See below, years 1243, 1244.

For this affair, see E.C., 349-351.

Cf. the Chronicle of Lanercost, 49-50, s.a. 1242: "The knights of

After [Patrick's] death, however, David de Hastings received his earldom. It devolved upon him through his wife, who was the aunt[1] of the young man slain.

William de Somerville was buried at Melrose.[2]

Sir Walter Olifard, the justiciar of Lothian, died; and he was honourably buried in the chapter-house at Melrose.[3]

Sir Andrew, the bishop of Moray, died.[4]

the whole kingdom of Scotland assembled to a certain tournament, at Haddington. And there an innocent man was killed, treacherously and without cause, by harmful and malignant men: let Him behold it, who is the avenger of blood.

"Patrick of Athole, in age a youth, and slender and graceful of body,—because he was expected to become a great lord of a certain heritage that descended to him—(notwithstanding that he had been fore-warned on that day in a letter, by the wife of his murderer) was roasted along with his friends in the middle of the night, in the house where he had lodged, with those that accompanied him; the servants of wickedness surrounding it, so that none should escape. And he was carried to the place of the Lesser Friars of the same village, and buried with lamentation."

[1] *matertera.* This was Forflissa or Fernelith, the sister of Isabella, Patrick's mother. They were daughters of Henry, son of Malcolm Matad's son. Patrick's wife may have been the Lora whose death is recorded in 1269.

For David de Hastings, see S.P., i, 423-424. Cf. E.C., 355, 356. He died in 1269.

[2] Cf. S.P., viii, 3.

[3] The Register of Newbattle has a notice (no. 171) of a convention made in A.D. 1245 between the monasteries of Newbattle and Holyrood; and implies that Walter Olifard was then alive. The date is perhaps erroneous, though it is confirmed in Newbattle no. 161, which says that the convention was made more than 60 years before 1306.

Walter Olifard obtained the justiciary of Lothian before 20th April, 1222.

[4] I.e., Andrew of Moray, who had succeeded bishop Bricius († 1222). Andrew was alive on 18th September, 1242 (Aberdeen, i, 16). See D.B., 148-149. Andrew had previously been rector of Duffus; and was probably a son of Hugh, son of William, son of Freskin.

Andrew was succeeded by the dean of Moray, bishop Simon II (cf. Moray, 359). Simon was still elect on 3rd March, 1244 (Bliss, i, 207).

On 27th April, 1248, pope Innocent IV bade the bishop of Moray make provision for a Roman, Peter, Ingebald's son, by giving him one or more benefices in the dioceses of St Andrews, Glasgow, or Dunkeld; since the abbot of Dunfermline had by papal mandate given to Peter the church of Grantully (*Carentuli*), which the bishop of Moray claimed to be his own (Bliss, i, 258). See below.

Bishop Simon II died in 1251 (Moray, 359). The election of Ralph as

his successor, in 1252 (see E.C., 369), was perhaps not confirmed. The bishop in 1253 was Archibald (Moray, 359, and no. 103).

On 3rd December, 1253, pope Innocent IV granted to Archibald, bishop of Moray, the privilege that he should not be summoned without mention made of this indulgence. The bishop and dean of Ross were appointed conservators (Bliss, i, 294).

On 7th January, 1254, pope Innocent IV confirmed the sentence given (on 19th December, 1253) by master Rostand, papal sub-deacon and chaplain, in favour of master Nicholas de Hedon, archdeacon of Moray, in his dispute with the bishop and chapter of Moray, and Andrew, who claimed to be dean of Moray: the bishop and archdeacon of Brechin were appointed conservators (Bliss, i, 295).

On 8th February, 1254, pope Innocent permitted master Nicholas, dean of Moray, to study theology for five years, without being ordained priest: the bishop of Brechin being conservator (Bliss, i, 295).

On 11th February, 1254, the pope permitted master Nicholas, dean of Moray, to hold that deanery and a prebend, together with the perpetual vicarage of Tarves, in the diocese of Aberdeen (Bliss, i, 295).

On 22nd January, 1255, pope Alexander IV gave absolution, dispensation, and confirmation, to Archibald, bishop of Moray, who feared that he had incurred excommunication, since he had appointed A[dam] de Dun dean of Moray; but pope Innocent IV had supported the election of Nicholas de Hedun: and pope Alexander IV had upheld this decision (Bliss, i, 325).

On 27th November, 1255, pope Alexander IV wrote to Archibald, bishop of Moray. Archibald's predecessor Richard had long ago deputed the church of Grantully, in the diocese of Moray, with its appurtenances, to the supply of the episcopal table; and this had been confirmed by the apostolic see. Richard had formerly conferred this church upon William, his clerk. Richard's successor, Andrew, had given William the prebend for life; the church to revert to the bishop's table after William's death. William died; and Andrew's successor, Simon, held the church for his table for some time. Certain clerics obtained apostolic letters for their sustenance in those parts. They moved the question of this church against bishop Simon; and Simon granted the church to the chapter of Moray, but gave these clerics a life-interest in the church, and certain pensions in it. The pope now confirmed the possession of it to the bishop's table (Theiner, 69, no. 181; Bliss, i, 324). See above.

On 18th January, 1257, pope Alexander IV confirmed to Archibald, bishop of Moray, the grant made by cardinal John of St Laurence in Lucina, on 7th December, 1255, of the church of Rothiemay, for the episcopal table (Theiner, 74, no. 192; Bliss, i, 341).

On 1st March, 1259, pope Alexander IV wrote to the bishop and chapter of Moray, pronouncing that they were not to be compelled, by papal or legatine letters, to make provision to any one of a canonry or prebend, unless this indulgence were mentioned (Bliss, i, 365).

On 13th April, 1291, Archibald, bishop of Moray, was permitted by pope Nicholas IV to make his will (Bliss, i, 534-535). Bishop Archibald died on 9th December, 1298 (Moray, 359).

Thunders roared on the sixteenth day before the Kalends of January.[1]

1242

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 98

In the year 1242, after the kingdom of Man and the islands had been confirmed to him by the lord king of Norway, Harold, Olaf's son, returned from Norway to the island regions; and collecting there a host of ships, he came to Man with a great army. He landed at St Patrick's island; and the whole people of Man came to meet him in peace, and received him with great joy.

When Harold saw that the Manxmen received him so kindly, he sent home all those that he had brought with him from the islands, after giving them provisions. And he began to reign in Man from this time quietly and peacefully. He had the firmest peace with the king of England and the king of Scotland, and was allied with them in friendship.[2]

1243

Annals of Tewkesbury, in Rolls Series, no. 36, vol. i, p. 129; s.a. 1243

Isabel de Clare bore to Robert de Bruce[3] a son, — — [Robert][4] by name, in July.

1243

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 155-156

In the year of the Lord 1243, John Bisset was outlawed, along with his uncle, Walter, and his other accomplices; because rumour asserted that the aforesaid John, with counsel

[1] I.e., on 17th December.

[2] The Chronicle of Lanercost (50, s.a. 1242) reads: "In the same year, Godfrey came with a great fleet of ships to Man; and he began to dispose of his kingdom as he would." For "Godfrey," read "Harold"?

H[arold] king of Man had letters of safe-conduct in coming to the king of England and returning, issued on 9th January, 1246, and valid until Whitsunday (19th May). Foedera, i, 1, 264.

[3] Lord of Annandale; the competitor.

[4] Lord of Annandale; earl of Carrick; father of king Robert I.

of the aforesaid W[alter],[1] had put Patrick of Athole to death.

Master A. de Baggatte was buried at Melrose.[2]

Sir Gilbert de Umfraville received the countess of Angus as his wife.[3] . . .[4]

Sir Roger Avenel was buried at Melrose, beside his father.[5]

Sir Michael, the abbot of Glenluce, was buried at Walcheles,[6] on the day of St Michael[7]; likewise, sir Gilbert, the abbot of

[1] In Stevenson's text wrongly "William."

John Bisset was the founder of Beauly. Walter Bisset, his uncle, was lord of Aboyne. For the history of the Bissets, see Batten's Beauly, 17-25, 35-37, 40, 43-48, 52-55, 64. See below, pp. 536-537.

[2] Probably this was the "master Adam de Baggat" (of Bathgate) in Melrose nos. 260, 261; perhaps also the "sir Adam de Baggath" who witnessed charters 292 and 293, ibid.

[3] I.e., Matilda, the widow of John (†1242). See year 1242, note.

[4] Here follow notes of the release of prelates imprisoned by the emperor (cf. year 1241); the election of pope Innocent IV, on 25th June, and his consecration, on Sunday within the octaves of Peter and Paul—i.e., 5th July (but he was in reality consecrated on 28th June: Potthast)—; and the death of William, abbot of Clairvaux.

Year-sections 1240-1243, down to this point, are written in various similar hands (or in one hand, at different times). Here a new hand begins (folio 46). At the foot of folio 45 verso is written a note, which accounts for the change: "The abbot of Dundrennan has received on loan the remaining part of these chronicles. *Vide.*" This note is written in a contemporary hand (in or after 1263). The abbot of Dundrennan referred to may possibly have been the Richard, who, while prior of Melrose, may conjecturably have written year-sections 1234-1239 of this chronicle. Cf. above, years 1233, 1239.

The pages that follow (folios 46-52) are probably not the original chronicle, but a copy; the date of which can be deduced from a note entered in the top margin of folio 52 verso: "Henry, the king of England, the son of king John, has now reigned for 47 years." A similar note in the bottom margin of the same page has been left incomplete:—"Alexander, the king of Scotland."

The copy, therefore, was probably made 28th October 1263 × 27th October 1264.

The next following section of the chronicle, comprising years 1246-1260, is written in a hand which is somewhat similar to the hand that wrote year-sections 1227-1233, but is less steady and formal.

[5] See year 1219.

[6] Vaucelles?

[7] 29th September.

Coupar, at St Remigius,[1] on the sixth day before the Ides of October[2]: both as they were returning from the general chapter. William de Binin, the prior of Newbattle, was promoted to the administration of the house at Coupar, on the Lord's Advent.[3]

1243

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 131; s.a. 1243[4]

Gilbert, bishop in Scotland, died.[5]

[1] One of the places called Saint-Rémy.

[2] I.e., on 10th October. Cf. year 1258.

[3] 29th November, 1243. William [II], abbot of Coupar, witnessed a royal charter of 5th April, 1244 (Arbroath, 191. Rogers's Cupar, i, 12-13). He died in 1258. His epithet is probably "of Binnie," or "of Binning," in Linlithgowshire.

[4] With dominical and paschal letters of 1243. Similarly in A (Fl., iii, 530; but for *c.* in A read *.c*).

[5] To the same effect in DP (189, 328; with letters of 1243): but they read "bishop of Scotland." This Gilbert was presumably bishop of Caithness. Gilbert of Moray, the successor of Adam († 1222), was bishop of Caithness × 19th July, 1224 (Moray, no. 58); probably × 10th April, 1224 (Theiner, no. 52). For his election, cf. Bower, ii, 47. For the constitution of his chapter, see B.Cl. **19**, iii, 17-21, 24 × 25. Cf. D.B., 234-235; and the Breviary of Aberdeen, i, **3**, lxxxiii, under 1st April. Cf. above, year 1225, note.

The next-named bishops of Caithness were William (cf. Acts, i, 425; D.B., 235); Walter de Baltrodin, a canon of Caithness, who was elected before (but not consecrated until after) 13th June, 1263 (Theiner, no. 229; Bliss, i, 379. See D.B., 235-236), and died in 1270 (Bower, X, 27; ii, 112).

After Walter's death, Nicholas, the abbot of Scone, was elected; but owing to his illiteracy, the election was annulled by pope Gregory X, who on 4th June, 1273, granted licence for a new election (Bliss, i, 446).

Archibald, archdeacon of Moray, was elected by the way of compromise, by R., dean; Patrick, treasurer; and master Roger de Castello, canon, of Caithness. On 1st November, 1274, pope Gregory wrote to the bishops of Moray, Aberdeen, and Argyle, giving them authority to examine Archibald's merits, with discretion to confirm, ordain, and consecrate, or to quash the election (Theiner, no. 259; Bliss, i, 448. Cf. Bower, ii, 112, 120, 123). Archibald was consecrated × 1275, in which year the controversy between the bishops of Caithness and the earls of Sutherland was settled. See year 1222, note.

Archibald died before 1279.

On 9th March, 1279, pope Nicholas III wrote to the bishops of St Andrews and Aberdeen, and the provincial minister of the Franciscans

1244

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 156[1]

In the year of the Lord 1244, sir William, the abbot of Cîteaux, refused to be abbot [longer]; and sir — — [Boniface], the abbot of Ferté, succeeded him.

Also, Alan Musarde, of Rievaulx, was appointed abbot of Glenluce. . . .[2]

In the same year, the most abominable traitor, Walter Bisset, with his accomplices desisted not from pouring the poison of discord into the ears of Henry, the king of England, until [Henry] collected his army, and caused [it] to come as far as Newcastle against lord Alexander, king of Scotland.[3] And

in Scotland, saying that R[ichard], dean of Caithness, had long ago been elected bishop of Caithness; but upon examination it appeared that he had a son, 30 years old and more, by an unmarried woman. He bade them induce him to resign all right, or come to Rome. Theiner, 120-121, no. 270; Bliss, i, 457-458.

Richard resigned. Hervey of Dundee, a canon of St Andrews, was elected; and died at Rome. The pope, Martin IV, consecrated Alan of St Edmund (Bliss, i, 464-465; the consecration announced in a letter of 13th April, 1282). See Foedera, i, **2**, 730, 768; Rotuli Scotiae, i, 6; Origines Parochiales, ii, **3**, 603-606; D.B., 238-239.

[1] This year-section is written probably all in one hand (contemporary).

[2] Here follows a note of the consecration by pope Innocent of Otho, formerly legate to Britain, to the bishopric of Porto; at Lyons, on 29th May.

[3] In 1243, king Henry III ordered Peter Chaceporc [the keeper of his wardrobe] to provide robes for John Bisset and three of his knights (Close Rolls (1916), 147). (An earlier John Bisset, justice of the English king's forest of Salcetum, had died ×1241; ibid., 331.) John Bisset was sent, as king's messenger, to Ireland, in 1244 (ibid., 195).

The manor of Lowdham, in Nottinghamshire, was granted on 28th August 1243, and confirmed on 8th December 1246, by king Henry to Walter Bisset and his heirs, until their lands in Scotland were recovered (Bain, i, nos. 1621, 1703; Charter Rolls, i (1903), 310).

On 11th December, 1243, king Henry ordered 20 pounds to be given to Walter Bisset for sustenance in his service (Bain, i, no. 1624).

On 12th February, and on 4th May, 1244, the king of England gave 30 marks to Walter Bisset (Bain, i, nos. 1630, 1632); and on 10th June, 50 marks for armour (no. 1638).

On 20th April, 1244, king Henry wrote to the sheriffs of Westmoreland, York, Cumberland, and Lancashire, commanding them, as they loved themselves and all that they had, to permit no foreigner to pass through their territories towards Scotland. If such a foreigner should be found, carrying arms, or letters of which there could be any suspicion, they were to arrest

him, and send him without delay to the king, along with the arms and letters found with him: on pain of disinheritance. Close Rolls (1916), 242-243.

On 20th April, 1244, king Henry wrote to the sheriffs and bailiffs of the same and other counties, and towns, bidding them keep watch for any foreigner going through their territories towards Scotland, or any one going from Scotland to foreign parts, whether he were a knight, or a merchant, or any foreign person. If such a foreigner were found bearing arms, or letters of which there might be just suspicion, he was to be sent to the king; if he were without letters and arms, he was to be admonished, and induced to return home. Close Rolls (1916), 243; Bain, i, no. 1631.

On 13th May, 1244, at Reading, the king of England informed Walter Marshal, earl of Pembroke, that he would be at Newcastle with horses and arms on 1st August, "because of certain transgressions that the king of Scotland has done against us; to require of him amends . . ." He summoned him to be present on that day, so well provided with good men, with horses and arms, "that it may clearly appear from this how you are animated to avenge a disgrace to us and to our kingdom . . ." (Close Rolls (1916), 254).

Several other levies were ordered.

On 15th May, 1244, Flemish merchants obtained safe-conduct to Newcastle, provided that they did not go farther on the way to Scotland (M.Cl. 28, 31; Patent Rolls (1906), 425).

On 11th June, 1244, Irish nobles had volunteered for the war with Scotland (M.Cl. 28, 31-32; Patent Rolls, u.s., 428).

On 7th July, 1244, king Henry summoned Donald's son, the king of Tirconnell; and 20 others, by name, to aid him against the king of Scotland (Foedera, i, 1, 256; Close Rolls (1916), 254-255).

On 12th May, 1244, king Henry ordered that certain landholders in Huntingdon, Northampton, Bedford, Leicester, and Lincolnshires, should be compelled to do homage to John de Balliol, who had inherited, through his wife Derbforgaill (*Dervorguilla*), some of the lands of John, late earl of Chester and Huntingdon (Close Rolls (1916), 184; Bain, i, no. 1633). Similar orders were given on 22nd May, with regard to lands in Cambridge, Northampton, Leicester, and Rutland (Close Rolls, u.s., 188; Bain, no. 1635).

On 3rd July, 1244, orders were given respecting the fees that William de Fortibus, earl de Aumale, had inherited through his wife Christiana from earl John (Close Rolls, u.s., 205-206).

After 5th April, and about 24th June, 1245, Walter Bisset was sent to Ireland on king Henry's affairs (Bain, i, no. 1666; nos. 1672-1674; Close Rolls (1916), 297).

On 9th April, 1246, 50 marks were assigned to him, for sustenance in king Henry's service (Bain, no. 1691). On 4th December, 1246, 40 marks were given to him (Bain, no. 1700).

Walter Bisset died about Michaelmas, 1251. He seems to have attempted, shortly before his death to invest his nephew Thomas in the manor of Ulvington. See Bain, i, no. 1836; Inquisitions, i (1906), 63.

the king of Scotland went as far as Ponteland, with an immense multitude, to meet him; but, at the instance principally of the archbishop of York, and also of other magnates, peace was restored, upon the vigil of the Assumption.[1] Wherefore the king of Scotland returned home; and the king of England directed his journey against Wales: because the Welsh were rebelling against him, being unable to endure the English yoke.

And it must not be overlooked that at the same time[2] the

[1] I.e., on 14th August.

This paragraph, down to this point, is copied more briefly (without the date) in the Chronicle of Peterborough, 137, s.a. 1244.

Cf. the Chronicle of Lanercost, 51, s.a. 1244: "Henry, the king of England, collected a numerous host; and taking the way towards Scotland, he came as far as Newcastle, desiring to have the ancient submission [*deditionem*]. Learning this, Alexander, the king of the Scots, set out, with the whole valour of his subjects, to the frontier of his land; and there he fortified himself against hostile attacks. But Henry, of gentle heart, through envoys caused king Alexander to come under surety as far as Newcastle; and there every cause of dispute was smoothed away, and they established peace; and after writings in confirmation of the treaty had been made valid on both sides with seals, Henry, the king of England, gave his eldest daughter, Margaret, then only five years old, to Alexander, the king of Scotland's son—still lying in the cradle—: and so both sides returned home with rejoicing."

Annals of Multifernan, 13, s.a. 1244: "King Henry led an army towards Scotland, against king Alexander."

For these affairs, see E.C., 351-358; and cf. the 1291 chronicle of Tewkesbury, in Palgrave, 128-129. Copies of the letters in E.C., 355-357, are given by the Chronicle of Carlisle (Palgrave, 74-76).

On 6th August, 1244, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, safe-conduct was issued for king Alexander, to go to Northumberland, discuss peace with the king of England or the council that the king would send to meet him, and return within three days after the conference (M.Cl. **28**, 32-33; Patent Rolls (1906), 434).

On 13th August, 1244, king Henry ratified the treaty that had been made with Scotland in his name (Foedera, i, **1**, 257).

On the same day, king Henry gave G. Prendergast and others permission to return home, because a treaty had been made with Alexander (ibid.; Close Rolls (1916), 255).

In September, king Alexander promised to keep good faith with the king of England (ibid.).

On 8th December, 1244, Patrick [II, of Dunbar] and Walter Comyn [of Monteith], earls from Scotland, were summoned to clear themselves towards king Henry by oath (M.Cl. **28**, 33; Patent Rolls (1906), 447).

[2] *ibidem.* I.e., at the conference between the kings.

King of glory was pleased to exalt the king of Scotland, as we have heard from many, in the grace of miracles.[1] . . .[2]

1244

Eirspennill's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, c. 269; Unger's Konunga Sögur, pp. 398-399[3]

Of king Hakon and the king of the Scots.

When king Hakon reigned in Norway, Alexander, son of the Scottish king William, was king in Scotland. He was a great chief, and sufficiently ambitious.[4] He sent men east from Scotland to king Hakon:—two bishops, in the first instance.[5] They had this errand,[6] to enquire[7] whether the king were willing to give up the dominion that king Magnus Bareleg had acquired in the Hebrides, with some unfairness,[8] from the Scottish king Malcolm, [Alexander's] relative.

[1] Stevenson's edition is in this paragraph less correct than his translation (Church Historians, iv, **1**, 186).

[2] Here follows a note that in this year Palestine was destroyed; and a letter, directed to pope Innocent IV by Robert, patriarch of the church of Jerusalem, and several others, describing the position of affairs in the east, and the loss of Jerusalem. It is dated on 11th September, 1244; at Acre (Stevenson's edition, 156-162; his translation, Church Historians, iv, **1**, 186-192). This is followed by another letter, written by "D., humble arch[deacon] of Ciren[cester]," in which the news is reported of disaster to the Christians and Turks: " . . . In the sum, it is said that the master of the Hospital, and the whole convent [of the Hospital of St John], excepting 15; the whole convent of the Temple; the whole convent of the Hospital of St Mary of the Teutons, with very few escaping; the whole knighthood beyond the seas; a great host of armed Christians; and with them Nassar, the sultan of Traci, and a certain other sultan, taken by the Corosmini, and men of the sultan of Babylon, were killed, on the 17th day of October. . . ."

Cf. R.S. **57**, iv, 288-291, 298-311, 337-346; **44**, ii, 483-484; **95**, ii, 272-273; **36**, ii, 334-335.

[3] This passage is placed between the 27th and 28th winters of king Hakon's reign, i.e. in 1244.

Parallel passages are in Fr., 525, c. 250 (also in F.S., x, 4-5, c. 245); Fl., iii, 164, c. 218; Sk. (in R.S. **88**, ii, 238-239, c. 245).

[4] "very covetous of this world's honours" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[5] "in . . . instance" not in Fl.

[6] "they wished" Fr.

[7] "to know" Fl.

[8] "with some unfairness" not in Fr., which reads: "the dominion in the Hebrides that king Magnus Bareleg had claimed [*sótt*] from . . . ." Fl.

King Hakon replied to this[1] so, that he declared he knew that king Magnus and king Malcolm had arranged it all[2] between themselves, what dominion the Norwegians were to have in the Hebrides,[3] and he said that the Scots[4] had no authority in[5] the Hebrides when he[6] acquired them from king Godfrey; and besides, Magnus[7] said that he went to seek his own inherited lands.

Then the bishops[8] said that the Scottish king wished to buy the lands with refined silver.[9] Then the king said that he was aware of[10] no such urgent[11] need of silver that he needed[12] to sell those lands.[13] Upon that,[14] the messengers went away.

The Scottish king constantly sent messages to Norway about this purchase[15]; and the Scots received no other decision than that which has just now been told.[16]

and Sk. read: "the dominion in the Hebrides that he [they Fl.] claimed that king Magnus Bareleg had got [claimed Sk.] with [some Sk.] unfairness from . . . ."

[1] "said" Fr.

[2] "all" not in Fr.

[3] Fr., Fl., Sk., read: "in Scotland, or the small islands that lay nearest it [near it Fl.; that belong to it Sk.]."

[4] "the Scottish king" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[5] "even in" Fl., Sk.

[6] "at the time when king Magnus" Fr., Sk.; "at that time. But . . . " Fl.

[7] "king Magnus" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[8] "the messengers" Fr.: "but when the messengers heard this decision, they" Fl., Sk.

[9] Fr., Fl., Sk., read: "wished to buy [all Fl., Sk.] the Hebrides from king Hakon, and begged him to value them in refined silver."

[10] "apprehended" Fl.

[11] "urgent" not in Fr.

[12] "should need" Fl.

[13] "his inherited lands" Fl.

[14] "Upon that" not in Fl.

[15] Fl. and Sk. read: "[But Sk.] the Scottish king often [oftener Sk.] attempted this affair, [and sent many messages about it Sk.]."

[16] "and received the same decision" Fl. "The Scottish king . . . told" not in Fr.

1245

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 163[1]

In the year 1245 died sir Hugh, the abbot of St Serf[2]; a man of praiseworthy life in all respects, and a zealot for sacred religion. He was succeeded in the pastoral administration by a monk of the same house, Matthew by name, [on the fifth day before the Ides of May.[3]] . . .[4]

1245

Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 53, s.a. 1245

In this year, master Reginald was made archdeacon in Glasgow[5]; and master Nicholas of Moffat,[6] in Teviotdale. Of

[1] This whole year-section is written in one contemporary hand.

[2] I.e., St Serf's monastery at Culross. Hugh had been elected in 1232.

[3] The words *v. Idus Mayii* (i.e., 11th of May) are added in the blank space beneath the paragraph, and are blotted out. Stevenson reads *Martii* (11th March); but this does not seem to be the reading of the MS. Cf. the *y* in *symbolum*, fo. 53 verso, l. 3.

Matthew was deposed in the following year.

[4] After this, it is noted that pope Innocent IV entered France on the 3rd of December (he came to Lyons in reality on the 29th of November, 1244: Potthast. Cf. R.S. **86**, iii, 166; ii, 335; **57**, iv, 395). An account follows of the illness, and three days' death-like trance, of king Louis IX; and how he afterwards took the cross (these also are events of 1244. See R.S. **57**, iv, 397-398; **95**, ii, 289). Letters conclude the year-section (164-176):—(1) Frederick II to Louis IX (a fragment; *Pervenit ad audienciam*); (2) Innocent IV, against Frederick II (*Ad apostolicae dignitatis apicem;* dated 17th July, 1245, at Lyons); (3) Frederick II, to the English, against Innocent IV (*Etsi cause nostre;* dated 31st July, 1245, at Turin). See Stevenson's translations, in Church Historians, iv, **1**, 193, 200.

On 11th September, 1245, pope Innocent directed that his delegates for trying Scottish ecclesiastical causes should hold their sittings either within Scotland, or in the dioceses of Carlisle or of Durham; but not in the diocese of York (Foedera, i, **1**, 263).

On 18th August, 1245, the pope ordered that the Friars Preachers [Dominicans] were not to be oppressed, in Scotland among other places (Bliss, i, 226).

[5] Reginald of Irvine appears as archdeacon of Glasgow in Glasgow, no. 199 (1246 × 1250). He was archdeacon of Teviotdale on 30th October, 1244 (Glasgow, no. 187). On that day, Matthew [of Aberdeen] was archdeacon of Glasgow (see year 1238). Reginald died in 1268, before 11th June.

[6] *de Moffet.* Nicholas of Moffat appears as archdeacon of Teviotdale in Kelso, no. 149 (1250-51). He was elected to the bishopric of Glasgow in 1268, and died in 1270 (certainly 1270 × 1271).

these, the first was very parsimonious in his life; but on his death he spent everything excellently: the second was always generous, and always had abundance in everything. In the end of his life he died [bishop-]elect of Glasgow; and I committed him to the earth in his church of Tynningham.

There was a notable saying, uttered concerning him, in the court, in presence of the younger king Alexander: — that [Alexander III] had three marvellous persons in his dominions: one man who always quarrelled, and was never angry (that was meant for this archdeacon [Nicholas]); the second, who always laughed and was never glad (that was meant for the chancellor at the time, Wishart[1]); the third, who always preached piety, and never practised it (that was meant for John, the bishop of Glasgow[2]).

1246

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 98

In the year 1247, Harold [king of the islands] was knighted by lord Henry, king of England, by whom his father [Olaf] also had been knighted. And [Harold] was dismissed by him with much honour, and great gifts; and came home.[3]

1246

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 176[4]

In the year of the Lord 1246, sir Matthew, the cellarer at Melrose, was elected abbot, on the morrow of saints Tiburcius and Valerianus.[5] And on the day of the Ascension,[6] he was

[1] For William Wishart, see year 1268.

[2] For John of Cheam, see year 1259.

This epigram must have been made between 1260 and 1268.

[3] On 9th January, 1246, king Henry III issued letters of safe-conduct to H[arold], king of Man, in coming to the king in England, remaining, and returning; valid until Pentecost [27th May, 1246]. Foedera, i, 1, 264.

[4] The section of the Chronicle of Melrose that begins with the election of abbot Matthew, and runs from 1246 to 1263, may all have been written in one contemporary hand, with the exception of folios 61 and 62 (from [*Q*]*uoniam ut dicit Papias* to the end of the second year-section 1261). Folios 61 and 62 should follow folio 63. See below.

[5] I.e., on 15th April.

[6] I.e., 17th May 1246.

solemnly blessed, in the church of Melrose, by sir William, the bishop of Glasgow.[1]

The body of sir Henry de Balliol was carried from St James,[2] and honourably entombed in the chapter-house at Melrose.[3]

[1] William, bishop of Glasgow, was still chancellor on 26th May, 1246 (Melrose, no. 239); but ceased to hold that office before 21st June (Bliss, i, 227).

Matthew was the successor of Adam de Harkarres, according to the list of bishops added to the Melrose chronicle (p. 191). Adam probably died in 1246.

Matthew resigned office in 1261.

Between years 1262 and 1263, and before the second year-sections of 1260 and 1261, are inserted, in a 13th-century hand, accounts of the miracles of Adam the Yorkshireman, and of the life of Adam of Lennox, monks of Melrose during the abbacy of Adam de Harkarres (1219-1246).

The chronicler prefaces to these the following apology (p. 186):

"Since, as Papias says, in the third division of his Elementarium" [written in 1053], "chronicles are said to be narrations of past times; and, according to another, chronicles may be called the witnesses of time, elucidations of truth, memorials of recollection, messages from antiquity: therefore, since the charge has been laid upon me of writing chronicles, it has pleased me to recall to memory some miracles, along with the appended narrations of subsequent times, which have been partly related by them, and are partly to be related by myself:—[miracles] which have been omitted by the chronographers who have had the charge of [these] chronicles before me. . . ."

The miracles attributed to Adam the Yorkshireman are the opening of a postern gate, when he found himself locked in the orchard at the time of vespers; a vision of the Virgin, "beside the altar of St Stephen, the proto-martyr"; and the restoration of sight to a monk called William of Duns, formerly the sacrist at Melrose.

Adam of Lennox is said not to have slept in a bed for 20 years. He gave bread to all the poor who flocked to him. The rich also came to him, as their confessor, desiring to receive his blessing: among them came also king Alexander II.

The two folios (60 and 61) containing these lives, and the second year-sections for 1260 and 1261, have probably been added afterwards to the section of the chronicle that ends in 1263.

[2] I.e., from St James's church, at Kelso.

[3] *de Balolf.*

Cf. E.C., 355, 357. Henry de Balliol's death is noted by M.P. (iv, 587), s.a. 1246: "In the northern district [died] H. de Balliol, knight" (similarly F.H., ii, 322).

Henry was one of the heirs of John the Scot, earl of Chester (†1237). His wife was Lora or Lauretta (Close Rolls (1908), 570; (1916), 467).

Also, abbot Matthew of St Serf[1] was deposed; and Geoffrey, the prior of Newbattle, was put in his place.

Also, the canonization of St Edmund the archbishop.[2]

1246

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 131; s.a. 1246[3]

Godfrey, bishop in the Orkneys, [died].[4]

1247

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 176-177

In the year of the Lord 1247, sir Thomas of Kent[5] died in the monastery at Melrose, and was buried; also Philip of Pitcox,[6] and Robert of Currie, and[7] Adam of Lomokestun,[8]

Henry died before 15th October, 1246 (Close Rolls (1916), 467; Bain, i, no. 1697). Cf. year 1247.

[1] I.e., of Culross. See year 1245.

[2] Cf. M.P., iv, 586; vi, 120-125; R.S. **44**, iii, 13; F.H., ii, 315-321; **36**, i, 135; ii, 338.

On 21st June, 1246, licence to hold additional benefices was given to master Peter, canon of Roskild, and chancellor of the king of Scotland (Bliss, i, 227).

[3] With dominical and paschal letters of 1246. Similarly in DPA (189, 328; Fl., iii, 529).

[4] See years 1223, 1248. Godfrey was the successor of Biarni († 1222).

On 11th May, 1237, pope Gregory IX had written to [Sigurd,] the archbishop of Nidaróss, bidding him to exert pressure upon [Godfrey,] the bishop of Orkney, to induce him to resign his see; because for many years, through a paralytic disease, [Godfrey] had been unable to fulfil his office. Diplomatarium Norvegicum, vii, 13; Bliss, i, 162.

[5] *de Cantia.* Stevenson's translation reads "*de Campa*"; Fulman's text, *de Canna.* A Thomas *de Kent* is the first witness to a charter of Alan Roland's son, the constable (Melrose, no. 227; 1200 × 1233): he was one of the constable's clerks.

[6] *de Peccokes.* A Philip of Pitcox (*de Pethcox*) gave meadow-land in Pitcox to the monks of Melrose (Melrose, nos. 221, 222), permitting them to divert the stream of Pressmennan (*Presmuneburne*), from Suineburne eastward. This stream, their boundary, used to overflow their lands, and injure their crops. He and his son Philip promised to give them also ten acres in Beil side (Melrose, no. 220), after 10 years, if not before: the grant, formerly made, having been impeded by an agreement with Roger de Merlay.

[7] A Robert of Currie (*de Curri*) witnessed a Melrose charter of 1243-4 (Melrose, no. 191).

[8] Perhaps Lennoxtown?

were brought and buried there; along with Adam de Balliol, who was buried beside his father.[1] And master William of Greenlaw was buried in the chapter-house.[2]

Also sir Ralph, the bishop of Aberdeen, died; and master Peter de Ramsay succeeded him.[3]

Alteration of the coinage.[4]

[1] Probably beside Henry de Balliol, who died in the previous year.

[2] For master William of Greenlaw, son of Roland, son of William, see Melrose, nos. 232-237. He held of Robert de Muschamp lands in Halsington, of which he gave a part to the Melrose monks. The gift was confirmed by earl Patrick and by king Alexander II, on 14th April, 1248. William witnessed Melrose documents of 1236 and 1237 (Melrose, nos. 298, 274).

[3] Ralph had been elected in 1239. Cf. Bower, ii, 76.

On 13th May, 1247, pope Innocent IV ordered the bishops of St Andrews, Dunblane, and Brechin, to inquire into the postulation of master Peter de Ramsay to the see of Aberdeen; and if it were canonical, to dispense him on account of illegitimacy (since he was the son of a clerk in minor orders, and of an unmarried woman), and to consecrate him (Theiner, 46-47, no. 122; Bliss, i, 232).

On 16th May, 1248, the same pope wrote to the bishop of Aberdeen, permitting him to promulgate statutes in his church, with consent of the chapter (Bliss, i, 256).

Bishop Peter died in 1256.

[4] *Mutatio monete.* The English long-cross penny seems to have been introduced in 1247 (see M.P., iv, 608-609, 632-633; v, 15-16, 18-19; R.S. **44**, iii, 27-28; **86**, i, 137; ii, 91, 339; iv, 96; **95**, iii, 242). This change probably necessitated a reform of the Scottish coinage; but the reform does not appear to have been made in Scotland until 1250. Under that year, Bower says (ii, 83): "Also the Scottish money was renewed, so that the cross, which had formerly not traversed the circle in the penny, now touches the extreme edges of the penny." See Burns's Coinage of Scotland (1887), iii, plate IX.

On 17th April, 1247, pope Innocent IV granted protection to "Dugald, lord of the land of Macherummel in Kintyre, in the diocese of Lismore" (Theiner, 46, no. 119).

On 17th April, 1247, pope Innocent IV granted protection to "Dugald, lord of the land of Macherummel in Kintyre, in the diocese of Lismore" (Theiner, 46, no. 119).

On 30th May, 1247, the pope sent a mandate to the bishop of St Andrews, declaring that Templars going to the Holy Land were free from the Constantinople subvention, and must not be molested (Bliss, i, 232).

On the same day, in a letter addressed to the bishops of Scotland, exactions for the crusade were laid upon the incomes of Italian clerks holding benefices in Scotland (Theiner, 47-48, no. 124).

On 23rd October, 1247, the pope ordered [Clement] the bishop of

1247-1248

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, pp. 98-100, s.a. 1247

In the same year,[1] [Hakon] the king of Norway sent for Harold to come to his court. And setting out immediately through England in the autumn time, he came to Norway; and the lord king of Norway received him honourably, and gave him his daughter [Cecilia] in marriage: and in addition he exalted him, and elevated the throne of his kingdom above [the dominion of] all who had reigned before him in the island regions.[2]

In the same year, Simon, of blessed memory, the bishop of the Hebrides, died, on the day before the Kalends of March,[3] at the church of St Michael the archangel; and he was buried in St Patrick's island, in the church of St Germanus, which he had

Dunblane to collect money in Scotland for the Holy Land (Theiner, 48, no. 128); and bade other ecclesiastics in Scotland enforce the orders issued by the bishop of Dunblane (Bliss, i, 237).

On 17th October, 1250, the pope commanded the bishops [David] of St Andrews and [Peter] of Aberdeen to collect legacies and offerings from all sources in Scotland for the crusades (Bliss, i, 263).

[1] I.e., the year in which Harold had been knighted: but that seems to have been the year 1246.

According to the carefully-dated Hakon's saga, Harold passed the winter of 1247-1248 with king Hakon in Christiania; and married in 1248.

[2] From a cognate source is derived C.L.'s account (54, s.a. 1247): "In the same year, Hakon, the king of Norway, sent for Harold, king of Man, [summoning him] to be present at his coronation. [Harold] immediately set out upon the way through England, in the autumn time; and he both came to the king of Norway, and was honourably received by him; in so much that [Hakon] gave him his daughter in marriage."

[3] I.e., on 29th February, 1248. For Simon's consecration, see year 1226.

Icelandic Annals CP say that "Simon, bishop in the Hebrides," died in 1249 (132, 329; with dominical and paschal letters of 1249). Similarly also D (190). But D reads "Orkneys" instead of "Hebrides." A reads "Faroes," and places Simon's death under 1248 (Fl., iii, 531). Cf. year 1210, note. The Chronicle of Man, taken with Hakon's saga, would seem to prove that 1248 was the true year. But on 16th March, 1244, pope Innocent IV wrote to the archbishop of York, bidding him confirm (if canonical) an election made to the bishopric of Man, with consent of the archbishop of Trondhjem; and consecrate the elect (Bliss, i, 206). See also year 1236, note.

The abbot of Iona was permitted to wear the mitre in 1247. See year 1203, note.

begun to build. He died in good old age, in the eighteenth[1] year of his bishopric.

Upon his death, by common counsel and consent of the whole chapter of Man, one Laurence, who was then archdeacon in Man, was elected bishop. He set out immediately for Norway, to present himself to king Harold and [Sigurd Tafsi] the archbishop of Nidaróss, by whom he ought to have been consecrated. But because of a certain letter that had been sent from Man in opposition to him, Harold would by no means give assent to his election, until [Laurence] should return with him to Man, and be elected again in his presence by all the clergy and people.

1247-1248

Eirspennill's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, c. 286; Unger's Konunga Sögur, pp. 411-412[2]

Of king Hakon; and Harold, king of Man.

In the autumn,[3] king Hakon went[4] east to Vik.[5]

[1] For "eighteenth" read "twenty-third" (*xxiii* instead of *xviii*), since Simon was consecrated, according to the Icelandic Annals, in 1226. If, however, he had been relieved of the bishopric in 1244, he would have held the see for less than 18 years. He seems to have been bishop of Man, not of the Hebrides.

The List of Bishops appended to the Chronicle of Man (i, 116) reads: "After [John, Hefare's son], Simon, an Argylesman by race, ruled the church of the Hebrides; a man of great discretion, and learned in the sacred Scriptures. He died in good old age at the church of St Michael; and he lies in the church of St Germanus, which he himself had begun to build.

"And after his death the bishopric was vacant for nearly six years."

It was in reality vacant until 1252. Simon's successor was Richard, 1252-1275. But Richard did not obtain possession of the see before 1253. See year 1252, and note.

The church of St Germanus was in St Patrick's Island. St Michael's church was at Kirkmichael, on the west coast of Man.

[2] Parallel passages are in Fr., 534-535, c. 264 (also in F.S., x, 27-28, c. 259); Fl., iii, 174-175, c. 230; Sk. (R.S. 88, ii, 254-255, c. 259).

[3] "after his consecration" add Fr., Fl., Sk. Hakon was crowned, according to the saga, by cardinal William, on the 29th of July, 1247.

[4] "prepared his journey" Fl.; "set out upon his journey" Sk.

[5] "east to Vik"; Fr., Fl., Sk., omit "east," and read "to the Vik."

Fr. adds: "and sat in Oslo during the winter"; Fl., Sk.: "and intended to sit there during the winter."

Then came from the west, from the Hebrides, Harold, king of Man, son of Olaf, Godfrey's son.[1]

King Hakon sat during the winter in Oslo[2]; and this was the thirty-first winter[3] of his reign. . . .

While king Hakon sat in the Vik, king Harold pled his suit, and asked for lady Cecilia, king [Hakon's] daughter, whom lord[4] Gregory had had as his wife. The king took this well; and because this was fated, [Harold] betrothed himself to Cecilia[5]: the wedding was to be in Bergen,[6] in the summer.

Then king [Hakon] went[7] to Bergen,[8] and summoned to himself the men that he wished to go with him in the summer on this conference-expedition.[9]

Then came from west beyond the sea John, Duncan's son, and Dugald, Ruadri's son; and they both endeavoured after this, that the king should give them the title of king over the northern part of the Hebrides. They[10] remained with the king during the summer.[11]

[1] Fr., Fl., Sk., add: "and he went east after [along with Fl., Sk.] the king."

[2] "King Hakon . . . Oslo" not in Fr. Oslo was the old town of Christiania; it is now a suburb. It stood at the mouth of the river Lo.

[3] I.e., 1247-1248.

[4] "lord" not in Fl. For Cecilia's marriage with Gregory, son of Andrew, son of Philip king of the Croziers, see the saga in Eirspennill, cc. 267-268; in Fr., cc. 248-249; in Fl., cc. 216-217; in Sk. (Rolls Series, 88), cc. 243-244. Gregory died in 1246 (Icelandic Annals, KOCDPA).

[5] Fl., Sk., add: "and it was intended that." Fr. omits "whom lord Gregory . . . Cecilia," and reads: "and that was arranged."

[6] "in Bergen" not in Fr.

[7] "north" adds Fr.; Fl. and Sk. read: "prepared his journey."

[8] "in the spring" add Fr., Fl., Sk.; "and when he came there, he remained there during the summer" adds Fl.

[9] "on . . . expedition"; "this" not in Fl., Sk.; "to the land's end" Fr. (i.e., the south-eastern corner of Norway). The conference was called to settle a dispute that had arisen between the kings of Sweden and Norway, because king Hakon had entered Vermaland, in Sweden, in January, 1225, in order to punish free-booters who invaded Norway from that region.

[10] "both" adds Fl.

[11] I.e., during the summer of 1248.

In this year, Matthew Paris, the English chronicler, was sent by pope Innocent IV to Norway, to reform Benedictine monasteries there. See R.S. **44**, iii, 40-41; **57**, iv, 650-652; v, 35-36, 42-45. He bore letters to Hakon from Louis IX. The pope's letter, authorizing his mission, is dated 27th November, 1247; Louis's letter, giving Hakon safe-conduct in France on his way to Jerusalem, is dated in 1247.

1248

Eirspennill's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, cc. 288-289; Unger's Konunga Sögur, p. 413[1]

Feast-giving.

Some while after the burning of the town [of Bergen],[2] the king gave with magnificence a feast in the royal dwelling,[3] and gave his daughter Cecilia in marriage to Harold, king of the Hebrides.

Then had come to the king also the men that he wished to take with him. Then he prepared for his journey.[4] And while he lay in Salteyiarsund,[5] he gave the title of king to John, Duncan's son.[6] And king John sat behind[7] in Bergen, during the winter; but Dugald was with king Hakon.[8]

[c. 289] *Death of king Harold, and of Cecilia King's-daughter.*

King Harold[9] went from Bergen in the autumn; and his wife, lady Cecily. They had one ship,[10] and many[11] men were

[1] Parallel passages are in Fr., 535, cc. 265-266 (also F.S., x, 30-31, cc. 260-261); Fl., iii, 175-176, c. 230; Sk. (R.S. **88**, ii, 256-257, cc. 260-261).

[2] "Some while . . . Bergen" not in Fl.

There had been a conflagration in Bergen "14 nights before [St] John's eve" (i.e., on 9th June). Cf also R.S. **57**, v, 35.

[3] "in . . . dwelling" not in Fr.

[4] "Then had come . . . journey." Fr. reads: "Then king [Hakon] prepared [to go] on the conference-expedition; and the men that were to go with him came to him." Fl. reads: "After that, he prepared for his journey to the conference with the Swedes"; Sk. reads: "And after that, there came to king Hakon the men that he had summoned to him, and who were to go with him to the conference with the Swedes. Then the king prepared for his journey."

Fr., Fl., Sk., add: "[and Fl., Sk.] he had a great force, and many ships."

[5] "Now Skjelsbosund between the Spjerö and the Vesterö, in the vicarage of Hvalöer, in Smaalenene" (Unger).

Fl. reads "Elldeyiarsund," corruptly.

[6] Here Fr., Fl., Sk., add: "And [John] went north again from there. It was intended that he should [and he intended to Fl.] go west with king Harold, both he and Dugald; but they both remained behind."

[7] "behind" not in Fr., Fl., Sk.

[8] Fr., Fl., Sk. read: "But Dugald went east with [after Fr., Fl.] the king, and remained with him that [following Fr.] winter" (i.e., 1248-1249).

[9] "Harold, king of the Hebrides" Fr., Sk.

[10] "large" add Fl.

[11] "good" add Fr., Fl., Sk.

on it. This ship was lost in the autumn, in Sumburgh Roost,[1] to the south of Shetland; so that no man escaped. The wreckage came from the south to Shetland.[2] The Hebrideans thought this the greatest disaster, that they had so quickly lost so great a chief, when his journey had gone so auspiciously.[3]

1248

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 100

In the year 1249, Harold Olaf's son, the king of Man and the islands, along with his wife, the king of Norway's daughter, and with the aforesaid Laurence, the [bishop]-elect of Man and the islands, and with many other noble men, came from Norway, about the festival of St Michael the archangel,[4] intending to return home. But when he had come near to the shores of Shetland a strong gale arose; and he suffered shipwreck, and was drowned, with all those that accompanied him.[5] And his death was cause of grief to all who knew him.

His brother Reginald succeeded him in the kingdom.

[1] *Dunröst. Dynraust* Fr., Fl.

[2] The readings of Fr., Fl., Sk., are: "[They did not come to the Hebrides that autumn; Fl., Sk.] and the ship was lost, with all the men that were on it. And most men say [consider Fl., Sk.] that they have been lost in Sumburgh Roost, to the south of Shetland; because the wreckage [from the ships Fl.; from the ship Sk.] came from the south to Shetland."

Probably the death of Harold was not known with certainty until communications with Norway were resumed in the spring of 1249.

[3] The readings of Fr., Fl., Sk,, are: "This was thought the greatest man-scathe [Men thought this the greatest disaster Sk.]; and it was the greatest [loss and Fl., Sk.] misfortune to the Hebrideans, that they lost so quickly so great a chief, when he had made so auspicious a marriage [when his voyage had gone so auspiciously in the marriage he had made, Fl., Sk.] and [had gained] other honours." The readings of Fl. and Sk. are conflate.

[4] I.e., about 29th September, 1249; but in reality in 1248. See Hakon's saga.

[5] From a cognate source is derived C.L.'s account (55, s.a. 1249; after the death of Alexander II); "In the same year, Harold, the king of Man and of the islands, along with his wife, the daughter of the king of Norway; and with many others, clergy and laymen, came from Norway, wishing to return home. And when he had come near to the territories of Iceland, a great storm arose, and he suffered shipwreck; and he was drowned, with all his company. He had reigned, as we said, for twelve years."

1248

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 131; s.a. 1248[1]

Hervi [was consecrated] bishop to the Orkneys.[2] . . .

The drowning of Harold, king of the Hebrides.[3] John took kingship in the Hebrides.

1248

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 177

In the year of the Lord 1248, the most noble king of the French, Louis, and many other men, noble and ignoble, forsook their native soil for Christ's sake, and set out for Jerusalem. And coming to the island of Cyprus, they passed the winter there.[4]

In the same journey,[5] sir Patrick, the earl of Dunbar, departed from this light[6]; and sir Patrick, his son, succeeded him.[7]

[1] With dominical and paschal letters of 1248. Similarly in A (Fl., iii, 529).

[2] Immediately after this, C notes: "Bishop Hervi died." DP note (with letters of 1248; but for *.c* in P, read *.k*): "Hervi, bishop in the Orkneys, died." At the end of the annal, D adds: "Simon was consecrated bishop to the Orkneys" (cf. year 1249, note). At the end of the annal for 1246, D adds: "Bishop Hervi was consecrated." All these notes are erroneous. Hervi was consecrated 1248×, and died in 1269. Simon was not bishop of the Orkneys, and was not consecrated in 1248.

Hervi is called *Herni* in D; *Hreinn*, in P; *Henricus*, by the pope's secretary.

On 9th December, 1247, pope Innocent IV granted dispensation to Henry, canon of the Orkneys, to receive the bishopric of Orkney, to which he had been elected; the defect of his birth notwithstanding (since he was the son of a priest and an unmarried woman). Diplomatarium Norvegicum, i, 32, no. 42 (cf. vii, 15-16, no. 16); Bliss, i, 241.

Henry (or Hervi) was the successor of bishop Godfrey (List of Bishops, Langebek, vi, 619), for whose death see year 1246. Henry was consecrated early in 1248 (cf. Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, c. 264); and died in 1269.

[3] "The drowning . . . Hebrides" also in KODP (26, 66, 190, 329).

[4] Louis seems to have left France on the 25th of August, 1248 (R.S. **57**, v, 24-25; **95**, ii, 354; iii, 242. Cf. **36**, iii, 176; ii, 91, 339). Cf. C.L., 54, s.a. 1248.

Cf. letters of Innocent IV, in H.F.S., v, 412-417.

[5] C.L. adds: "at Marseilles."

[6] Cf. E.C., 360.

In his History, Paris says (R.S. **44**, iii, 40, s.a. 1248): "Also earl Patrick,

Sir John of Crawford was buried at Melrose.[1]

Sir Hugh, the abbot of Kelso, died; and Robert of Smailholm, a monk of the same house, succeeded him.[2]

Sir Nicholas, the bishop of Durham, relinquished the pastoral charge. He was succeeded by sir Walter of Kirkham, the dean of York.[3]

of the kingdom of Scotland, died; the mocking disturber of the church of St Albans": i.e., of the St Albans dependancy, Tynemouth. These words (*perturbator cavillosus*) perhaps imply that Patrick showed scepticism with regard to Tynemouth relics or miracles. The chronicler of Lanercost (u.s.), who knew Patrick's widow and son, relates two stories of Patrick's generosity and magnanimity.

This Patrick is accounted the 6th earl of Dunbar. He is called 1st "earl of March" or Merse in Foedera, i, **2**, 775. His grandson was the second claimant of the Scottish throne. See S.P., iii, 255-257.

On 3rd February, 1245, pope Innocent IV wrote to the clerk Waltheof, rector of the church of Dunbar, and son of earl Patrick, permitting him to accept an additional benefice (Theiner, 64, no. 170).

[7] C.L., 54: "To him succeeded his son Patrick—very dissimilar to his father. Him we have sufficiently seen; and it will be noticed below." For this Patrick, the seventh earl of Dunbar, see S.P., iii, 257-259. Cf. below, year 1255. C.L. (127) records his death, on 24th August, 1289, at Whittingham; "and his body rests in the church of Dunbar; it lies buried [*reconditum*] on the northern side." For his English lands, see Stevenson's Documents, i, 117-118.

[1] This was lord John of Crawford-John, the son of Reginald, sheriff of Ayr. See S.P., v, 489. Cf. Newbattle, nos. 138, 143, 146; Kelso, nos. 107, 187.

[2] For Hugh, see years 1236, 1239. Robert died in 1258.

[3] For the resignation of Nicholas, before 2nd February, 1249, see R.S. **57**, v, 53; **44**, iii, 40; **36**, i, 138; ii, 91, 342. Paris (who knew him) says that he died in 1257 (R.S. **57**, v, 650). For the succession of Walter, on 28th November, 1249, see R.S. **57**, v, 83; **44**, iii, 44.

On 14th March, 1248, pope Innocent IV wrote to the king of Scotland, renewing the indulgence (previously given to king William) that no legate should be sent to Scotland, unless specially sent from the Roman pontiff's side: the mission of friar William de Basinches not creating a precedent (Theiner, 49, no. 131). The Scottish envoy to Rome at this time seems to have been Abel, afterwards bishop of St Andrews (see years 1253, 1254, notes).

On the same day, the pope wrote to the bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, bidding them distribute the redemptions of Scottish crusaders' vows among Scottish nobles who were going in person on the crusade (Theiner, 49-50, no. 132). Cf. year 1250, note.

On 19th June, 1248, pope Innocent IV gave protection to the prior and canons of the church of St Andrews, with their possessions and privileges,

1249

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 177-178

In the year of the Lord 1249, sir Gilbert, the bishop of Brechin, died; and sir Robert, his archdeacon, succeeded him.[1]

Louis, the king of the French, abandoning Cyprus, came to the famous city of Damietta. He stormed it vigorously, and took it, killing his enemies; and entered it with his army on the eleventh day before the Kalends of July.[2]

Philip, the abbot of Jedburgh, died.[3] He was succeeded by Robert of Guisbrough, a canon of the same house. . . .[4]

Robert, the abbot of Jedburgh, died; and Nicholas, a canon of the same house, succeeded him.

1249

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, pp. 100-102

In the year 1249, Reginald Olaf's son began to reign in Man, on the day before the Nones of May.[5] And on the 30th day of the same month, namely the third day before the Kalends of June, he was slain by Ivar, a knight, and by his

as his predecessors Lucius [II], Eugenius [III], Adrian [IV], Alexander [III], Lucius [III], Gregory [VIII], and Honorius III, had done (Theiner, 50-51, no. 137).

[1] This succession is erroneously recorded. There was apparently no change of bishops at Brechin in 1249; and no bishop Gilbert is succeeded by a bishop Robert, in any see, according to the lists in D.B.

The bishop who died in 1249 was Geoffrey, bishop of Dunkeld; he was succeeded by Richard. See year 1250. But that succession also is reported in C.M. Read here "Ross" for "Brechin"; and "Robert" for "Gilbert"?

The previous succession at Brechin noticed by the Chronicle of Melrose occurred in 1218. In 1246, the bishopric of Brechin became vacant; and, with the approval of the legate Otho, the canons elected Albinus, precentor of Brechin; and applied to the pope for a dispensation with regard to his illegitimate birth. On 19th July, 1246, the pope empowered the bishops of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Dunkeld, to make enquiry, and to give or withhold the dispensation. See Theiner, 45, no. 116 (Bliss, i, 227. Cf. Brechin, ii, 388-389; i, pp. vi-vii). Albinus was consecrated before 22nd September, 1248 (see Arbroath, nos. 239, 240, 243; and cf. ibid., 337-338); × 13th May, 1247 (above, p. 545). Cf. D.B., 175. Albinus died in 1269. See years 1218, 1269.

[2] I.e., 21st June. Cf. R.S. **57**, vi, 152-167; **44**, iii, 59; **36**, ii, 91. C.L. (55, s.a 1249) says, on the 26th of June.

[3] Philip had been elected in 1239.

[4] Here follows the account of king Alexander's death. See below.

[5] I.e., on 6th May.

men, in a certain meadow near the church of the Holy Trinity, in Rushen; at the southern side of the same church. He was buried in the church of St Mary at Rushen.

Upon his death, Harold, the son of Godfrey Dond, began to reign in Man.[1]

1249

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 132; s.a. 1249[2]

Dugald took kingship in the Hebrides.[3]

1249

Eirspennill's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, cc. 293-294; Unger's Konunga Sögur, pp. 414-416[4]

Of the telling of the news.

These tidings now became known in Norway,[5] that king Harold and lady Cecilia had been lost in the sea.[6] Then the king considered that the islands were[7] without a chief; and

[1] From a cognate source is derived the account given by C.L., 55-56, s.a. 1249: "[Harold] being dead, his brother Reginald reigned for 27 days. He began to reign on the day before the Nones of May [6th May]; and he was killed on the Kalends of July [1st July; read 1st June?] by the men of Ivar, a knight.

"He was succeeded in the kingdom of Man by Harold, the son of Godfrey Dond, the son of Reginald the elder, the king of Man and of the islands. And he reigned in Man for one year." See year 1250.

[2] With dominical and paschal letters of 1249. Similarly also in D (190).

[3] This was apparently Dugald Ruadri's son (see the saga, above; pp. 548, 549). For his death see year 1268.

[4] Parallel passages are in Fr., 537, cc. 269-270 (also in F.S., x, 33-36, cc. 264-265); Fl., iii, 177-178, c. 233; Sk. (R.S. 88, ii, 259-261, cc. 264-265).

This passage is placed after the passing of king Hakon's 42nd winter (1248-1249).

[5] "Then these tidings were learned from the west" Fr.; "These tidings were learned for a truth" Fl., Sk., which have implied that a ship had reached Norway the previous autumn, with news that Harold's ship had not then arrived in the Hebrides.

[6] "in the sea" not in Fr., Fl., Sk. Fr. reads "in the autumn"; Fl., "as before was said." Sk.'s reading is expanded and conflate: "these tidings . . . Norway, of which some rumour had gone before, that king Harold, king Hakon's kinsman-in-law, and Cecilia, [king Hakon's] daughter, had been lost in the autumn, as was said before."

[7] "much" adds Sk.

he[1] sent a message north to Bergen, bidding king John go west as quickly as possible, and be [the ruler] over the islands, until he made another plan for them.[2] Then king John[3] went west beyond the sea with his men.[4]

[c. 294] *Of the king of the Scots.*

Alexander, the king of the Scots, was very covetous of dominion in the Hebrides, and constantly sent men to Norway to demand the purchase of the lands.[5] This summer, the Scottish king drew an army together,[6] and prepared for his journey into the Hebrides.[7] He made it plain to his men that he intended not to turn back until he had acquired all the Norwegian king's dominion that he claims for himself, to the west of the Solundar-sea.[8]

King Alexander sent word to king John, [saying] that he wished to meet him.[9] But this meeting did not take place before four earls in Scotland had pledged their faith [to John] that he should go in truce from that meeting.[10] But when the

[1] "considered . . . and he" not in Fl., which reads: "Then king Hakon sent," through a jump from like to like.

[2] Fr., Fl., Sk., read: "and defend the dominion [in the Hebrides Fl.; there Sk.], until king [Hakon Sk.; he Fl.] should send more chiefs there."

[3] "prepared to go from Norway, and" add Fl., Sk.

[4] "with his men" not in Fr., Fl., Sk.; "from Norway" adds Fr.

[5] "and constantly sent . . . lands" not in Fr.; Fl. and Sk. add: "for money."

[6] Fr. reads: "And since he did not succeed in buying the lands for money from king Hakon, he drew together an army, throughout all Scotland."

[7] "out into the Hebrides; and he intended to acquire all the lands that king Hakon owned in the west beyond the sea" Fr. Instead of "This summer . . . Hebrides," Fl. and Sk. read: "[And Fl.] he had so done, this summer also. And yet he had another plan in hand, which was not kingly [not strange Sk.], that he drew together an army throughout all Scotland, and prepared his journey to the Hebrides; and he intended to bring the lands under himself."

[8] He made it plain . . . Solundar-sea" not in Fr.

The readings of Fl. and Sk. are redundant and conflate: "He made it plain to his men that he intended not to desist before he had set his standard east in Thursa-sker [Giants'-skerries], and brought under himself all the Norwegian king's dominion that he owned to the west of the Solundar-sea" (i.e., the "sea of the Sólundar islands," the North Sea).

[9] "saying . . . him" not in Fr.

[10] "But king John would not meet the Scottish king before six men had pledged him their faith that he should go in truce" Fr.; Fr., Fl., Sk., add: "whether they came to terms or not."

kings met, the Scottish king required that king John would give up Biarnaborg[1] into his power, and three other castles, which he held of king Hakon; and the rest of[2] the dominion that the king of Norway had assigned to him. The king of the Scots said that he would[3] give him a much larger dominion in Scotland; and along with it, his friendship.[4] They all[5] pressed this upon king John; but he would on no account[6] break his oaths to the king of Norway. Upon that, king John went away.[7]

When king Alexander lay in Kerrera sound,[8] he dreamed a dream: and he thought that three men came to him. He thought that one wore royal apparel; this man was very frowning, and red-faced, and stout in figure.[9] The second man seemed to him tall,[10] and slender, and youthful[11]; the fairest of men, and nobly dressed.[12] The third was by far the largest in

[1] So also in Fl. The name is spelt *Bianaborg* in Fr.; *Biarnarborg* in Sk.; *Kiarnaborg* in the Stockholm MS. (Vigfusson's MS. H, MS. Holm. 20, fasc. 3). Vigfusson preferred the reading of the Stockholm MS., and would have identified the place with "Cairnburgh," apparently the Cairnburgmore in the north of the Treshinish islands, to the west of Mull. The readings of the other MSS. however almost conclusively oppose this identification: and the form given by the Stockholm MS. is not phonetically identical with the Gaelic name; because Scandinavian *ia* and Gaelic *á* are not interchangeable.

[2] "was willing to" Fr.

[3] "support and" add Fr., Fl., Sk.

[4] Fr., Fl., Sk., read: "his support and friendship, if king John were willing to turn to his friendship [to him with full confidence Fl., Sk.]." E.'s reading might have been abbreviated from one similar to Fr.'s through an error of homoioteleuton.

[5] "All his relatives and friends" Fr.; "They all, both relatives and friends" Fl., Sk.

[6] "but he did well and steadfastly, and said that he would not" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[7] "and as far north as to Lewis" Fr.; "and he did not stop before he came north to Lewis" Fl., Sk.

[8] *í Kiarbareyiarsundi:* so also in Fl., Sk. Fr. reads *Biarkreyiarsundi*, through attraction to Biarnaborg, above.

[9] "rather stout in figure" Fr., Sk.; "rather stout; a man of middle size" Fl.

[10] "tall" not in Fr., Sk.

[11] "rather youthful" Fr.; "valiant" Fl.

[12] So also Sk. "the noblest of men, and well dressed" Fr.; "the fairest and noblest of all men" Fl.

figure, and the most frowning, of them all. He was very bald in front. He spoke to the king, and asked whether he intended to go plundering to[1] the Hebrides. He thought he answered that that was certain.[2] The dream-man bade him turn back, and said to him that they would not hear of anything else.

The king told his dream; and men begged him to[3] turn back, but he would not do that. And but little later[4] he fell ill, and died. Then the Scots broke up the levy,[5] and conveyed the king's body[6] up into Scotland. The Hebrideans say that these men who appeared to the king in his sleep [must] have been[7] St Olaf, king of Norway[8]; and St Magnus, earl of the Orkneys[9]; and St Columba.

The Scots now[10] took as their king Alexander, son of king[11] Alexander. He married afterwards a daughter of Henry, king of the English[12]; and became a great chief.[13]

1249

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 102, s.a. 1249

At the same time, Alexander, the king of Scotland, collected a numerous host of ships, wishing to make the kingdom of all the islands subject to himself. And when he had arrived at the island that is called Kerrera, he was seized with fever there, and died. His body was carried to the monastery of Melrose, where it was given honourable burial. His son Alexander, while still a boy, began to reign in his stead.

So Harold the son of Godfrey Dond, assuming the name

[1] "to plunder in" Fr.; "[to go] to" Fl.

[2] "that he certainly intended to lay the islands under himself" Fr., Sk.; similarly Fl. (reading "that it was certain that he intended . . . ").

[3] "most men urged him, that he must" Fr., Fl., Sk.

[4] "king Alexander" Fl., Sk.

[5] "the gathering" Fl.

[6] "his body" Fr.; "the king" Fl.

[7] "were" Fl., Sk.; "that these men [must] have appeared to the king in his sleep" Fr.

[8] "king of Norway": Fr. reads instead, "Harold's son."

[9] "St Magnus . . . Orkneys"; Fr. reads instead, "earl Magnus."

[10] "now" not in Fr., Fl., Sk.

[11] "king" not in Fr., Sk.

[12] "of England" Fr., Sk.

[13] "after that" add Fl., Sk.

and rank of king in Man, exiled almost all the chiefs of king Harold Olaf's son; and appointed [Harold's] exiles chiefs and nobles in their place.

1249

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 177-178, s.a. 1249

In the same year, Alexander, the renowned king of the Scots, was attacked by a serious infirmity, while he was upon his way to pacify the districts of Argyle[1]; and he was conveyed to the islands of Kerrera[2]: where, after receiving the ecclesiastical sacraments, his happy soul was taken from this light, and (as we believe) was given a place in heaven, along with all the saints. And his body was transported (as he had commanded, before he died) to the church of Melrose; and was committed to the bosom of the earth in it, in royal fashion.

He departed from this life in the fifty-first year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign; on the eighth day before[3] the Ides of July—the fifth day of the week.[4] And he bequeathed

[1] The Chronicle of Lanercost (55), s.a. 1249, abridges this passage, but reads corruptly: "districts of Orkney" (*Orcadiae*, instead of *Ergadie*).

[2] *de Gerverei.* C.L. reads *de Cerverei.* The chronicle in Edinburgh University Library reads, s.a. 1241, *in Kerwera* (Miss Borland, Catalogue of MSS., 330).

[3] The Chronicle of Lanercost omits "eighth day before"; but has copied the other numbers correctly.

[4] I.e., on Thursday, 8th July, 1249. Paris says that he died on the 3rd. See his account, in E.C., 360-361. According to Paris, Alexander's expedition was directed against Eogan (*Oenus*) of Argyle. This was probably the same man (Eugenius de Argoythel) whom Henry III took under his protection, through John Maunsel, in 1255 (September 21st and 23rd: see Patent Rolls (1908), 426).

In returns of king Alexander's lands in Cumberland, the date of his death is equated with the festival of St Margaret; i.e., the 10th of June (Pipe Rolls, 34 Henry III; Bain, i, no. 1799).

King Alexander appears to have been at Edinburgh on 28th June, and at Stirling on 1st July, 1249 (Newbattle, no. 41).

Alexander had apparently been in indifferent health early in 1248. Lent began on 4th March. On 14th March, 1248, pope Innocent IV wrote to him; and, considering that constant eating of fish was so distasteful to him that he was ill during almost the whole of Lent, permitted him to eat eggs, butter, cheese, and meats, on the advice of his confessor and physicians, when necessary (Theiner, 49, no. 131; Bliss, i, 243). This indulgence seems to have been obtained for him by Abel, his clerk. Cf. year 1248, note.

his kingdom to Alexander, his son, a boy of about eight years.[1] He was appointed king by the magnates after the ancestral custom, on the third day before the Ides of July[2]; he was placed upon his father's throne, and honoured by all as the lawful heir.[3]

1249

Bodleian version of the Verse Chronicle, in Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 182

Then[4] began the reign of king Alexander, wielding the royal sceptre; a noble and pious man. He was a famed protector of the clergy, also lover of strict law, and generous giver.[5]

When he had completed thrice ten with five years of his reign, he died in Argyle; but he lives[6] without end: justly he has no end, since the honour of his uprightness lives in fame; by his good deeds it is preserved.

He died in Argyle, when he had completed eight of the Ides of July. And Melrose holds his bones in burial.

His son, who now holds the sceptre of Scotland, has his father's name: may he follow his father's acts!

1249

Inserted folio 13 in the Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 53, 222[7]

In the year 1249, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, the peaceful king Alexander died, on the eighth day before the

[1] For his birth, see year 1241.

[2] I.e., on 13th July.

[3] This succession is noted in B.T., s.a. 1250 (R.S. **17**, 372; Evans and Rhys, Bruts, 372): "1250 years was the age of Christ, when the king of Scotland [*Prydein*] died, leaving one son as his heir."

Alexander's death is noted by the Icelandic Annals KOCDPA, s.a. 1249.

King Alexander II had a daughter, named (after his mother) Ermengarde, who predeceased him (Arbroath, i, no. 309). His illegitimate daughter Margery had married Alan the Doorward. See below, year 1251.

[4] After the death of William.

[5] Pope Innocent IV writes of king Alexander II as a defender of the church; and of the evils resulting to the church during the minority of Alexander III (Moray, no. 260; 31 May 1251).

[6] *fuit . . . manet.*

[7] See above, year 1056.

The last paragraph of this folio is placed at the top of p. 222 in Stevenson's edition. The whole passage is here translated from the manuscript, not from Stevenson's text.

Ides of July.[1] And his son, Alexander, succeeded him, on the third day before the Ides of July.[2]

Since then, fourteen years have been completed.[3]

·: Since the foundation of Cîteaux, 166 years [have been] com[pleted].[4]

·: In the year of the Lord 1264, six score and eight years have been completed since the foundation of Melrose[5]; and since the martyrdom of St Thomas, four score and twelve.[6] After the capture of William, the king of the Scots, eighty-nine[7]; after the battle at the Standard, six score and five[8];

[1] I.e., on 8th July.

[2] I.e., on 13th July.

[3] This leaf therefore was written between 13th July, 1263, and 12th July, 1264. The two previous calculations in the same folio (above, year 1214) place its date more definitely within the same period (4th Sep. 1263 × ca. 19th June 1264). See below.

One section of C.M. ends, and another section begins, with the year 1263. Folio 13 was probably written at the time when the edition to 1263 was completed.

[4] These words, and the following paragraph, are less carefully written than the preceding part of the folio. They are entered with a finely-pointed pen in the blank space that concludes the second page.

The number (166) may have been altered.

Cîteaux was founded on 21st March, 1098; therefore the calculation is erroneous. If we correct the number *clxvi* to *cclxvi*, the emended calculation would place the writing of these words within the period 21st March 1264 × 20th March 1265. If the calculation, thus emended, were exact, this part of the text would have been written a few months after the birth of the heir-apparent, Alexander (born 21st January, 1264; † 28th January, 1284).

[5] I.e., since 28th July, 1146. The calculation would be correct, if it was made after 28th July in 1264.

The numbers (1264, 128) in the MS. look as if a *j* had been added to both. They may originally have been 1263, 127. If so, the alteration has made this calculation disagree with seven out of the ten other calculations in the folio. The numbers of the remaining three calculations, with which it does not necessarily disagree, may all have been altered in the MS.

[6] I.e., after 29th December, 1170. This calculation would have been correct for 1263, if made before December 29th.

[7] I.e., after 13th July, 1174. The deducible date of writing is 13th July 1263 × 12th July 1264.

[8] I.e., after 22nd August, 1138. The deducible date of writing is 22nd August 1263 × 21st August 1264.

The number (125) may have been altered in the MS.

after the birth of king Alexander [II], sixty-five.[1] And at the festival of St James,[2] the fifty-fourth year has been completed since William, the king of the Scots, gave up his daughters[3]: that is, forty-seven [years] since the burning of Roxburgh and Berwick.[4]

1249

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, version I; in Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 290[5]

Alexander, William's son, [reigned] for thirty-three[6] years; and he died in Argyle,[7] and was buried[8] at Melrose.

[1] I.e., after 24th August, 1198. The deducible date of writing is 24th August 1263 × 23rd August 1264.

The number (65) may have been altered in the MS.

[2] 25th July; probably a day that had already passed in the year in which these words were written.

[3] I.e., since ca. 25th July, 1209. The calculation is correct for 1263.

[4] I.e., since January, 1216. The calculation is correct for 1263.

Of the eleven calculations in this folio, nine combined would give the date 4 Sep. 1263 × 28 Dec. 1263. It is possible that the Cîteaux and Melrose calculations were altered in 1264, after 28th July. This folio was included in the 1264 edition of the chronicle, completed after (probably soon after) the birth of the heir-apparent on 21st January, 1264.

[5] Similarly in K (207), the continuation of G (303), and N (306).

[6] "37," K; "32," G; "35," N.

[7] "At Kenbray in Orkney" K; "in Konerlay" G; omitted, N. Fordun, c. 74, says that Alexander II died at "Curlay."

[8] "lies" K.

PART XII

Reign of Alexander III, to the Year 1263

1249

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, Continuation of version F; in Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 176

Alexander the son, a boy of seven years, was crowned at Scone on the third day before the Ides of July, by David, the bishop of St Andrews.[1]

In 1251, this king went into England, and was honourably received by the king of England at York; he was made a knight, and on the following day married the king's daughter. By what mischance I know not, the devil has sown discord among the nobles of this land; the chancellor and justiciar of Scotland have been accused before the king of England, and deprived of their offices; and others have been substituted in their place.[2]

1250

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 178

In the year of the Lord 1250, after everything had gone prosperously for the army of the Christians, the Christian knighthood was betrayed to the pagans—principally, it is said, because of the pride of the French. [The pagans] obtained the victory on the sixth day in the first week of Lent[3]; and they inflicted upon the Christians miserable slaughter, but not

[1] I.e., on 13th July, 1249. The year-number 1251, which I place at the beginning of the following paragraph, is placed at the end of this paragraph by Innes (Critical Essay, 425) and by Skene. In the MS., 1251 ends the line; there is no punctuation-mark; and *hic*, the first word in the next line, is written without a capital letter.

[2] Here version F ends. The last sentence shows that the conclusion was written not long after 1255. See E.C., 370-373.

[3] I.e., Friday, 16th February, 1250.

without the greatest loss to their own men. They even took the king of France himself; and carried him away alive, and kept him among them for some time most honourably; and afterwards, when a ransom had been given, and a truce formed between them, they permitted him most freely to return to his land.

But after the departure of the king, the pagans entered Damietta; and seeing the [Mahommedan] temples with their images destroyed, they were enraged beyond measure, broke the truce, and put to death all the Christians that they could find, by various manners of death.

Hearing this, king [Louis IX] returned to Acre, and there awaited assistance from the crusaders.[1]

Sir Robert de Muschamp was buried at Melrose.[2]

After the death of bishop Geoffrey, master Richard of Inverkeithing was elected to the administration of the bishopric of Dunkeld,[3] and was consecrated.

[1] With this account, cf. R.S. **57**, v, 105-109, 139-144; 147-175, 201-204: **44**, iii, 74-75, 81-85, 95-96: **36**, iii, 179-180; ii, 341-343.

The crusaders' losses were 60,000 men, and 20,000 men-at-arms, in the French army. Louis's ransom was fixed at 60,000 pounds of gold (R.S. **57**, v, 204. Cf. vi, 521: "According to the assertion of the master of the Temple in Scotland, the ransom of the king of the French when he was captured by the Saracens in Egypt amounted to 40,000 pounds of gold. And the number of the slain was 60,000, and 20,000 in the army of the French, in the year of the Lord 1250. . . .").

For the massacre in Damietta, cf. R.S. **57**, v, 164.

[2] *de Campo muscarum* "of the Field of flies." For this Robert, see Melrose, nos. 232, 233, 234 (cf. nos. 235-237, 305-307); and S.P., v, 576-577; viii, 246. His daughter, Margery († × 1255), married Malisse or Maelissa, the earl of Strathearn (†1271). Their daughter, Muriel (†1291), married William, earl of Mar (†1274 × 81).

[3] To the same effect in C.L., 56, s.a. 1250.

Geoffrey had been elected in 1236. He died, according to Bower, ii, 78, on 22nd November, 1249.

On 30th August, 1250, pope Innocent IV wrote to the bishops [David] of St Andrews and [Geoffrey] of Dunkeld, and [Robert] the abbot of Dunfermline, a papal chaplain; bidding them assist Richard Giffard, the king of Scotland's cousin; and Giffard's cousins, Thomas Paynel, Alan de Lasceles, and Adam Penkethan, on their way to Palestine, out of funds raised for the crusade (Theiner, 52-53, no. 142; Bliss, i, 261). See years 1248, 1251, notes.

Richard was appointed to the bishopric in 1250, according to

Bower, ii, 83. He was chamberlain of Scotland in 1250, but appears as bishop of Dunkeld 1251 × 1252 (Inchaffray, no. 90).

Richard, bishop of Dunkeld, confirmed to the monastery of Inchaffray the church and Appin of Madderty, on 2nd August, 1263, "in the 12th year of our episcopate" (Inchaffray, no. 90). This places his consecration 3 Aug. 1251 × 2 Aug. 1252. Cf. D.B., 57-58.

On 10th December, 1263, pope Urban IV wrote to the bishop of Dunkeld. The pope had ordered the bishops of Dunkeld and Glasgow to give the canonry and prebend that had been held by the bishop of Dunkeld before his promotion to master William de Lacornere, a papal chaplain; but the prebend had been withheld, on the plea that it had already been given to Nicholas, the bishop [of Dunkeld]'s nephew. The prebend with arrears must be given to William; a sum equal to its revenue being paid to him until he received it (Bliss, i, 416).

On the same day, the pope wrote to [Robert de Prebenda] the bishop of Dunblane, and the prior of St Cuthbert's at Durham; ordering them to carry out the mandate in favour of master William de Lacornere, if the bishop of Dunkeld neglected to fulfil it (ibid.).

In September, 1264, the same pope granted to master William de Corneria, papal chaplain, canon of York, the right to a canonry and prebend of Salisbury (Bliss, i, 418). Cf. the letter of 15th June, 1268; in Bliss, i, 435.

In 1265, according to Bower, ii, 104, bishop Richard [† 1272] built a new choir in Inchcolm, at his own expense. In 1266, (ibid., 105) the bones of bishops of Dunkeld were translated to the new choir at Inchcolm; and laid, John of Leicester [† 1214] to the south, Richard [† 1178] and Gilbert [† 1236] to the north, beside the altar.

On 7th May, 1273, pope Gregory X wrote to the bishops of Moray, Aberdeen, and Glasgow, and stated that since the church of Dunkeld (which was the special daughter of the Roman church) was destitute of the solace of a pastor, the canons had by the way of compromise elected master Robert, dean of the same church, as bishop. He bade these bishops examine the fitness of the elect, with discretion to confirm his election, and consecrate him (Theiner, 103, no. 255).

On 13th December, 1283, pope Martin IV announced the consecration of William, dean of Dunkeld, to the bishopric of Dunkeld. On the death of bishop Robert, the chapter had elected Hugh of Stirling, who died at the papal court, unconsecrated. His death was announced to the chapter by master Peter of Tilleuil, and master Matthew of Crombie, canons of Dunkeld. The dean; Robert, the chancellor; Weland de Stickelaw, a canon, of Dunkeld; and the two canons named above, were commissioned by the chapter to elect a bishop. They elected William; and the pope had caused O[do], bishop of Tusculum, to consecrate him (Bliss, i, 469-470). Concurrent letters were sent to the chapter; the clergy; the people; and all vassals, of the church of Dunkeld; and to the king of Scotland.

Bishop William died, and his successor Matthew of Crombie was consecrated, before 10th April, 1288 (Theiner, 139-140, no. 306). See D.B., 59-60.

Frederick, who was the emperor, died.[1]

Adam, the abbot of Dundrennan, died; and Brian, a monk of the same house, succeeded him.[2]

[1] Frederick II died on 13th December, 1250, according to R.S. **57**, v, 190; **36**, iii, 181 (but **36**, i, 143, says, on the previous day).

[2] The previous Dundrennan succession recorded by the Chronicle of Melrose occurred in 1239.

During the abbacy of Adam, the long-standing dispute with regard to certain lands, claimed by Dundrennan abbey and by the knight Nicholas of Cardoness (*de Kardes*, *Karden*, *Culenes*, or *Kardeses*), in the diocese of Whithorn, as the dowry of his wife, Cecilia, was decided.

See the letter of pope Honorius III written in this affair, to the archdeacons [Laurence] of St Andrews and [? Henry] of Dunkeld, on 22nd February, 1220 (Horoy, iii, 390-392; Theiner, 14, no. 32). On 20th January, 1240, pope Gregory IX wrote to [Walter] the abbot of Dryburgh, the prior of Dryburgh, and the prior of Kelso, bidding them adjudicate in the dispute; the case having gone on for 20 years (Theiner, 39-40, no. 102; Bliss, i, 188). In the same year, abbot Walter resigned office; and in the next year pope Gregory died (see year 1240).

On 17th April, 1241, pope Gregory committed the case for trial to the archdeacon, chancellor, and precentor, of York. The case had been remitted by the abbot of Jedburgh to the pope, who had ordered it to be tried by the archdeacon of St Andrews and others. But Alan of Galloway, the civil lord of Nicholas and Cecilia, had by taking their goods forced them to enter into a settlement that was injurious to them. After Alan's death [† 1234], they had appealed to the pope, who ordered the case to be tried by the abbot of Tongland and the dean and official of Glasgow. But the place of trial was more than two days' journey from Dundrennan; and the abbot and convent of Dundrennan had received indulgence from the pope defending them from citations to a greater distance than two days' journey. Therefore the case could not be heard. The abbot's proctor by misrepresentation obtained letters ordering the abbot of Dryburgh and colleagues to try the case. Nicholas and Cecilia objected to the trial, because the letters ordering it made no mention of the previous trials and settlement. The judges overruled this objection, and excommunicated Nicholas and Cecilia when they appealed again to the pope. Meanwhile Nicholas's proctor obtained orders for trial by the dean of York and his colleagues. All documents were to be produced, and the case terminated, or remitted to the pope. Instead of producing the documents, the abbot of Dundrennan obtained a hearing at Rome, from deacon cardinal R. of St Eustace; who returned the case to the abbot of Dryburgh. Nicholas and Cecilia appealed again; and the pope repeated his orders to the dean to try the case, the sentence of excommunication being meanwhile relaxed. Bliss, i, 196-197.

On 30th July, 1243, pope Innocent IV wrote to the archdeacon [W. de Maulia] and the dean [Baldred] of Lothian, and the master of the scholars of Berwick [? William Brun, "master of the nuns"], stating that the

1249 × 1250

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, pp. 102-104[1]

A miracle of St Mary.

There was a certain chief named Donald, an aged and noble man, who was beyond the rest an especial [friend] of Harold Olaf's son. Fleeing from the pursuit of Harold, the son of Godfrey Dond, he came with his son, a young boy, to the monastery of St Mary at Rushen. The aforesaid Harold also came after him to the monastery; and because he could not use force against [Donald] in the holy place, he addressed him with gentle and deceitful words, saying: "Why didst thou wish to flee like this? I meditate inflicting no evil upon thee." And he promised [Donald] security, and by means of an oath persuaded him that he might go freely wherever he wished through the land. The man trusted the king's oath and troth, and followed him from the monastery.

After a little time, the king adopted wicked counsel, forgot his oath and troth, and caused the aforesaid man to be seized and bound; and to be led, bound, to a certain island,[2] which is situated in the wood of Mirescog; setting many warders over him.

The aforesaid chief was one who had great confidence in the Lord. As often as opportunity offered, he bent his knees to the Lord, [praying] that he would release him from chains, by intercession of the blessed Virgin Mary, his mother, from whose monastery he had been fraudulently taken.

case between the abbot and convent of Dundrennan, and Nicholas de Culenes and his wife Cecilia, of the diocese of Whithorn, concerning some possessions and other property bearing upon the dowry of Cecilia, had been settled by agreement: but, they falsely asserted, unjustly in favour of the monastery, through fear of their late lord, Alan [of Galloway. Similar statements had been made in 1240]. Pope Innocent bade the addressees re-open and terminate the case (Theiner, no. 105; Bliss, i, 199).

The monks lost their case, but barricaded a church against Nicholas. He tried to force an entrance; and was excommunicated by them.

On 17th October, 1246, the same pope ordered the archdeacon of Whithorn to absolve Nicholas de Kerdeses, knight, and Cecilia his wife, from excommunication incurred in the dispute (Bliss, i, 228).

[1] This stands after two annals of 1249.

[2] Goss suggests that this may have been a *crannóg*. For Mirescog, cf. above, 1176-1177.

Divine aid did not fail him. On a certain day, while he sat in the house with two men only [guarding him] (since the others had gone out upon their own affairs), suddenly the chain fell from his foot, and gave him perfect freedom to escape. But considering within himself that he should be able to escape more readily in the night-time, when his warders were asleep, he thought to replace his foot in the chain; but he was not able to do it. Perceiving therefore that this had happened by divine command, he put on his tunic and cloak; and springing out of doors, endeavoured to escape.

One of the guards, who performed the office of baker, saw him, and suddenly rose and followed him; but when he had gone forward only a little way, in his desire to catch the fugitive, he fell over a log of timber, and nearly broke his leg: he who a short while before was attempting to run, now could not stand, by a manifest miracle of God. And the man [Donald], freed by grace of God, came on the third day to the monastery of St Mary at Rushen; rendering thanks to God and his most compassionate mother for his liberation.

This we have written, as we learned it from his mouth.[1]

1250

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, pp. 104-108

In the year 1250, Harold, the son of Godfrey Dond, was summoned by letter, and went to the court of the lord king of Norway. The king was angry with him, because he had usurpingly seized[2] the kingdom, which was not his by right. And [the king] kept him in Norway, with the intention of not allowing him to return any more to the regions of the Hebrides.

In the same year, Magnus, Olaf's son, and John, Dugald's son, and certain Norwegians, came to Man; and landed at the

[1] This shows that the chronicle (originally carried down to 1257) was written not very long after 1249; especially if Donald was old at the time of the episode here described.

[2] *usurparet arripere . . . sibi non debitum.*

Harold's right had been acknowledged by king Henry III; who had on 28th December 1249 issued licence to "our dear and faithful [subject], Artaldus, illustrious king of Man," to come to him in England, to confer, "and do to us what he owes to do"; with safe-conduct in coming, remaining, and returning, valid until 29th September 1250 (Foedera, i, 1, 272).

harbour that is called Ronaldsway. And John, Dugald's son, sent messengers to the people of Man, saying: "John, king of the islands, announces to you so and so." And when the Manxmen heard it, that John was named king of the islands, they were very indignant, and refused to hear further the messengers' words.

The messengers returned, and reported this to John, their lord; and immediately, greatly enraged, he caused his whole force to arm: and, armed, to land upon St Michael's island. He caused them all to sit down in order, arranged in companies, as if they were immediately to set out to battle; and he commanded them all to be ready at the first dawn of the following day, to meet with the Manxmen, unless [the Manxmen] would voluntarily promise to give whatever they should ask of them.

The Manxmen, seeing battle-lines drawn up against them, had boldly proceeded to the shore; and disposing themselves in companies in order to resist them, boldly awaited the issue of the affair.

When the tide of the sea, by which the approach to the island was cut off, retired, the aforesaid John and those who were with him returned to their ships; though many still wandered through the island, and others prepared what was necessary for food. And when the day drew towards evening, behold, a certain youth who accompanied Ivar the knight, with many of the people of the islands, entered [St Michael's island]; and in the onset slew certain men. And many, as they fled to their ships, were drowned in swimming out.

I doubt not that this befel them by reason of their pride and lofty spirit, because they refused to accept the peace offered to them by the people of the land. For the people of Man had sent an announcement to them by intermediaries in the first hour of the day,[1] saying: "Come confidently on shore, as many of you as have been sent from the side of the lord king of Norway, and show us his letters; and whatever has been commanded us by his Clemency, we shall gladly do." But they neither showed his letters, nor gave a peaceful answer; and they would receive nothing that had been offered them by the people of the land.

On the following day they departed from Man in great

[1] 6-7 a.m.

wrath. A storm arose, and they lost many nobles by shipwreck.[1]

1251

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 178-179

In the year of the Lord 1251, Ralph, the abbot of St Edward,[2] died. He was succeeded by John, a monk of the same house, and formerly the prior of May.[3]

During the same time, sir Herbert, the abbot of Kinloss, an aged man, refused to be abbot [longer]: and Richard, a monk of the same house, succeeded him.[4]

In the same year, Henry, the king of England, and Alexander, the king of Scotland, went to meet each other at York, along with the magnates of both kingdoms.[5] And on the day of the Lord's Nativity,[6] the king of Scotland[7] received the arms of knighthood from the king of England; and on the

[1] Cf. C.L., 56, s.a. 1249: "When [Harold, Godfrey Dond's son] was removed from the kingdom of Man by the king of Norway [in 1250], Magnus, Olaf's son, the brother of Harold, began to reign."

See year 1252.

[2] I.e., of Balmerino. In the margin is a note: "3rd." Ralph had been elected in 1236. John may have been the prior John mentioned in May, no. 41.

[3] See year 1252.

[4] The last-mentioned election at Kinloss was that of Robert, in 1220. Herbert was already the abbot there in 1226 (September 15th: see Moray, 78-80).

Richard died in 1274.

[5] Alexander's safe-conduct to go to Henry is dated at Westminster, on 18th October, 1251. See Foedera, i, **1**, 278.

On 6th April, 1251, pope Innocent IV refused to grant requests made by the king of England to the disadvantage of the kingdom of Scotland (Foedera, i, **1**, 277). Nevertheless, king Edward I said in his letter to Boniface, apparently referring to the occasion of the marriage ceremony: "Also Alexander, king of the Scots, our brother-in-law, did homage to our father, Henry, king of England, for the kingdom of Scotland; and afterwards, to us" (i.e., in 1278). Cf. B.S. in R.B.H., 401: "[Henry III's] daughter was called Margaret, who was the wife of Alexander, king of North Britain; and [Alexander] did homage to king Henry, in the 35th year of [Henry's] kingdom" (28 Oct. 1250 × 27 Oct. 1251).

See E.C., 365-366, 383. Homage was not done for Scotland in 1251.

[6] 25th December, 1251.

[7] "King Alexander, ten years old" C.L. "A boy of nine years" Fordun. His age was 10 years, 3 months, and 21 days.

following day,[1] he united to himself in marriage the aforesaid king's eldest daughter, called Margaret.[2]

[1] I.e., on 26th December, 1251. See Foedera, i, **1**, 279.

[2] This paragraph is abridged by C.L., 56-57, s.a. 1251. This appears to be the last instance on which C.L. certainly borrows from C.M. The present section of C.M. runs down to 1263.

See E.C., 363-368 (on p. 364, ll. 24, 25, instead of "nails . . . cudgels," read "cudgels . . . swords"). To the references ibid., 363, note 3, add the Eton MS. of Flores Historiarum, R.S. **95**, iii, 244-245, s.a. 1252.

Margaret was born, according to Paris, on 29th September, 1240 (R.S. **44**, ii, 438 ; **57**, iv, 48. Her birth is placed on 2nd October, 1240, in R.S. **95**, ii, 239-240 ; on 1st October, 1240, in **36**, i, 116 ; in 1241, by the Annals of Dunstable—**36**, iii, 156— ; in 1242, by Wykes, **36**, iv, 90 ; in 1243, by the Annals of Worcester, followed by MS. B of Annales Cambriae—**36**, iv, 432 ; **20**, 84).

According to Paris, the betrothal took place in 1242. It was confirmed in 1244. See E.C., 348-349, 355.

The marriage is mentioned by the Annales Dorenses, s.a 1251 (M.G.H., Scriptores, xxvii, 529) ; and in a 1291 chronicle of London (Palgrave, 107).

Henry undertook to pay to Alexander III, as dowry, 5,000 marks of silver, which he had owed to Alexander II (Foedera, i, **1**, 279).

Before her son's marriage, the dowager queen of Scotland, Mary de Coucy, had returned to France (E.C., 362-363, 367-368). She had been present at the translation of St Margaret in Dunfermline on 19th June, 1250 (see year 1093, note). She received safe-conduct to pass through England on her way from Scotland to France, and back, between 13th September, 1250, and 24th June, 1251 (Bain, i, no. 1785).

Thomas de Coucy and others in her retinue received safe-conduct until 11th November, 1251 (Bain, i, no. 1786).

Queen Mary left England for France after 22nd October, 1250 (nos. 1791, 1795). With Thomas de Coucy, and others of her retinue, she received safe-conduct in going through England [from France], on 3rd August, 1251, to last until 2nd February, 1252 (no. 1804) ; for going and returning, on 24th September, 1251, until 16th April, 1252 (no. 1807 ; Foedera, 278). She was presumably in France from November 1250 until September 1251. She seems to have been present at the wedding (see Bain, i, no. 1854 ; E.C., 368).

She received safe-conduct, dated at Westminster, on 13th September, 1256, to visit England, and return to France, before 27th May, 1257 (Bain, i, no. 2064). She married John de Brienne, or de Acre, the son of John, king of Jerusalem, apparently between 13th September, 1256, and 6th June, 1257 (ibid., no. 2083 ; Foedera, i, **1**, 357). A conditional safe-conduct was issued to her and her husband, at Westminster, on 18th June, 1257, to last until 29th September, 1257, in order that they might visit Scotland ; first having taken an oath neither directly nor indirectly to contrive any evil against the king of England, or the king and queen of Scotland, or their council (Bain i, no. 2084 ; Foedera, i, **1**, 358).

She and her husband were among the governors who received sanction

And so it happened that Alan the Doorward,[1] and certain other men, were accused there, before the king of Scotland, of treason against him. For this reason many were forced to relinquish their offices; while others, fearing for their safety, slipped away in flight, and ingloriously returned to their country. But the king of Scotland, doing everything temperately, and with the counsel of the king of England most honourably, returned with his consort to his land.[2]

Now this was the cause of the accusation. The king of England declared that he had been informed that lord Alan, the Doorward of Scotland, and also at that time justiciar, had along with his accomplices sent envoys, with gifts, to the lord pope; in order that he should in such a manner legitimize his daughters (whom he had had by the king's sister), that, if any accident should happen to the king of Scotland, they should succeed him in the kingdom as the lawful heirs. And if he had obtained this, none doubted that he would have turned traitor to the king and queen.[3]

from Henry (at Westminster) on 6th November, 1258, to rule over Scotland. See Foedera, i, **1**, 378: and below, year 1258.

On 24th February, 1276, at Banbury, safe-conduct was issued for Mary to go on pilgrimage to Canterbury; to last until the 24th of June (Bain, ii, no. 67).

On 14th September, 1276, king Edward I issued safe-conduct for the same lady, to go on pilgrimage to Canterbury, and return to Scotland before 2nd February, 1277 (Bain, ii, no. 80). On 26th December, 1276, at Cirencester, safe-conduct was issued to her to go beyond the sea on pilgrimage, and to return (Foedera, i, **2**, 540). Cf. Bain, ii, no. 85.

[1] *Ostiarius* (literally "usher"; cf. below). See years 1253, 1255, 1257, 1258, ?1275. Alan Doorward had married Alexander II's illegitimate daughter, Margery. See Foedera, i, **2**, 775. Cf. Fordun, Annals, c. 50; i, 296.

[2] On 22nd February, 1252, the king of England exempted Matilda de Cantilupe from various taxes. She had gone with the queen of Scotland to Scotland (Foedera, i, **1**, 279).

On 23rd November, 1252, pope Innocent IV requested the abbot of Westminster and John Maunsel, papal chaplain, provost of Beverley, to provide Robert de Anketil, the queen of Scotland's clerk, with a benefice in Scotland (Bliss, i, 287).

[3] C.L. omits the Doorward episode, and adds (57, s.a. 1251): "In the same year, Alexander, the king of Scotland, ten years old, did homage to the said king Henry. And the queen [of Scotland] was entrusted to the guardianship of Robert de Ross, and John de Balliol; and likewise the

1252

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 179

In the year of the Lord 1252, John, the abbot of St Edward, resigned his office; and sir Adam, the porter of Melrose, succeeded him.[1]

In the same year, Geoffrey, the abbot of St Serf, and Robert, the abbot of Deer, departed from this light. And Henry,[2] the prior of Kinloss, was made abbot of Deer; and Michael, the porter of St Serf, [was made] abbot of the same house.[3] [He was succeeded [as porter] by sir John of Haddington, a monk of St Serf.

Diana died.][4]

kingdom of Scotland, and the king: this from the Chronicles of St Albans." See E.C., 368-369.

On 4th September, 1251, permission was given to Scottish crusaders to redeem their vows (Foedera, i, 1, 278). See year 1253, note.

[1] John had been elected to the abbacy of Balmerino in 1251. Adam resigned in 1260.

[2] "Henry" is added, in a blank space, in different ink.

[3] Geoffrey had been elected to the abbacy of Culross in 1246; Michael resigned it in 1260. Robert had been elected to the abbacy of Deer in 1235; Henry resigned it in 1262.

[4] "He . . . St Serf" added in the margin. "Diana died" is written in the margin, above the preceding sentence.

"Diana" may possibly be a mis-reading of "Clara." For the death of Clara, on 11th August, 1253, see C.L., 57. She was canonized in 1255; her day is 12th August. See A.S., August, ii (1867), 754-760. Cf. R.S. 36, iii, 461. St Francis wrote letters to her, and drew up her Rule. See Horoy, vi, 223-224, 294-303.

On 7th June, 1252, pope Innocent IV wrote to the prior and chapter of St Andrews, of the order of St Augustine. The prebends of célidé, when they died, were to have been bestowed upon regular canons appointed in their place. A dispute had arisen over this. The pope gave them the dean of Dunkeld as conservator (Theiner, 53-55, no. 145; Bliss, i, 271).

Before 13th February, 1253, Robert of Keldeleth resigned the abbacy of Dunfermline (see 1240, † 1268). On 13th February, 1253, pope Innocent IV ordered Robert, formerly abbot of Dunfermline, to confer upon William de Suineburne, the king of Scotland's clerk, some benefice, with charge of souls (Theiner, 64, no. 170). Suineburne was probably a place in East Lothian (near Swinton?), not Swinburn in Northumberland. Cf. year 1247, note.

1252

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 108

In the year 1252, Magnus Olaf's son came again to Man; and all the Manxmen received him with joy, and appointed him their king.[1]

1252

Eirspennill's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, c. 308; Unger's Konunga Sögur, p. 423[2]

. . . This was the thirty-fifth winter of [king Hakon's] reign.

In the spring, in Lent, died[3] archbishop Sigurd, on the second day[4] before the Nones of March. In his place was chosen sir Sörli; he was a canon in Hamar. He went from the land[5] this summer, to pope Innocent, and received consecration from him.

Archbishop Sörli consecrated two bishops in the pope's residence:—the one, Peter, as bishop of Hamar (he had been before a Dominican friar); the other, Richard, as bishop to the Hebrides.[6]

1253

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 179-180

In the year of the Lord 1253, William Earl's-son died.[7]

And David, the bishop of St Andrews, passed from this

[1] C.L., 57: "In the year of the Lord 1252, Magnus Olaf's son began to reign, by consent of the people of Man.

"In the same year there was the greatest heat and drought."

[2] Parallel passages are in Fr., 543, c. 281 (also in F.S., x, 50, c. 276); Fl., iii, 184-185, c. 242; Sk. (R.S. 88, ii, 271, c. 276).

[3] "there were great tidings in Trondhjem: then died" Fl., Sk.

[4] I.e., the 6th of March, 1252.

[5] "from the land" not in Fl.

[6] Pope Innocent IV issued, on 14th March, 1253, three letters, addressed to the chapter of the church of the Hebrides; the clergy of the city and diocese of the Hebrides; and the people of the city and diocese of the Hebrides, giving authority to Richard (formerly chaplain of the presbyter cardinal John of St Laurence in Lucina, and canon of St Andrews), now consecrated bishop of the Hebrides by the metropolitan archbishop of Nidaróss. Diplomatarium Norvegicum, vii, 18-19. For Richard's death, see year 1275.

[7] William was the son of earl Patrick I of Dunbar. See years 1240, 1240-1249, 1241. William's sons, Nicholas and Patrick, succeeded their father in Makerston and Fogo respectively. See C.C., iii, 241.

light.[1] After his passing, a dissension arose over the election: for which reason an appeal was made; and the prior of St Andrews (on the one side) sent delegates, with his canons, while (on the other side) the king sent his envoys, with master Abel, to the Roman court.[2] But, as it is said, master Abel, desiring his own promotion more than the honour of the king or of the kingdom, caused himself to be consecrated as bishop, by the chief pontiff: and so he departed from the court.[3]

Sir Gilbert, the bishop of Whithorn, died; and after him,

[1] See year 1240. David of Birnam died 13th April × 7th June 1253 (St Andrews, 26): on 26th April, according to C.L., below (on 26th April, 1253, also according to Bower, i, 359; who says that he died at Nenthorn, and was buried at Kelso).

The Pontifical used in St Andrews in bishop David's time has been edited by C. Wordsworth (Edinburgh, 1885).

[2] Instead of *suas nuncios . . . curium* in Stevenson's text, the MS. and Fulman's ed. read correctly *suos nuncios . . . curiam.*

Robert de Stouteville, the dean of Dunkeld, had (on 28th June, 1253, according to Bower, VI, 43) been elected to the see of St Andrews by the canons, without consent of the provost and chapter of the célidé of St Mary's, or of Abel, archdeacon of St Andrews. The célidé sent their proctor, and Abel went in person, to appeal to the pope. See below, and year 1254; D.B., 15-16.

On 10th January, 1253, pope Innocent IV had written to the dean [Robert] of Dunkeld, bidding him confer upon Ralph of Tilleuil, the clerk of [Isabella] the countess of Norfolk, aunt of the king of Scotland [see year 1209, note], a benefice in some church in the kingdom of Scotland (Theiner, 64, no. 170. On 4th July, 1257, Ralph was permitted to hold three benefices; Bliss, i, 347: cf. 281, 282).

On 20th March, 1248, pope Innocent IV had permitted Abel, a canon of Glasgow, and the king of Scotland's clerk, to hold an additional benefice (Theiner, 50, no. 131).

On 16th April, 1248, Abel, papal chaplain and canon of Glasgow, received permission to be ordained priest and elected bishop, but not to be confirmed without a papal mandate; since he was the son of a priest (Theiner, 64, no. 170; Bliss, i, 244).

On 5th May, 1248, Abel received dispensation to administer a diocese to which he might be elected, in hope of papal confirmation (Bliss, i, 244; cf. 245).

On 29th May, 1248, the same pope bade Abel, papal chaplain and canon of Glasgow, to act as he thought expedient with regard to churches usurped by monks in the diocese of St Andrews (Theiner, no. 136). Cf. the mandate sent to the bishop of St Andrews on 14th March, 1248; in Bliss, i, 243.

[3] Cf. C.L., 58, s.a. 1253: "Then also, on the sixth day before the Kalends of May [i.e., on 26th April], bishop David of St Andrews died. And the canons elected master Robert de Stouteville, secretly, without the

sir Henry, the abbot of Holyrood, was elected.[1] And sir Ralph, a canon of Holyrood, was made abbot of the same house.

In the same year, Henry, the king of England, sailed across, in order to tranquillize his lands beyond the sea.[2] Alan,

knowledge of the archdeacon [Abel], who ought to have been present [*cujus erat interesse*]. Therefore as soon as he knew it, he appealed to the apostolic see against the election and person of the [bishop-]elect. And the king and his counsellors, being violently displeased with the same electors, because they refused to hear the prayers of the lord king, sent solemn envoys along with the said archdeacon, and laid the case before the Roman court. At last, after many vexations, altercations, and expenses, [the election of] master Robert was quashed, and the pope granted [the bishopric] to the said archdeacon Abel, in place of the other; and consecrated him, on the first Sunday in Lent" (i.e., 1st March, 1254). Abel was consecrated between 20th February and 18th March, 1254 (Theiner, nos. 162, 164; cf. year 1254, note). He died in 1254.

A charter of king Alexander (Newbattle, no. 198) was witnessed by "R., bishop of St Andrews." If the initial has not been incorrectly copied, this would show that the king had withdrawn his opposition, and that Robert de Stouteville had received consecration.

[1] Gilbert had been elected in 1235; see H. & S., ii, **1**, 57; Henry was consecrated in 1255.

To a similar account, C.L. adds (59, s.a. 1253): ". . . Election was made, and Henry, the abbot of Holyrood, at Edinburgh, was promoted: a man discreet, holy, and provident for his house and his parish. But after this was done, sir John de Balliol (who had married the eldest sister of the daughters of Alan, formerly the lord of Galloway) opposed the election, as being invalidly made, and to the prejudice of the ancient liberty of his subjects. But the king defended the patronage and the act; and, although some delay intervened in his consecration, the clergy of the church nevertheless proceeded to the consecration of the [bishop-]elect." Cf. year 1255, note.

Ralph became abbot of Holyrood in 1255.

[2] For this campaign, see M.P., s.aa. 1253, 1254 (R.S. **57**, v, 365-467, *passim*; **44**, iii, 138-140). Henry left Portsmouth on 6th August; and arrived at Bordeaux on 15th August (R.S. **57**, v, 383, 388; **44**, iii, 140. But the Annals of Dunstable say that he arrived on the 19th; and the Annals of Winchester, on the 23rd: R.S. **36**, iii, 186; ii, 93). He returned, from Boulogne, on 27th December, 1254.

See also Foedera, i, **1**, 291-295, etc. Henry had planned a three years' crusade (ibid., 288, 289, 292-293); for which pope Innocent IV demanded from Scotland a twentieth, for three years (23rd May, 1254; ibid., 303. Cf. the letters of Alexander IV of 16th and 17th May, 1255; ibid., 322). the proposed crusade was abandoned, in favour of warfare in Sicily (31st May, 1254; ibid., 304). But the Sicilian campaign was not carried out. Pope Alexander IV urged Henry to adhere to his proposed crusade (ibid., 316): but it was again commuted to an expedition to Sicily

the Doorward of Scotland, followed him, and valiantly attacked and conquered the king of England's enemies.[1] In this way he not only recovered the king's friendship, but also accused in many ways those that had accused him before the same king, with their accomplices; and so a great dissension sprang up among the magnates of Scotland, as will appear below.[2]

Robert Grosse-teste, the bishop of Lincoln, died.[3]

1253[4]

1253 **Chronicle of Man**, vol. i, p. 108

In the year 1253, Magnus Olaf's son set out for the court of the lord king of Norway; and he was honourably received by him, and remained with him for one year.[5]

(ibid., 319, 320). The king of Norway and his nobles were also permitted to go to Sicily, instead of carrying out their vows to go to the Holy Land (cf. above, year 1248, note). The money raised for Henry's crusade was to be used in his Sicilian expedition; and the twentieth was exacted from Scotland for three years longer, for this purpose: the transfer of vows being sanctioned (Foedera, i, **1**, 322; 15th-16th May, 1255). The redemptions of the vows of Scottish crusaders, absolved from their undertaking, were to be paid to king Henry; apparently for the same expedition to Sicily (ibid.; 17th May: cf. ibid., 325, 28th July). The twentieth was again demanded from Scotland, on 27th September, 1256, explicitly for Sicily (ibid., i, 348-349); and at the same time, the redemptions, and other payments (ibid., 349).

Henry definitely renounced the Sicilian project on 28th June, 1257 (ibid., i, 359-360). The kingdom of Sicily had been offered to his son Richard on 3rd August, 1252 (ibid., 284; cf. 288); and granted to his son Edmund, on 7th March, 1254 (ibid., 297).

[1] This paragraph, down to this point, is copied by the Chronicle of Peterborough, 141, s.a. 1253.

[2] This was written probably after 1257, certainly after 1255. The present section of the Chronicle of Melrose runs to 1263, in which year it may have been written. Cf. year 1246, note.

[3] Robert Grosse-teste died on 9th October, 1253, according to Paris (R.S. **57**, v, 407; **44**, iii, 146. But **36**, iii, 187, and ii, 94, say, on the 14th, and the 4th, respectively). The Chronicle of Lanercost (58) says, on 8th November.

[4] On 24th May, 1253, the dean of Glasgow was William, a kinsman of W[illiam of Holland], king of the Romans (Bliss, i, 286). William was emperor 1248-1255.

[5] "M[agnus], the heir of Man, and of the islands," received letters of safe-conduct from Henry III on 30th April, 1253, permitting him to go to Norway through English territory, and return (Foedera, i, **1**, 289).

1253

Frisbók's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, cc. 282, 284, pp. 544-545 [1]

King Hakon sat during the winter [2] in Bergen: this was the thirty-sixth winter of his reign.[3] And when spring came, he called out a levy from the whole land, both of men and of food.[4] Then he said that [5] he intended to go with the whole army [6] to Denmark.[7] He proceeded thus [8] east to Vik. . .

[c. 284] King Hakon had many noble men in this levy.[9] There were three other kings [10]: king Hakon the Young,[11] king John [12] of the Hebrides, king Dugald.[13] . . .

[1] Also in F.S., x, 52, 55, cc. 277, 279. Parallel passages are in E., 425-426, cc. 312, 314; Fl., iii, 185, 187, cc. 243, 244; Sk. (R.S. 88, ii, 272-273, 275, cc. 277, 279).

[2] "caused preparations to be made for his winter-sitting" E., Fl., Sk.

[3] I.e., 1252-1253.

[4] E., Fl., Sk., read: "And when it began to be spring, he sent out levying-writs, through all Norway, and called out a great host, with provisions, and equipment of ships [a ship-force Fl.], [and of weapons Fl., Sk.]."

[5] "Then . . . that" not in E.; "he made it plain, that" Fl., Sk.

[6] "with that army" Fl.; "to advance with that [whole Sk.] army" E., Sk.

[7] "A great army came together there during the summer [in Norway, Fl., Sk.]" add E., Fl., Sk.

[8] "first" adds E.; "as soon as he was ready" Fl., Sk.

[9] "had with him many good men" E.

[10] "besides him" adds Fl.; "besides king Hakon" Sk. E. reads "two kings."

[11] "the young king, his son" Sk.

[12] "John" seems to be an error for "Magnus"; see the Chronicle of Man, above: and Munch's note 50 in his edition of that chronicle (Goss's ed., i, 206-207).

[13] "king Hakon the Young . . . Dugald" not in E.; probably the Hebridean kings are meant by E.'s "two kings."

Somewhat later, on 22nd June, a conference was arranged; and on the 24th of June, the Danes and Norwegians met, and made peace, the Danes agreeing to pay an indemnity. After this, king Hakon returned to Tönsberg about August 1st, and dismissed his army.

The indemnity was not paid, and Norwegian levies from the Vik invaded Denmark in 1256 (August 24th-26th). In 1257 Hakon again called out levies from all Norway, and went to Denmark; but again there was no fighting. Christopher, king of Denmark, met Hakon in Copenhagen, and peace was made.

1254

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 107

In the year 1254, Hakon, the king of Norway, appointed Magnus Olaf's son king over all the islands, which his predecessors had possessed by hereditary right[1]; and confirmed them for ever, by authority of his seal, to him and the successors, his heirs; as he had best [confirmed them] to [Magnus's] brother Harold. His opponents heard and saw this; and, dismayed in mind, melted away, their hopes being dead. So Magnus, appointed king of Man and of the islands, was dismissed with great honour by the lord king of Norway, and came home.

1254

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 180

In the year of the Lord 1254, master Abel entered Scotland; at first with the opposition, afterwards with the consent, of the king's council. And he was honourably received in his bishopric; but in the same year he was taken from this light.[2] After him,

[1] From a cognate source is derived the account in C.L., 60-61, s.a., 1254:—"In the same year, Hakon, the king of Norway, appointed him king over all the islands that his predecessors had possessed. And he reigned for fourteen years." The antecedent of the pronoun "him" (i.e., Magnus Olaf's son) has not been named.

[2] Cf. C.L., 60, s.a. 1254: "In the same year, master Abel, the bishop of St Andrews, returned to Scotland. But on the next following day before the Kalends of September [i.e., on 31st August, 1254; see below], just as he had by his suggestion deprived the church of York of her ancient right, so he too (as he deserved) was quickly deprived of his rank and of his life."

Abel appears to have been in Rome in March, 1248, when the pope renewed the privileges of the Scottish church: see years 1248, 1253, notes.

On 20th February, 1254, pope Innocent IV commanded the chapter of St Andrews to give obedience to master Abel, archdeacon, and papal chaplain. The election of the dean of Dunkeld had been opposed by the proctor, the provost, and chapter, of the célidé of St Mary's in the city of St Andrews, and by master Abel, then archdeacon of St Andrews; and had been annulled by the pope (Theiner, 59, no. 162). The canons claimed that they had the right of electing the bishop; the célidé claimed that they had had that right before canons were introduced into the church of St Andrew; and that when the célidé left the church of St Andrew and entered the church of St Mary, they retained in entirety their prebends, liberties, and rights.

On 22nd February, 1254, the pope permitted master William, archdeacon

master Gamelin, the king's chancellor, was elected by the prior and the convent of St Andrews; and was confirmed in his episcopate by the king and his counsellors.[1]

of St Andrews, to hold an additional benefice in Scotland, not exceeding the value of 100 marks of silver (Bliss, i, 296).

On 18th March, 1254, the pope requested the king of Scotland to give the temporalities of the see of St Andrews to master Abel, papal chaplain and archdeacon, who had been appointed bishop of St Andrews; the election of Robert, dean of Dunkeld, having been annulled. On the same day, the pope wrote also to the king's counsellors; and enjoyed obedience upon the chapter, clergy, and people, of St Andrews, to their bishop Abel (Theiner, 60-61, no. 164).

On 23rd March, 1254, pope Innocent permitted the bishop of St Andrews to grant dispensation to three of his clerks, to hold two benefices each. On the same day he granted to Abel the indulgence that he should not be summoned farther than two days' journey from his church, with regard to possessions that lay within that distance; unless mention was made of this indulgence, in papal letters. The bishops of Dunkeld and Brechin were named as conservators. Also on the same day, with the same conservators, the pope permitted Abel to make his will. (Bliss, i, 298.)

Abel, bishop of St Andrews, was at Durham on 2nd June, 1254 (Raine's North Durham, Appendix, p. 69). He was at St Andrews, and assumed office, on 29th June, 1254, according to Bower, X, 8; ii, 89.

Abel was bishop in October, 1254 (Dunfermline, 198): therefore C.L.'s date of his death is erroneous. He died on 1st December, 1254, according to Bower, VI, 43.

[1] Gamelin had been clerk of the king, and bearer of the king's seal (cf. Melrose, no. 322; 1248 × 1253). In 1253 he had been appointed chancellor of Scotland.

On 13th February, 1254, pope Innocent IV admitted Gamelinus, canon of Glasgow, and chancellor of the king of Scotland, to the rank of papal chaplain (Theiner, 59, no. 161).

On 20th March, 1254, the pope ordered [Abel] the bishop of St Andrews, and Gamelin chancellor of the king of Scotland, to provide John de Civitella, sub-deacon and papal chaplain, with some benefice to the annual value of 50 marks of sterlings in the kingdom of Scotland (Theiner, 64, no. 170).

Gamelin was elected to the bishopric of St Andrews on 14th February, 1255, according to Bower, VI, 43.

On 23rd June, 1255, pope Alexander IV permitted master Robert de Prebenda, dean of Dunblane; Simon of Kinross [clerk]; [canon] Elias of St Andrews; and [canon] Alan of Midford, the proctors of the prior and chapter of St Andrews, to borrow 500 pounds of new sterlings to pay their expenses homeward: binding the bishop-elect, the prior and chapter, and goods, of the church, to repay the money (Bliss, i, 319).

On 1st July, 1255, at the request of the above proctors, pope Alexander granted to Gamelin dispensation over the defect of his birth, since he was

The king of France returned home from Jerusalem.[1]

And Edward, the king of England's eldest son, took in marriage the daughter of the king of Castile; and he was made a knight by him.[2]

Pope Innocent died. Alexander succeeded.[3]

1255

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 180-182

In the year of the Lord 1255, all the noblest men[4] of Scotland, on the one side; and Alan Doorward and his

the son of unmarried parents: and conceded his postulation, notwithstanding the opposition of canon Laurence. On the same day, the pope announced this decision to the prior and chapter, the church and people, of the city and diocese of St Andrews; and bade the bishop of Glasgow with two other bishops consecrate Gamelin to the see. (Theiner, 66-67, no. 176; Bliss, i, 318-319.)

On 21st June, 1255, pope Alexander confirmed the chancellorship to Archibald, bishop of Moray. See Bliss, i, 331. Archibald had received the office from Gamelin, when Gamelin was postulated to St Andrews.

On 20th July, 1255, the pope wrote to the prior and chapter of St Andrews. In the election of David, bishop of St Andrews, and of master Gamelin, elect of St Andrews, they had, under protest, at the instance of the king of Scotland, admitted [to the chapterhouse] two célidé of the church of St Mary of Kilrymont. The pope granted that no prejudice should arise out of this to the rights of [the prior and chapter], or of their church (Theiner, 67, no. 177; Bliss, i, 319).

On 31st July, 1255, the pope permitted master Gamelin, elect of St Andrews, (because the church of St Andrews was heavily burdened with debts) to retain all the benefices that he held at the time of his postulation, for two years from the day of his consecration (Theiner, 67 no. 178).

Gamelin was still elect on 22nd December, 1255 (Dunfermline, 120). He was consecrated on 26th December (C.M.; Bower, VI, 43); see year 1255.

He was banished in 1256. He died in 1271, and was succeeded by William Wishart. See years 1256, 1257, 1268; D.B., 17-18.

[1] Cf. above, year 1250. See M.P., v, 434, 453.

[2] I.e., by Alfonso X, who was the brother of Eleanor of Castile.

This marriage settled the quarrel between Henry and Alfonso, over Gascony. See M.P. (R.S. **57**, vi, 284-286; v, 449-450, 658. Cf. Annals of Dunstable, R.S. **36**, iii, 193-194); and Foedera, i, **1**, 310.

Simon de Montfort, who had been deprived of the rule of Gascony, was sent by king Henry with a private message to king Alexander III, on 25th August, 1254 (Foedera, i, **1**, 306).

[3] Innocent IV died on 7th December, 1254; Alexander IV was elected on 12th December, and consecrated on the 20th (Potthast).

[4] *natu majores.*

supporters (who had been greatly increased in number), on the other, assembled at Edinburgh to the lord king, as if to hold a discussion concerning the restoration of peace; but in reality for the capture of the lord king. For when they had decided there that they must meet again within a few days, at Stirling, and there doubtless restore peace; and after the king's counsellors, with the rest of the magnates, had gone away, in order to prepare what was necessary for so great an occasion: suddenly earl Patrick, and the rest of the men-at-arms who were on the other side,[1] entered Maidens' castle; and, casting out all who were there of the king's household, they took their lord king himself, and garrisoned the castle with some of their men-at-arms, while they commanded the remainder of their associates to prepare[2] to aid them in conveying the king to the place to which they wished to take him; and this they did very readily. There had come from England, to assist them, the earl of Gloucester, V.[3] de Clare; by whose counsel they had

[1] *ex altera parte*, as above; i.e., on the Doorward's side.

[2] Instead of *propararent* in Stevenson's text, the MS. has *prepararent* (similarly in Fulman's text).

[3] This is an error. The earl of Gloucester at this time was Richard de Clare († 1262; 8th earl de Clare, 7th earl of Gloucester, 6th earl of Hertford). See E.C., 371-372. He had married Margaret, daughter of Hubert de Burgh; and secondly Matilda, daughter of John de Lacy.

He is named first in the letter of credence sent by king Henry with his ambassadors to Scotland, from Cawood, on 10th August, 1255 (Foedera, i, 1, 325). The other ambassadors named there are:—William de Fortibus, earl de Aumale; John Maunsell, provost of Beverley; Robert Walerand, king Henry's seneschal.

These men (or any two of them) were empowered to take under king Henry's protection "our dear friends, Patrick, the earl of Dunbar; Malisse, the earl of Strathearn; Nigel, the earl of Carrick; Robert de Bruce; Alexander the Steward of Scotland; Alan Doorward; David de Lindsay; William of Brechin; Walter of Moray; Robert de Meyners [*Mesneres*]; Hugh Giffard; Walter the seneschal; John of Crawford; Hugh of Crawford; William Galbraith; and all others who are willing to adhere to us, against all those of the kingdom of Scotland who have done wrong, or shall presume to do wrong, to our dear and faithful son, Alexander, the king of Scotland; or to our friends or adherents, unjustly; and who have been rebels against our dearest daughter, Margaret, the queen of Scotland . . . " (ibid., 326).

In another letter, also of 10th August, Henry gives his protection to the party of earl Patrick of Dunbar, speaking of the opposite party as rebels against the king and queen of Scotland. On 16th August, at York, after

with force of arms performed the aforesaid treason. And also the king of England, with his consort, followed him.

And when the king's counsellors and guardians had heard that the king was taken, they were moved with violent grief, and were astonished at so great an act of treason; and they commanded that the army should assemble, and afford him succour.

But this was by no means hidden from their opponents. And therefore[1] they conducted the king in force as far as Roxburgh; and, entering the castle, they appointed some of their number to keep watch there, according to their wishes: while they took the king and queen with them, and went to meet the king of England at Wark.[2] And after some preliminary friendly discussion, the king of Scotland returned to his country on the same day; while his queen remained there with her mother.[3]

The king of England, invited by the king of Scotland and his counsellors, entered Roxburgh on the day of the Assumption of blessed Mary.[4] The king of Scotland, meeting him, received him with great joy; and he brought him with a great

receiving a report from earl Richard and John Maunsell, Henry called out his forces, and declared his intention of going to Scotland (ibid.); but on 25th August, at Newcastle, he announced that he had no intention of impairing the liberties of Scotland (ibid., 327). He issued letters of safe-conduct for Alexander and Margaret, on the 26th of August, to last until 29th September; and appointed conducters on 28th August, at Newcastle (Patent Rolls (1908), 423); and on 2nd September, at Alnwick (Foedera, i, 1, 327). The conducters acknowledged receipt of Alexander and Margaret, and gave guarantees, on 4th September (Patent Rolls (1908), 441).

[1] Instead of *idio* in Stevenson's text, the MS. and Fulman's text have *ideo*.

[2] The castle of Wark had been given up by Robert de Ross to king Henry; who on 28th August, at Newcastle, promised that his doing so should not prejudice Robert's right to the castle (Patent Rolls (1908), 423).

On 5th September, at Chillingham (to which he had come from Alnwick, 2nd × 4th September; ibid., 424), Henry provided for the safe-conduct of Alexander and Margaret to Wark (Foedera, i, 1, 327). He went to Wark, from Chillingham, 5th × 7th September (cf. Bain, i, nos. 2005-2006, with no. 2007). He went from Wark to Alnwick, 21st × 23rd September (Patent Rolls (1908), 426).

[3] Henry's announcement that Alexander had left his wife at Wark, because of the illness of her mother, is dated on the 20th of September.

[4] 15th August. This is erroneous. Read, for "Assumption," the

procession into the church of Kelso. There, after holding a discussion, [the king of England] commended the king and the country[1] to the earl of Dunbar, and his accomplices. And so, after a regal banquet, he returned to his country; bearing it ill that the bishop of Glasgow, and the [bishop-]elect of St Andrews, and moreover also W[alter] Comyn, called the earl of Monteith, with the other magnates of the land, refused to apply their seals to a certain most abominable document, which the aforesaid conspirators had drawn up, and had fortified with their seals: in which [document] many things were contained that might result in the dishonour of the king, and of the kingdom.[2]

"Nativity" (8th September)? The conference at Roxburgh must have occurred 6th × 22nd September. The period of office of the counsellors appointed there began on 14th September.

[1] *regionem.*

[2] With this account, cf. E.C., 370-373.

The results of the conference were issued in a proclamation, attributed to Alexander; it is dated 20th September, at Roxburgh. Henry published this proclamation at Sprouston, on the same day. See Foedera, i, 1, 329; Bain, i, no. 2013.

In Alexander's proclamation, the decision is thus expressed: " . . . When our dearest father and lord, Henry, illustrious king of England, had come in person, by his own grace, to the march of the kingdoms of England and Scotland, for our honour and advantage; we, at the instance of the king, and by counsel of our magnates (namely, the venerable fathers in Christ, the bishops W[illiam] of Glasgow, R[ichard] of Dunkeld, P[eter] of Aberdeen, and sir G[amelin], elect of St Andrews; the abbots of Dunfermline, Kelso, Jedburgh, and Newbattle; M[alcolm], earl of Fife; P[atrick], earl of Dunbar; N[igel], earl of Carrick; M[alisse], earl of Strathearn; Alexander, the Steward of Scotland; Robert de Bruce; Alan Doorward; Walter of Moray; David de Lindsay; William of Brechin; Hugh Giffard; Roger de Mowbray; Gilbert de Hay; Robert de Meyners; William de Douglas; John de Vaux; William de Ramsay; and many others of our barons), have removed from our council, and from their offices [*balliis*] (their [de]merits, as it is said, requiring it), the bishops W[illiam] of Glasgow, and C[lement] of Dunblane, and G[amelin], elect of St Andrews; W[alter] Comyn, the earl of Monteith; Alexander Comyn, the earl of Buchan; William, the earl of Mar; John de Balliol; Robert de Ross; Aymer de Maxwell, and Mary, his wife; John Comyn; Nicholas de Sules; Thomas de Normanville; Alexander Uviet; John of Dunmore; David de Graham; John le Blund; Thomas, Randolph's son; Hugh Gurle, and William, his brother; William Wishart, archdeacon of St Andrews; brother Richard, almoner of the order of the knights of the Temple; David of Lochore [*de Louthor* "Louchor" Bain]; John Wishart; William of Cadzow; and William, formerly our chaplain." These were not to be readmitted, to

In the same year, upon St Stephen's day, which was then held upon a Sunday,[1] master Gamelin was consecrated in his see, as bishop of St Andrews, by William, the bishop of Glasgow; although the king's councillors sent messengers, and forbade it.[2]

Sir Henry also, the elect of Whithorn, was consecrated by Walter [Gray], the archbishop of York.[3] This Walter died in

council or office, "until they have made full reparation, by agreement or judgement, to the aforesaid king and to us, for the excesses that have been laid to their charge, and that shall be laid to their charge"; unless Scotland were invaded by a foreign prince. "And in addition, by mediation of the aforesaid king's council, and of our said magnates, we have decreed that the venerable fathers Richard and Peter, the bishops of Dunkeld and of Aberdeen; H. [read "Malcolm"], earl of Fife; P[atrick], earl of Dunbar; H. [read "Malisse"], earl of Strathearn; N[igel], earl of Carrick; Alexander, Steward of Scotland; Robert de Bruce; Alan Doorward; Walter of Moray; David de Lindsay; William of Brechin; Robert de Meyners; Gilbert de Hay; and Hugh Giffard, be admitted to our counsels, and to the government of our kingdom, and the custody of our person, and of the queen our spouse": these men to be removed from office not later than seven years after 14th September, 1255; or (if earlier) not without the consent of the king of England, except in case of flagrant demerit: the remainder of the council having power to appoint substitutes in this case and in the case of death.

Henry guaranteed that this decision should not prejudice the rights of the king, or the liberties of the kingdom, of Scotland, after the seven years' period ended.

The document was given to the Scottish king at Carham, by advice of Henry's counsellors, whose names are entered on the margin (see Bain).

On 23rd September, at Alnwick, king Henry appointed Richard de Clare and John Maunsel his commissioners, with full powers to deal with all persons of Scotland (Foedera, i, 1, 330).

[1] I.e., Sunday, 26th December, 1255. Cf. year 1254.

[2] The "king's councillors" were now the Doorward party. Gamelin had been removed by king Henry. See below, years 1256, 1257, 1258. Cf. C.L., in the next following note.

[3] See year 1253. Cf. C.L., 62, s.a. 1255:—"After the disputes that had arisen between the king of the Scots and sir John de Balliol, concerning the patronage of Whithorn (as has been said above), had been stilled, the said sir Henry, elect of Whithorn, and the bishop-elect of Carlisle [Thomas of Greystoke] were both consecrated by the bishop of Durham [Walter of Kirkham], at St Agatha['s church], near Richmond, on the seventh day before the Ides of February [i.e., on 7th February, 1255]. And also on the following St Stephen's day [26th December, 1255], in the Lord's Nativity,

the same year; and master Sewal, his dean, succeeded him.[1]

John, the abbot of Holme [Cultram], died; and Henry, one of his monks, succeeded him.[2]

1256

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 182

In the year of the Lord 1256, sir Waleran de Normanville was buried at Melrose.[3]

Richard, the king of England's brother, was elected to the empire of Germany.[4] And Sewal was consecrated.[5]

In the same year, bishop Gamelin was outlawed by the king's counsellors; both because he refused to acquiesce in their

master Gamelin was consecrated, in the church of St Andrews. In the same year died Walter Gray . . . ."

For bishop Henry, see Dunfermline, nos. 203, 309, 206; Theiner, no. 197 (3rd April, 1257); E.C., 378-379 (1260); H. & S., ii, **1**, 57-60; D.B., 357-359. He died on 1st November, 1293; C.L., 154.

[1] Walter died on 1st May, 1255 (R.S. **57**, v, 495-496; but the Annals of Dunstable say, in April; **36**, iii, 196). For the succession of Sewal, see R.S. **36**, iii, 196; **57**, v, 516, 570-571; **95**, ii, 414.

[2] John had been elected in 1237; Henry, deposed, was restored in 1267.

On 15th February, 1255, pope Alexander IV permitted the queen of Scotland to have divine service celebrated by her chaplains in any place in Scotland, even if it were under interdict (Bliss, i, 310).

On 21st April, 1255, the pope permitted Ralph de Somerville (*Sumervilla*), an acolyte of Glasgow, of illegitimate birth and 19 years of age, to hold the church of Linton (Bliss, i, 315).

[3] Cf. Melrose, nos. 339, 344.

[4] The empire was offered to Richard, earl of Cornwall, on 26th December, 1255 (R.S. **95**, ii, 414; **36**, iv, 443). He was definitely elected on 13th January, 1256 (R.S. **57**, vi, 342; v, 603. Cf. **36**, i, 391). See Paris's account of his election (R.S. **57**, v, 601-607). Richard died in 1272 (cf. **36**, iii, 252-253; **95**, ii, 414). See D.N.B., xlviii (1896), 169-174. This Richard, king John's second son, had married (after the death of his first wife, Isabella Marshal) Sanchia of Provence († 1261), the sister of Eleanor, queen of England, and of Margaret, queen of France. The queen of Scotland at this time was the daughter of Eleanor. Cf. R.S. **57**, v, 654. For Richard, cf. year 1264, note. On 3rd August, 1252, pope Innocent IV had offered him the kingdom of Sicily, which was afterwards given to Richard's nephew (Foedera, i, **1**, 284). See year 1253, note.

[5] Sewal was consecrated archbishop of York, on 23rd July, 1256, according to the Annals of Winchester (R.S. **36**, ii, 95-96. Cf. 57, v, 570-571; **95**, ii, 414).

abominable plans, and because he scorned to give a certain sum of money, as if for the purchase of his bishopric. And since Scotland cast him out, and England refused him passage, he followed Neptune, and went to France; and boldly approached the Roman court, in opposition to his adversaries.[1] After his departure, the king's councillors pillaged the goods of his bishopric, and consumed it at their pleasure.

Peter, the bishop of Aberdeen, died[2]; and Richard of Potton succeeded him.

Roger, the abbot of Newbattle, died, while returning from the chapter; and he was buried at Vaudey. William, his prior, was put in his place.[3]

[1] On 16th December, 1256, pope Alexander IV wrote to king Henry, in favour of Gamelin (Foedera, i, 1, 352). On 22nd January, 1257, Henry ordered Gamelin's arrest (ibid., 369). See year 1257. Cf. K.B., 18-19.

[2] Peter had been elected in 1247. He was still alive on 18th April, 1256 (Aberdeen, ii, 38); and apparently on 9th January, 1257 (ibid., i, 19). According to Bower, ii, 92, he died and was succeeded by Richard (an Englishman) in 1257.

Richard of Potton was consecrated 25th Aug. 1257 × 24th Aug. 1258 (Aberdeen, ii, 50); and probably before 4th October, 1257 (Theiner, no. 203). See D.B., 105-106.

Richard's successor, Hugh of Benham (i.e., Benholm, in the Mearns), was consecrated before 23rd July, 1272 (Theiner, no. 252; Bliss, i, 442); and was still bishop of Aberdeen on 30th April, 1281 (Arbroath, no. 230). Hugh began to enlarge the cathedral of Aberdeen; but there were not sufficient means to complete the work. On 7th September, 1289, pope Nicholas IV granted to Hugh's successor, Henry, the first-year fruits of vacant offices, for 3 years, in order to provide means for the purpose of rebuilding on a larger scale (Theiner, 146, no. 321; Bliss, i, 502).

Bishop Henry was appointed by pope Martin IV on 17th June, 1282; and on the same day the pope ordered his consecration (Bliss, i, 465, 467). Cf. Acts, i, 441, 477-478; and D.B., 108-110.

[3] Roger had been elected in 1236. William resigned in 1259.

For the Cistercian chapter of 1256, see Fowler's Cistercian Statutes (London, 1890), pp. 18-115.

Vaudey was a Cistercian house in Lincolnshire.

On 7th April, 1256, pope Alexander IV granted to Robert de Meyners [*Miners*], knight, and Eva his wife, in the diocese of Dunkeld, indulgence to remain in their marriage, which had been contracted without the knowledge that they were related in the fourth degree (Theiner, 71, no. 186).

On 27th April, 1256, pope Alexander IV granted to the monastery of Lindores the rights that they claimed in certain churches in the diocese of Aberdeen. On 10th February, 1257, the same pope granted them exemption from dues exigible by the bishop or archdeacon of Brechin, in the church of

1256

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 108

In the year 1256, Magnus, king of Man and of the islands, went to the court of the lord king of England; and the lord king of England graciously and honourably received him, and made him a knight. And he sent him home with much honour, and with precious gifts.[1]

1256

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 133; s.a. 1256[2]

Gibbon, earl in the Orkneys, [died].[3]

1256

Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 64, s.a. 1256

In this year, there was so great corruption of the air, and inundation of rain, throughout the whole of England and Scotland, that both crops and hay[4] were nearly [all] lost. And

Dundee, which they had acquired, in that diocese (Theiner, 71, 74; nos. 187, 193).

Roger de Quincey, earl of Winchester and constable of Scotland, gave to the monastery of Lindores the church of Collessie, of which he had the patronage; with the consent of bishop Gamelin, who granted it to their uses at the death or resignation of the rector: a vicar with fitting portion to be appointed. The grant was made 1255 × 1264 (1255 × ?1256); and was confirmed by pope Nicholas IV, on 13th December, 1288 (Theiner, 140-141, no. 308; Bliss, i, 494). On 13th September, 1290, the same pope renewed privileges granted to Lindores by pope Celestine III on 8th March, 1195 (Theiner, 153-154, no. 335; Bliss, i, 520-521).

[1] On 21st April, 1256, at Westminster, Henry issued letters of protection for king Magnus, and outlawry for "Harold, Godfrey's son, and Ivar, and their accomplices, who wickedly killed the former king of Man, the brother of the aforesaid king" (Foedera, i, 1, 338).

[2] With dominical and paschal letters of 1256. Similarly in DPA (192, 329; Fl., iii, 533).

[3] "earl of the Orkneys" A. His son was earl Magnus († 1273).

Matilda, countess of Strathearn († × 1262), the wife of earl Malisse, was said on 12th December 1257 to have been the daughter of Gilbert, formerly earl of Caithness and Orkney (Inchaffray, no. 86). This seems to show that earl Gilbert died × 1257, and was born × 1222. His origin is uncertain; but he was probably the heir of earl Magnus († 1239). See year 1239, note.

[4] *tam prata quam sata.*

some men's corn rotted in the fields from the day of harvest; some men's corn, shaken out by the wind, grew again under the straw[1]; some men's harvest was so late that they did not reap it until about the festival of St Martin,[2] or later. . . .[3]

1257

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 182-183

In the year of the Lord 1257, the coronation of the king of Germany [took place].[4]

The king of England attacked the Welsh. Defeated by them, he returned home.[5]

In this year, ambassadors sent by the king of Scotland's guardians came to the lord pope, accusing the bishop of St Andrews on behalf of the king. After hearing and trying the cases of both sides, [the pope] pronounced with his own mouth that the bishop was guiltless of all the charges that had unjustly been brought against him; and that he was most worthy of the

[1] *sub culmine.*

[2] 11th November.

[3] Here follows an account of the transference of Man to the dominion of Alexander III. See year 1266.

The same chronicle reports a famine in the following year (65; s.a. 1257).

[4] On 17th May, 1257 (R.S. **57**, vi, 368-369). See year 1256.

[5] Cf. R.S. **57**, v, 643, 645-648, 656-657, 660; vi, 372-376.

Letters were issued on 18th July for a levy of forces, to meet at Chester, on 1st August (Foedera, i, **1**, 361). Being in difficulties, king Henry called in the aid of Irish and of Scots (R.S. **57**, v, 648).

On 4th February, 1257, in a letter witnessed by earl Patrick at Roxburgh, Alexander reported to Henry the welfare of himself and his queen, and requested him to have trust in his messengers, master Robert de Stouteville, the dean of Dunkeld; and Adam de Morham, "whom we send to the presence of your Magnificence with regard to a certain form, concerning which the earls of Monteith, of Buchan, and of Mar, and John Comyn, along with the other magnates of our kingdom, have insistently supplicated us, for the benefit of peace, and the tranquillity of our realm; concerning complaints that we have against them; and also with regard to other matters, which they will intimate more fully to your Serenity on our behalf" (Foedera, i, **1**, 353).

On 18th June, 1257, Henry issued letters of safe-conduct for John de Brienne and his wife, Mary de Coucy, to go through England on their way to Scotland, on condition of their taking an oath to abstain from doing anything detrimental to him or to his daughter (Foedera, i, **1**, 358. Cf. ibid., 357).

bishopric. And he excommunicated [Gamelin's] accusers, and the consumers and invaders of the bishopric; commanding Clement, the bishop of Dunblane, and the abbots M[atthew] of Melrose, and N[icholas] of Jedburgh, to publish the sentence pronounced by him, against the king's councillors, throughout Scotland, with striking of bells, and with lighted candles: in general terms at first; and afterwards, if they were contumacious, by name.[1]

They made this denunciation at Stirling. And after many admonitions, they also pronounced [sentence of excommunication] against those who refused to come to their senses, by name, in the conventual church of Cambuskenneth.

When, therefore, all the noblest men[2] of Scotland, whose head was Walter Comyn, called earl of Monteith, perceived that their lord king was living within the hands of excommunicated men, and were afraid that the whole land might be placed under interdict, they rose up, and snatched him out of their hands, at Kinross; and they restored him to his kingdom.[3]

The designer of the whole evil, Alan Doorward, hearing this, and fearing because of the treason by which he had taken

[1] The king's messengers to the pope were "master Jordan Lockhart, clerk; and Robert de Theweng, knight." In a letter of 20th July, 1257, pope Alexander IV enumerated the charges that they brought against Gamelin; and ordered that Gamelin should first be restored to full and peaceful possession of the temporal goods of his see, and that, after his restitution, the charges brought against him should be examined, and the sentences of excommunication should be relaxed, either by those who pronounced them, or else by Godfrey de Alatro, whom he sent to Scotland specially in connection with this affair (Theiner, 77-78, no. 201). On 25th September, pope Alexander IV wrote to master Godfrey de Alatro, dean of Olen, bidding him enforce the sentences, if Gamelin were opposed; but after his restitution, to relax them, if those that had pronounced them did not relax them (Theiner, 78, no. 202). On 17th October, 1257, the pope confirmed the privileges of king Alexander (Theiner, 79); therefore Gamelin had been inlawed some time before that day. Cf. year 1258.

[2] *majores natu.*

[3] Cf. E.C., 376.

On 28th March, 1257, pope Alexander wrote to the abbot of Jedburgh, and the archdeacons of Teviotdale and Dunblane, giving a transcript of a letter that purported to have been written by himself on 13th December, 1255, to the bishop of Brechin and the dean of Dunkeld, in favour of Alan Doorward, against William earl of Mar [*Marca*] in the diocese of Aberdeen;

his lord the king, fled to the king of England; and the others, his accomplices, were scattered hither and thither.[1]

1257

Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 108

In the year 1257, the church of St Mary of Rushen was consecrated by the venerable lord and father Richard, bishop of the Hebrides, in the fifth year of his episcopate; in presence of lord Magnus, king of Man and of the islands, in the fifth year of his reign; and of sir Simon, the abbot [of Rushen].[2]

and declaring that if the letter presented by Alan agreed with the transcript, it was a forgery. He gave them authority to act in the matter, and punish the offender (Theiner, 75, no. 196. See also no. 203, of 4th October, 1257).

Cf. above, year 1251.

[1] In the margin is a note, the beginning of which has been cut away: "[The earls] of Ross and of Mar" (*de Ros et Mar*).

On 3rd January, 1257, pope Alexander IV confirmed to the abbot [Walter?] and convent of St Thomas of Arbroath advowson of the church of Fornindraut, which the former patron, William of Fornindraut, had conceded to them. On the same day, the pope permitted them to apply the revenues of that church, when vacant, (scarcely exceeding 30 marks of sterlings) to their own use, in consideration of their devotion to the service of God, and to the office of hospitality: a perpetual chaplain to be provided for (Theiner, 73, 74, nos. 190, 191. Cf. year 1259, note, s.f.).

On 17th January, 1257, the pope bade the Benedictine prior of May and the Augustinian prior of Restennet, in the diocese of St Andrews, to induct the abbot and convent of Arbroath into possession of the church of Fernindravit, when vacant (Bliss, i, 340).

On 21st January, 1257, the pope defended the abbot and convent of Arbroath against exactions of the bishop or archdeacon of Aberdeen, Brechin, or other dioceses (Bliss, i, 341).

On 25th February, 1257, the pope confirmed to the prior and convent of the Cluniacensian monastery of May, in the diocese of St Andrews, the decree of Innocent [IV], his predecessor, that no archbishop or bishop should exact there in one procuration more than 4 marks (Theiner, 74-75, no. 194; Bliss, i, 344).

On 17th October, 1257, pope Alexander confirmed to the king of Scotland the privileges and indulgences granted to him and his predecessors.

[2] See the charter of liberties of the church of Man and the islands, granted to bishop Richard by king Magnus, Olaf's son, and erroneously dated 3rd May, 1329, in Oliver's Monumenta, ii, 89-92 (if genuine, possibly the transcriber mis-read *mccluii* as *mcccxxix*: *i*'s and *x*'s being easily confused).

1258

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 183-184

In the year of the Lord 1258, Alexander, the king of Scotland, came to Roxburgh with his army, in order to subdue to himself his rebels and excommunicated traitors.[1] They asked for a truce; and guilefully promising to obey him and his laws, they appointed a day at Forfar, there to make amends for whatever they had done amiss. Having received this truce, they took their way to the king of England, requesting that they might be protected by his counsel and aid against their opponents.[2] Meanwhile, the Scots and the Galwegians who were in the army (and who, in Lent, and even upon the very day of Good Friday, ate[3] meat), inauspiciously returning home, despoiled the country in many ways.

During the same time, Gamelin, the bishop of St Andrews, was recalled by the king from exile, and restored to his episcopate.[4]

Clement, the bishop of Dunblane, died. After him, master Robert, called de Prebenda, the dean of the same house, was elected.[5]

[1] The native party had called out the army, in order to crush the English party. The native party, acting in the name of king Alexander, made an alliance with the Welsh, on 18th March, 1258-9; Scots and Welsh undertaking not to make peace with king Henry independently of each other. The Scots named in the treaty are:—"Walter Comyn, earl of Monteith; Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan, and justiciar of Scotland; William, earl of Mar; William, earl of Ross; John Comyn, justiciar of Galloway; Aymer de Maxwell, chamberlain of Scotland; Freskin [*Fresekums*] of Moray; Hugh and Walter de Berkeley, brothers; Bernard de Mohane; Reginald le Chen [*Cheyn*]; David Lochore; John Dunmore [*Dundemor*]; William of Airth [*Erch*]; Hector de Barrit'; and all their friends, present and allied" (Foedera, i, **1**, 370).

On 6th May, 1258, Malisse, earl of Strathearn, undertook charge of the queen of Scotland. See his letter to king Henry, in Foedera, i, **1**, 371.

[2] Cf. e.g. Bain, i, no. 2121, where Alan Doorward and Walter of Moray are guaranteed a safe retreat in England, on 5th April, 1258; and no. 2470, where Alan Doorward has letters of protection for three years, from 8th March, 1268. See year 1268.

[3] *comederunt.* This seems to imply that they were upon military service, presumably at Roxburgh, on Good Friday (22nd March in 1258).

[4] Gamelin seems to have been recalled some time before 17th October, 1257. See year 1257, note.

[5] Clement had been elected in 1233 (q.v.). Bower (ii, 92) says that he died in 1256. For Robert, see year 1259.

During the vacancy of the see of Argyle, 1241-1248, (? ca. 1247) charge of

Also, Sewal, the archbishop of York, died; and Godfrey, the dean of the same house, succeeded him.[1]

About the Nativity of blessed Mary,[2] the king of Scotland came again, with his army, against the aforesaid traitors; he had heard that they had arrived with forces, and certain magnates, from the king of England. While the king of Scotland was awaiting his army at Melrose, the earl of Hereford, and the earl de Aumale, and John de Balliol, came to him on behalf of the king of England, as if with a view to tranquillize the people, and restore peace between the aforesaid traitors and their opponents[3]; but in reality (as rumour declared) on purpose to take the king again, and carry him off with them to the king of England. But this was by no means concealed from the king of Scotland; and therefore he appointed a meeting for them on the following day, at Jedburgh, where in the forest a large part of his army had already assembled. For he had heard that the aforesaid envoys had left John Maunsell, with an armed force, and with the aforesaid traitors, in the castle at Norham.

So on the following day[4] they met at Jedburgh; and they held a mutual discussion for nearly three weeks.

In these days, Robert, the abbot of Kelso, was taken from this light. And Patrick, a monk of the same house, was put in his place.[5]

that diocese had been given to Clement (Inchaffray, 65, no. 74; D.B., 378-379). Cf. year 1241, note.

[1] Sewal died about 2nd May, 1258 (M.P., v, 691-693). For the succession of Godfrey, see M.P., v, 701, 718. King Henry consented to Godfrey's election, on 25th July (Patent Rolls (1908), 643).

[2] I.e., about 8th September.

[3] On 4th August, 1258, at Westminster, king Henry gave full powers to Simon de Montfort, the earl of Leicester; Peter de Sabaudia; and John Maunsell, the treasurer of York, to act for him in the conference held to make peace between the discordant parties in Scotland (Foedera, i, **1**, 376).

In the same month he wrote to king Alexander with regard to money matters, apologizing for neglect, on the ground of prolonged ill-health (Foedera, i, **1**, 377).

[4] 9th September.

[5] Robert had been elected in 1248; Patrick resigned in 1260.

On 4th March, 1255, pope Alexander IV advised the abbot of Kelso with regard to the appointment of priests to churches that owed allegiance to the bishop (Bliss, i, 311).

On 3rd April, 1257, pope Alexander wrote to the abbot of Kelso and the

Moreover also the Scots and the Galwegians devastated almost the whole of that land.[1]

And after the completion of three weeks, the aforesaid envoys, perceiving that the army of Scotland had now assembled and was ready to fall upon them, if they delayed; and also that they had not sufficient strength to resist, concluded peace between the aforesaid traitors and their opponents. And thus, after peace had been restored, every one returned home.[2]

And on St Michael's day,[3] sir William, the abbot of Coupar, with humble devotion laid down the charge of administration, in the chapter-house at Melrose.[4] And William, his cellarer, succeeded to its government.

Sir Walter Comyn, the earl of Monteith, died.[5]

Also our venerable father, William, the bishop of Glasgow, departed from this world, on the vigil of St Martin[6]; and on

archdeacon of Teviotdale, concerning a dispute in the diocese of Whithorn (Theiner, 75-76, no. 197).

On 13th June, 1257, the same pope wrote to the abbot and convent of Kelso, of the Benedictine order, pertaining directly to the Roman church, and in the diocese of St Andrews; declaring that since several of the brethren had died from the inclemency of the climate, through having their heads uncovered, they were permitted to wear skull-caps (*pillei*) competent to their order (Theiner, 76-77, no. 200). Cf. the similar concession made to the monks of Lindores, on 15th March, 1289 (Theiner, 141-142, no. 310).

Permission was given on 21st August, 1243, for caps to be worn in the choir of St Augustine's monastery, at Canterbury (Bliss, i, 199).

[1] *fere totam patriam illam* (i.e., the neighbourhood of Kelso).

[2] On 6th November, 1258, at Westminster, king Henry recognized the new Scottish government (Foedera, i, 1, 378). He names the governors: ". . . The venerable father G[amelin], bishop of St Andrews; John [de Brienne] of Acre; queen Mary [de Coucy], that John's wife; Walter Comyn, the earl of Monteith; Alexander Comyn, the earl of Buchan; William, the earl of Mar; Alexander, Steward of Scotland; Alan Doorward; Robert de Meyners [*Moynes*]; and Gilbert de Hay."

[3] 29th September.

[4] William II had succeeded to the abbacy of Coupar in 1243. According to Bower, ii, 115, s.a. 1272: "William [III], abbot of Coupar, was deposed; and Andrew of Buchan was set in his place."

[5] See E.C., 376. He died before 25th November, 1258. He was alive on 16th October, at Perth (Scone, no. 108); and is named as being alive on 6th November, above.

[6] I.e., on 10th November. Bower (ii, 92) says erroneously that bishop William de Bondington died in 1256. See D.B., 302-303. For his election,

the day of St Bricius,[1] he was buried beside the large altar, at Melrose. After him, master Nicholas, the archdeacon of Teviotdale, was elected; and he was confirmed by the king. After the Purification,[2] he went to the Roman court, in order that he might be able to receive the award of consecration from the chief pontiff.[3]

1258

Annals of Loch Cé, vol. i, pp. 426-428, s.a. 1258[4]

A great fleet came from the Hebrides, under Somerled's son. And they proceeded round Ireland westwards, to Connemara; and there they plundered a merchant-ship of all its goods—wine, and clothing, and copper, and iron.

The sheriff of Connaught, Jordan de Exeter, put to sea with a great fleet of Foreigners,[5] in pursuit of Somerled's son, and of the fleet that had plundered the merchant-ship. Somerled's son was then on an island of the sea; and they had their ships on shore there.[6] And when they saw the sheriff's fleet approaching them, Somerled's son put on his armour and equipment for battle and combat; and at the same time his people armed also. The sheriff, on the other hand, went ashore ready-armed when he reached the island, along with as many of the Foreigners as he had ready. Nevertheless, the sheriff was served and attended by Somerled's son and his people. The sheriff was immediately killed there; and with

see year 1233. He had retired to Ancrum before he died, and gave a charter there on 6th November, 1258 (Glasgow, no. 207).

On 14th May, 1255, pope Alexander IV gave to the prior of the Friars Preachers of Glasgow authority to release the bishop of Glasgow, because of his age and weakness, from a vow that he had taken to eat no flesh (Theiner, 66, no. 175; Bliss, i, 318).

[1] 13th November.

[2] I.e., after 2nd February, 1259. See year 1259.

[3] Here is a marginal note, the beginning of which has been cut away: "— — and J. de Ross."

[4] This passage appears somewhat more briefly in F.M., iii, 368-370, s.a. 1258; and in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 241-242, s.a. 1258.

[5] I.e., of English.

[6] "And their ships [were] at anchor near them" F.M. "Somerled's son landed upon an island in the sea, and did put his ships at anchor" Annals of Clonmacnoise.

him Piers Agabard, an excellent knight of his company[1]; and other good men with them.

Then the Foreigners' fleet withdrew, after their best men had been killed. And afterwards Somerled's son returned to his own country, with joy and profit from triumphant victory.[2]

1259

Annals of the Four Masters, vol. iii, p. 372, s.a. 1259

Aed Ua-Conchobair went to Derry of Columcille to take the daughter of Dugald, Somerled's son.

1259

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 184-185

In the year of the Lord 1259, master Nicholas, the elect of Glasgow, returned to his country from the Roman court, without the award of consecration[3]: both because he refused to produce a certain sum of money, which the pope and the cardinals

[1] "with sir Pierce Caward, a worthy knight" Annals of Clonmacnoise.

A.U., ii, 324, s.a. 1258: "Jordan Gaileang was killed by Somerled's son, on an island in the sea in the west of Connaught; and many other good men along with him."

[2] A passage in later texts of Sturlunga Saga, but probably derived from the original version, says (ed. Kâlund, ii, 304, note; cf. ed. Vigfusson, ii, 252, note): "[Gizur, Thorvald's son] came with his ship to the Hebrides, and was there during the winter. And there earl Gizur got that sword which he afterwards called Eyfara-nautr. The summer after, they put to sea, and earl Gizur had then still much piloting" (i.e., he sailed far during the summer). Some MSS. read: " . . . There he stayed into the summer, and he then went to Iceland"; "and came there in the autumn." These last place his Hebridean excursion in the year when he left Norway, in [1258]. The Icelandic Annals KO (27, 66) place after the slaying of Thorgils Skarthi, s.a. 1258: "Gizur received the name of earl, and came out." Cf. CDE (133-134, 192, 257).

The sword Eyfara-nautr is mentioned again, ibid., ii, 314; ed. Vigfusson, ii, 262.

The crew of the ship Gró-buzan, with its skipper, Eyiolf the Wealthy, and with Kolskegg the priest, were thought to have been wrecked and put to death in Scotland, according to Sturlunga Saga (ed. Kâlund, ii, 299; ed. Vigfusson, ii, 248-249). But Icelandic Annals CD (133-134, 192), s.a. 1258, say that the crew were killed in Finnmark, and that two women returned to Norway 16 winters later.

[3] The election of Nicholas was annulled by the pope before 13th June, 1259. See below, and year 1268; D.B., 304.

demanded[1] (lest he should seem not to have entered the sheepfold by the door); and because those who had come with him, as if to help him, did on the contrary oppose him, with all their might. Their leader was R[obert], the elect of Dunblane; who, blinded by his exaltation, considered that if [the election of Nicholas] were quashed he could easily ascend to the bishopric of Glasgow. But this was not what happened; for master John of Cheam[2] was consecrated, and was sent from the side of the lord pope to rule the church of Glasgow.[3] And R[obert] was sent off to the bishopric to which he had been consecrated.[4]

[1] On 26th November, 1261, pope Urban IV bade master Albert de Parma, papal writer, collect from the bishop of Glasgow [John of Cheam] a sum of 200 marks (Bliss, i, 380).

On 9th February, 1262, the same pope ordered master Leonard, precentor of Messina, and papal chaplain, to admonish and induce the bishop of Glasgow to pay within 15 days 200 marks, the residue of 800 marks owed by him to the pope; 600 having been paid to pope Alexander IV († 25th May, 1261). Bliss, i, 384.

[2] *de Chyum.* John was an Englishman, according to king Henry III; whose letter spells the name *de Cheyham.* See C.L., below; year 1268, note.

John had received permission to hold additional benefices, on 21st August 1251 (when he was rector of Ranskill); on 12th July, 1252 (when he was papal chaplain, and canon of St Paul's); and on 29th August, 1252 (Bliss, i, 274, 279, 372).

[3] On 13th June, 1259, pope Alexander IV wrote to the king of Scotland, requesting that John of Cheam should be given the temporalities of his see (Foedera, i, **1**, 387; Bain, no. 2158).

On 16th March, 1260, king Henry III wrote to the king, the queen, and the councillors of Scotland, letters urging the necessity of receiving bishop John (ibid., 394).

On 21st May, 1260, the pope wrote again to king Alexander, and at the same time to the bishops of Lincoln and of Bath, insisting, notwithstanding a petition of the king, that bishop John should be instated in his see (Theiner, 86-87; Foedera, i, **1**, 397; cf. Acts, i, 2).

See year 1260.

[4] For Robert, dean of Dunblane, cf. year 1254, note.

On 29th August, 1256, pope Alexander IV permitted Robert de Prebenda, papal chaplain, to hold two benefices, in addition to the deanery of Dunblane (Bliss, i, 334). On 30th September, 1257, the same pope permitted him to hold an additional benefice (ibid., 350).

Robert was elected in 1258 to the bishopric of Dunblane. He was not yet consecrated at the time of John of Cheam's consecration.

On 13th August, 1259, pope Alexander permitted Robert, bishop-elect of

William, the abbot of Newbattle, relinquished the pastoral charge. Sir Adam, the cellarer of Melrose, succeeded to its rule, on the day of St Vincent.[1]

Dunblane, to increase his income by the revenues of the church of Kilmaling, when vacant (value 10 marks): also to employ the first-year fruits of all benefices and dignities that became vacant in his diocese, for the payment of the debts of the see (Bliss, i, 367).

On 22nd August, 1259, at the request of Robert, bishop-elect of Dunblane, pope Alexander permitted master Ralph, rector of Lochmaben, and master Richard Stirling, canon of Dunblane, each to hold an additional benefice; and permitted Robert to give benefices to three of his clerks (Bliss, i, 367).

Robert de Prebenda died some time before December, 1284. He was still bishop on 25th March, 1283 (Inchaffray, no. 113); and on 11th September, 1283, when, on his way to Scotland, he received letters patent of protection in England for 2 years (Patent Rolls (1893), 74; Bain, ii, no. 245).

On 18th December, 1284, pope Martin IV gave a letter to William, bishop of Dunblane, stating that Robert, bishop of Dunblane, had died long ago [*dudum*]; and that the chapter had elected William, then abbot of Arbroath. William's election had been examined by the pope's emissaries; and he had resigned his right into the pope's hands. Now the pope appointed him bishop. Similar letters were addressed to the chapter of Dunblane; to the clergy and people of the city and diocese of Dunblane; and to Malisse, earl of Strathearn, patron of the church of Dunblane (Theiner, 128, no. 284 (Bliss, i, 472-473). Cf. D.B., 199-200).

On 31st July, 1291, pope Nicholas IV gave William, bishop of Dunblane, permission to make his will; and said that it appeared that Malisse, earl of Strathearn, and his predecessors, had taken the property of bishops of Dunkeld at their death (Bliss, i, 540).

William died × Aug. 1296 (D.B., 200). The election of his successor, Alpinius, was confirmed on 16th October, 1296 (Theiner, no. 355).

[1] 22nd January, 1260.

William had been elected in 1256. Adam returned to Melrose, as abbot, in 1261.

Among the events of this year C.L. does not mention the Glasgow dispute; but describes a miraculous affair in the town of Haddington (68, s.a. 1259).

On 20th November, 1259, pope Alexander IV wrote to [Gamelin] the bishop of St Andrews, declaring that in case of that bishop's death the king, or any other, is forbidden to take possession of movables belonging to the church of St Andrews (Theiner, 82, no. 212).

On 29th November, 1259, the pope wrote to the abbot and convent of the monastery of St Thomas at Arbroath, and authorized them to use the revenues of the church of Haltwhistle, in the Scottish king's land in Tynedale, for their expenses in keeping up a hostelry; saving a portion for the vicar (Theiner, no. 213). Cf. year 1257, note.

1260

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 185

In the year of the Lord 1260, master John, the bishop of Glasgow, after asking and obtaining permission from the king of Scotland, entered his land, and so was presented to him. [John] was kindly received by him, and was sent on to his see; and there he was solemnly enthroned.[1]

Also abbot A[dam] of Balmerino resigned the administration,[2] which because of infirmity he could no longer hold, to his successor, Adam, a monk of the same house.

Patrick also, of Kelso, resigned; and Henry of Lambden succeeded him.[3]

Walter, the bishop of Durham, died; and Robert, a monk of the same house, succeeded him.[4]

Also the king of Scotland's eldest daughter, Margaret by name, was born, in England.[5]

Michael, the abbot of St Serf, resigned; and John, one of his monks, succeeded him.[6]

[1] For John of Cheam († 1268) see year 1259, and notes; and Bain, i, nos. 2297, 2303, 2305, 2326, 2347, 2349, 2676.

[2] Adam had been elected in 1252.

[3] Patrick had succeeded to the abbacy of Kelso in 1258. For Henry, see below.

[4] Walter died on 9th August, 1260; Robert of Stichill was elected on 30th September (R.S. **95**, ii, 454-456. Cf. **86**, iv, 125).

[5] This event took place in 1261 (see E.C., 379; Foedera, i, **1**, 402). For the visit of Alexander and his queen to England in 1260, see E.C., 378; and cf. the Eton MS. of Flores Historiarum, s.a. 1260 (R.S. **95**, iii, 249-250): "In the same year, Alexander, the king of Scotland, the son-in-law of the king of England, came to England after the festival of St Edward" (apparently his Translation; 13th October) "with a retinue of Scots. Also the queen of Scotland, king Henry's daughter, followed him, a little while afterwards."

According to Fordun (Annals, c. 54), Margaret was born on 28th February, 1261; which ought to mean 1262.

See years 1281, 1283.

[6] Michael had been elected to the abbacy of Culross in 1252.

After this year-section, a long note has been added to the chronicle. It is illegible; and seems to have been written with a style.

1260

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 189[1]

In the year of the Lord 1260, Henry of Lambden, the chamberlain of the monastery of Kelso, returned from the Roman court; carrying with him papal letters, in which it was contained that, immediately upon seeing the papal mandate, sir Patrick, the abbot who then ruled that monastery, should retire in favour of the bearer of the mandate, the said Henry. And this he did, at once, obediently. On the same day in which the said Henry entered the house of Kelso, without any further delay [Patrick] placed upon the great altar of that monastery the insignia of the abbacy, with which he had been invested; and in these the aforesaid Hugh immediately indued himself, by favour of the chief pontiff's award. Let him see himself how he entered into that pastoral charge; for afterwards, we know not whether by judgement of God, or because of His good will, [Henry] was overtaken by sudden death, at his table, when he began to take the first course; and on the same day, immediately after the convent's second refection, he was laid in the grave: perhaps because they would not watch beside his body.

1260[2]

[1] This is the second year-section for 1260, inserted between 1262 and 1263. Cf. year 1246, note.

[2] According to the Stockholm MS. version of Hakon Hakon's son's Saga (R.S. 88, ii, 310, c. 302), "the bishop of the Hebrides" (called in Fr. 562, c. 307, "the bishop of Sudrheimar"—read "Sudreyiar") was present at the conference held at Trondhjem, in 1260, near 29th July, between king Hakon and archbishop Einar, to settle their dispute over the appointment of a bishop of Hamar: archbishop Einar wished to appoint Lodin, a canon of Hamar; but king Hakon wished to appoint his chaplain, Gilbert, who "had been archdeacon in Shetland" (E., 451, c. 344; Fl., iii, 207, c. 263; Stockholm MS., u.s. But Fr. omits "in Shetland").

Gilbert was appointed, and sent to Rome. When he returned, he was consecrated, on the 4th of March, 1263 (E., c. 355; Fr., c. 323—in F.S., c. 315—; Fl., c. 274; St., in R.S., c. 315).

1261

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 185

In the year of the Lord 1261, pope Alexander died; and Urban succeeded him.[1]

Also, sir Matthew, the sixteenth abbot of Melrose, because of bodily infirmity committed his seal to his prior for keeping, in the chapter-house, on the vigil of St James[2]; and so bade farewell to the pastoral charge. After his resignation, on the day of St Peter ad Vincula,[3] sir Adam, the abbot of Newbattle, was unanimously elected by the convent, and installed. And to the rule of Newbattle, Guy, the porter of the same house, was appointed.[4]

1261

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 189-190[5]

In the year of the Lord 1261, our venerable father, sir Matthew, the abbot of Melrose, was deposed in the chapter of Rievaulx, although absent; without the consultation, and without the knowledge, of any living soul in Scotland. And many men, both monks and lay-brothers, grieved at his being deposed in this way; because no fault was found in him by reason of which he ought to have been thus deposed, according to their opinion. Yet it pleased the father abbot [of Rievaulx] that this should be done with regard to him,[6] because of certain objections that he had against him; justifiable ones, as it appeared to him.

And after the announcement[7] of his deposition, on the day in which he had been deposed, all the Melrose monks were released by the father abbot himself, in his chapter-house, from the obedience and professions that they had made to [Matthew].

[1] Pope Alexander IV died on 25th May, 1261. Urban IV was elected on 29th August; crowned, on 4th September (Potthast).

[2] I.e., on 24th July. Matthew had been elected in 1246. See below.

[3] 1st August.

[4] Adam became abbot of Newbattle in 1259; he was deposed from the abbacy of Melrose in 1267. Guy, or Wido, resigned in 1269.

[5] This is the second year-section of 1261. It is written at the end of the pages (folios 60-61) inserted between years 1262 and 1263.

[6] Instead of Stevenson's reading *fieret ab de eo*, the MS. has *fieret dei eo* (read *de*, as in Fulman's text).

[7] *denominationem.*

But alas! Because through this good Matthew, a reverend and generous man, [and] through his acquisition, the house of Melrose enjoys several possessions, and many pittances. Through him we have the pittance loaves in Lent, on Fridays, when we fast on bread and water. And he made our great houses at Berwick; and moreover he built many cow-farms and byres, and the abbot's great chamber, which is upon the bank of the river; with the addition of not a few other buildings.

1261 [1]

1261, July

Eirspennill's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, c. 347; Unger's Konunga Sögur, p. 454 [2]

Of the messengers of the Scottish king.

After bishop Hakon and his companions had gone south to Denmark, and the kings [3] had gone north,[4] there came east

[1] On 7th September, 1261, pope Urban IV wrote to master Leonard (papal chaplain and precentor of Messina), bidding him receive from the prior and chapter of Whithorn 36 marks and other sums that had been collected in Scotland for the Holy Land and Roman church by Ivo, a Friar Preacher of Ayr; and had been deposited in the church of Whithorn (Bliss, i, 385).

On 17th January, 1262, the same pope wrote to the prior and chapter of the Premonstratensians at Whithorn, bidding them pay these sums to master Leonard (Bliss, i, 384).

On 23rd May, 1266, pope Clement IV wrote to master Sinicius, papal nuncio, bidding him warn the prior and chapter of Whithorn to pay the 36 marks collected by Yvo, and deposited in their church. Pope Alexander IV had twice admonished them to pay the money. They had also been ordered to pay by pope Urban IV; whose nuncio had excommunicated them for beating his messenger. If they did not pay, the sentence was to be renewed, and published; and their prior must go to Rome (Bliss, i, 423).

[2] Parallel passages are in Fr., 564, c. 312 (also in F.S., x, 104-105, c. 307); Fl., iii, 210, c. 266; Stockholm MS. 20, fasc. 3 (Vigfusson's MS. B; R.S. 88, ii, 314-315, c. 307).

[3] "and the archbishop" [Einar Butterback] Fl., St.

[4] "and king Hakon had come to Bergen" add Fl., St.

"But while they were on their way to Denmark, the kings went north to Bergen. Then" Fr.

Bishop Hakon of Oslo, and some barons, had been sent with seven ships to Denmark to fetch Ingibiorg, daughter of king Eric the Holy, to be the wife of Magnus, Hakon's son (who had received the title of king, on 24th

from Scotland messengers of[1] the Scottish king[2]—a certain archdeacon, and the knight that was called Missel.[3] They went more with fair words than with good faith, as far as it appeared to the king. And they went away in such a manner that no man knew of it, until they had hoisted their sail.[4] Then king Hakon sent Bryniolf John's son after them; and they brought them back with them.[5] The king said that they should remain in Norway that winter, because ([going] farther than other messengers) they had wished to depart without leave.

1261

Eirspennill's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, c. 351; Unger's Konunga Sögur, p. 456[6]

Crowning of king Magnus, Hakon's son.

Cross-mass was Wednesday.[7] King Hakon caused new preparations[8] to be made in the [royal] residence, because[9] Magnus was to be consecrated on that day under the crown.[10]

Then they sang early in the town; and at the end of prayers, all the people proceeded to the king's residence. There then the ceremony was modelled in all respects upon that which there was when king Hakon was consecrated.

June, 1257, in succession to his brother Hakon, who had died in 1257, May 5th). The messengers brought Ingibiorg away by stealth. They went to Denmark a fortnight before, and returned in the evening before, St Olaf's day (29th July), 1261; therefore the Scottish ambassadors reached Norway July 15th × 28th.

[1] "Alexander" add Fr., Fl., St.

[2] "king of Scotland" Fl., St.

[3] "and Missel was the name of the knight" Fr.

[4] "before they were away" Fr.

[5] "he brought . . . with him" Fr., Fl., St.

[6] Parallel passages are in Fr., 565-566, c. 315 (also in F.S., x, 108-109, c. 310); Fl., iii, 212-213, c. 270; and the Stockholm MS. (R.S. 88, ii, 318-319, c. 310).

[7] "in the week" add Fr., St.; "was the fifth day in the week" Fl. (wrongly). This was the day of the Elevation of the Cross, i.e. 14th September; before Hakon's 45th Christmas, i.e., in 1261. 14th September was a Wednesday in 1261.

[8] The previous celebration had been of the marriage of Magnus with Ingibiorg, on Sunday, 11th September, 1261.

[9] "because he intended that" Fr., Fl., St.

[10] "according as God had fore-ordained" add Fl., St.

Everything was arranged in this manner: first went those who cleared the way[1]; next, those who bore the standards; then the bailiffs,[2] and after them, the barons.[3]

1261

Flatey-book's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, c. 270; Flateyiarbók, vol. iii, pp. 212-213[4]

Then went four barons, carrying a great table-board among them, above their heads: and upon it the king's apparel, and the consecration robes. Next went Erling, Alf's son, and Bryniolf, John's son, bearing two sceptres of silver, much adorned with gold. Next went earl Knut, carrying the crown: and two marshals led him, because he was very ill.[5] Abreast with him went Gaut, John's son, carrying the consecration-sword. Next were led the kings.

At the gate of the king's residence, there came to meet them the bishops, abbots, and clergy, in a procession; and they began to sing, and went so to the altar.[6] After this, mass was sung; and the consecration went forward exceedingly well, according as holy church bids.[7]

1261

Frisbók's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, c. 315; Codex Frisianus, p. 566[8]

And during the mass, the knight Missel stood above,[9] in the choir, and wondered greatly at the proceeding of the con-

[1] "Everything . . . the way." Fl. and St. read instead: "Then most of the body-guard were mail-clad in all their war-armour; both in order to go about [to St.] the king's residence, and to clear the way to Christ's-church. First went the body-guard, which was to clear [cleared St.] the way."

[2] "and cup-bearers" add Fl., St.

[3] Here the last surviving page of Eirspennill ends. "Everything . . . barons" not in Fr.

[4] Also in Unger's K.S., 456-457. The same passage is in the Stockholm MS. version (R.S. 88, ii, 318-319, c. 310).

[5] Knut died soon after the ceremony. He was the son of Kristín and Hakon Galinn, king Sverri's nephew.

[6] "to the church. Then the kings were led to the altar" St.

[7] "went forward, as is bidden, in the holy church" St.

[8] Also in F.S., x, 109-110, c. 310. Parallel passages are in Fl., iii, 213, c. 270 (also in K.S., 457); and in the Stockholm MS. (R.S. 88, ii, 319, c. 310).

[9] "The knight Missel, whom the king of Scotland had sent to him [to king Hakon St.]" Fl., St.

secration; because it is not the custom to crown kings in Scotland.[1] And when king Magnus was robed, and king Hakon and the archbishop[2] girded him with the consecration-sword, the Scottish knight spoke: "It was told me that knights were not dubbed here in this land; but I never saw a knight so well dubbed [as here], where ten of the noblest princes[3] gird him with the consecration-sword."

When king Magnus had been robed, the archbishop led him to his seat.

Then they consecrated the queen.[4]

1262

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 185-186

In the year of the Lord 1262, H[enry], the abbot of Deer, was released from the administration of his flock. And — —[5] [was elected and brought] to rule over them.

Also in this year, sir T[homas],[6] Randolph's son, and Juliana, his wife, died. Their bodies were carried to the monastery of Melrose, and were honourably interred on the day of the Supper.[7]

In the same year, Alan, the bishop of Argyle, died.[8] [He

[1] Fl., St., add: "He was so greatly pleased with the consecration that he wept, before they who stood by told him [what it was]."

[2] "archbishop Einar, and three other bishops" Fl., St.

[3] "five [ten St.] of the noblest princes in this land" Fl., St.

[4] Ingibiorg. See above, pp. 601-602.

On 15th November, 1262, king Henry (who had been endeavouring to preserve peace between Norway and Scotland) wrote to Hakon, and thanked him for the release of the Scottish envoys. See Foedera, i, **1**, 422. Chronicle of Man, ii, 317-320.

On 17th February, 1262, Alexander, king of Scotland, wrote to the king of England regarding payment of a portion of the sum due to him by the king of England. On 23rd March, 1262, king Henry answered in detail the matters submitted to him by the king of Scotland's messenger, John of Lindores, a royal clerk. Foedera, i, **1**, 380, 417.

[5] Here some words have been erased. The words within brackets have been crossed out.

[6] Instead of *F.* (as in Stevenson's text), the MS. reads *T.* (as in Fulman's). So also in Stevenson's translation (Church Historians, iv, **1**, 210).

[7] I.e., 6th April, 1262.

[8] Alan was consecrated to the see of Argyle 2 Jan. 1249 × 27 Sep. 1250 (Paisley, 134; above, years 1241, 1258, notes). He was alive on 2nd February, 1262 (Paisley, 130). See D.B., 379.

On 31st March, 1264, pope Urban IV gave the bishops of St Andrews

was succeeded by Laurence of Argyle, a friar of the order of the Preachers.][1]

1262-1263

Frisbók's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, c. 322; Codex Frisianus, p. 569[2]

In the previous summer,[3] letters came east from the Hebrides, from the kings; and they[4] brought forward much about the dispeace that the earl of Ross, and Kiarnak, Makamal's son,[5] and other Scots, had made in the Hebrides, when they went out to Skye,[6] and burned a town and churches, and slew very many [peasant] men and women.[7] And they said also that the Scots had taken the little children, and laid them on their spear-points, and shook [their spears] until they brought [the children] down to their hands; and so threw them away, dead.[8] They said also[9] that the Scottish king intended[10] to lay under himself all the Hebrides.[11]

and Dunkeld authority to consecrate Laurence, a Friar Preacher, to the see of Argyle (Bliss, i, 411). Laurence lived until 1299 (D.B., 379).

[1] "He . . . Preachers" added in the margin, in a different hand.

After this year-section, a new year-section, imperfectly begun, has been erased. See year ? 1272. At the foot of the page (folio 59 verso), a long note has been erased. Between the two erasures, a note respecting year 1272 has been inserted.

Here the chronicle is interrupted by an account of the lives of saintly Melrose monks. See above, year 1246, note. This account, with additional year-sections for 1260 and 1261, occupies folios 60 and 61. Folio 62 concludes the present section of the chronicle (year 1263).

[2] Also in F.S., x, 117-118, c. 314. Parallel passages are in Fl., iii, 217, c. 274 (and K.S., 462, c. 355): and the Stockholm MS. (R.S. 88, ii, 327, c. 314).

[3] I.e., Before king Hakon's 46th winter (1262-1263).

[4] "from the king; and he" Fl.; "from the king there; and they" St.

[5] So read in St.; "Kiarvak, Machamal's son" in Fl.

[6] "went into strife" Fl., corruptly.

[7] "they slew both men and women" Fl.; "they slew very many—men and women" St.

[8] This sentence is also in St.; but Fl. reads instead: "And they let little children sprawl on the spear-points."

[9] "also" not in Fl. St. reads: "They reported also many angry words [*stóryrði*] of the Scottish king, and said . . . ."

[10] "that he certainly intended" St.

[11] "if he survived to do it" add Fl., St.

And when king Hakon learned these tidings, they caused him great concern; and[1] he brought this case before his council.[2] And whatever each said about it, king Hakon had levying-writs sent out, in the winter, after Yule, throughout all Norway,[3] and called out a levy both of men and of stores; the most that he thought the land could provide.[4] He appointed all this army to meet with him in Bergen, early in the summer.[5]

1263[6]

[1] "And . . . and": Fl. reads instead: "This caused the king great concern."

[2] "before his friends and counsellors" St.

[3] "king Hakon . . . Norway": Fl. reads instead: "this counsel was taken, that the king sent letters through all Norway."

[4] "a levy both of stores, ships, and men" Fl.

[5] "early . . . summer" not in Fl.

[6] On 3rd July, 1263, pope Urban IV gave a bull to the monastery of Pluscarden, in which the order of Vallis Caulium had been introduced (Miscellany of the Spalding Club, ii, 403-406). Cf. above, p. 471.

On 1st October, 1263, pope Urban wrote to all ecclesiastical and monastic dignitaries in Scotland, bidding them receive [Gamelin] the bishop of St Andrews with honour, provide him with escort, and supply him with necessaries, while he prosecuted the business of the crusade (Bliss, i, 394-395).

On 3rd October, the pope bade Gamelin collect a yearly hundredth of church revenues in Scotland for five years, for the Holy Land (ibid., 394).

On 4th October, pope Urban bade the bishop of St Andrews preach in favour of the crusade (ibid., 394).

On 23rd October, pope Urban wrote to Gamelin, declaring that crusaders were not to be summoned in litigation beyond their dioceses, without mention being made of this indulgence. On the same day, he wrote also to the other bishops of Scotland, bidding them assist Gamelin in carrying out his orders with regard to the crusade (ibid.).

On 10th November, 1263, pope Urban wrote to [Robert de Prebenda] the bishop of Dunblane and [William Wishart] the archdeacon of St Andrews, papal chaplain; and ordered them to provide that Albert and Boniface, clerks, nephews of deacon-cardinal U[bertus], of St Eustace, should receive dignities or benefices in Scotland. Their right to these, granted by papal letters, had been refused by the bishop of St Andrews, because of a papal indulgence said to have been given him: he had excommunicated the cardinal, who had tried to enforce their claim (Bliss, i, 414).

On 10th December, 1263, the pope wrote letters to the bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane, enforcing the gift of a prebend. See year 1250, note.

PART XIII

The Invasion of Hakon

1263

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 190

In the year of the Lord 1263, Hakon, the king of Norway, with a large number of ships, came over the western sea to attack[1] the king of Scotland. But in truth, as Hakon himself affirmed, he was repelled not by human force, but by divine power, which wrecked his ships, and sent a pestilence upon his army; and which moreover attacked and routed, by means of the serving-men of the country, those that had assembled for battle, on the third day after the solemnity of St Michael.[2] Therefore they were compelled to return to their ships, with their wounded and their dead; and thus to go back to their land, less honourably than they had come.[3]

1263

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 135; s.a. 1263[4]

King Hakon led a military expedition to Scotland, with so great a host that an equally great army is not known [ever] to have gone from Norway.[5]

Thorgils, the bishop of Stavanger, and Gilbert, the bishop of Hamar, accompanied him.

[1] *ad debellandum.* The same word (*debellavit*) is used by C.M. in describing king Henry's unsuccessful attack upon the Welsh, in 1257; and below, in speaking of the rout of Norwegian men-at-arms by Scottish men-servants.

[2] I.e., on 2nd October.

[3] Cf. Fordun, c. 55; Bower, ii, 97-99.

[4] With dominical and paschal letters of 1263. Similarly in A (Fl., iii, 534-535).

[5] When it was reported in England that the king of Norway (and also, rumour said, the king of Denmark) had touched at the outer islands of Scotland, king Henry took precautionary measures. See Foedera, i, 1, 429.

[There was] an eclipse of the sun, upon the Nones of August.[1]

King Hakon died in the Orkneys.[2]

1263-1264

Continuation of the Chronicle of Man, vol. i, pp. 108-110

In the year of the Lord 1263, Hakon, the king of Norway, came to regions of Scotland; but, effecting nothing, he returned to the Orkneys. And there he died, at Kirkwall. And in the following spring-time, he was carried to Norway; and was buried in the church of Holy Trinity at Bergen.

1263

Frisbók's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, cc. 324-338; Codex Frisianus, pp. 570-581[3]

King Hakon went from Nidaróss, about the middle of

[1] 5th August. There was an annular eclipse on this day in 1263, at 2½ p.m. (Paris time; L'Art).

[2] KO read, s.a. 1263 (27, 67): "A levy [*leiðangr*] to Scotland. Death of king Hakon. King Magnus took dominion." DP (193, 331; with letters of 1263): "Military expedition of king Hakon to Scotland. Death . . . of king Hakon [in the Orkneys. Magnus his son took dominion, for 17 winters. . . . Eclipse of the sun, on the Nones of August, the 27th day of the moon. D]." (5th August was the 27th of the calendar moon.)

E (258; with letters of 1263): "King Hakon sailed to the Hebrides with his army; and died in the following winter, in the Orkneys, on the seventeenth day before the Kalends of January [i.e., on 16th December, 1263]. An eclipse of the sun in the previous summer, on the Nones [*M°*] of August."

Hakon's death is placed under 15th December in the Icelandic obituary in Vigfusson's Sturlunga Saga, ii, 396; on the 18th, in Langebek, ii, 519. He seems to have died on the evening of the 15th, according to modern reckoning.

A.U., ii, 332, s.a. 1263:—"Hakon, the king of Norway, died in the Orkney islands on his way to Ireland." Similarly in A.L.C., i, 444 (but reading *Ebhdhonn* for "Hakon"), and in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, 244 (reading "Ebdon, king of Denmark").

[3] Also in F.S., x, 118-150, cc. 316-330. Parallel passages are in Fl., iii, 217-231, cc. 275-285 (also in K.S., 463-481, cc. 356-367); and (parts) in the Stockholm MS. (R.S. 88, ii, 328-330, 336-341, 345-353); also (fragments) in Arna-Magnæan Fragment, 325, fasc. 10 (ibid., 341-342, 343, 344, 345, 375-380). The verses in the R.S. text seem to have been taken from Fr.

Lent,[1] by the upper way, east to Vik; and so east to the Elfr, to meet with earl Birgi.[2] And when king Hakon came to Liódhús, the earl was gone.[3] Then the king went north into the Vik.[4]

King Magnus came south to Bergen after Easter, and then went south to Stavanger.[5]

King Hakon came north[6] to Bergen at Cross-mass.[7] Then[8] he proceeded with his preparations as rapidly as possible.[9] A great host collected to him there, and nearly all the liege-men and bailiffs, and many levied men.[10]

[c. 325] Then king Hakon held a general assembly in Bergen,[11] above, upon the banks. A very great army came together there.[12] The king then made a proclamation about his expedition, saying that he intended to go west beyond the

[1] Ash Wednesday was 14th February; Easter, 1st April, in 1263.

[2] The readings of Fl. and St. are: "[*King Hakon set out upon warfare to Scotland.* Fl.] King Hakon went from Nidaróss out to Orkadalr, about the middle of Lent, and so south across the mountains [to the mountain St.], and by the upper way east to Vik; [and out to Oslo; thence to Tönsberg, St.] and so east to the Elfr, according as messages had passed between earl Birgi and the king, that they were to meet in Liódhús in Easter week."

[3] "and their meeting came to nothing" adds St.

[4] This sentence is not in Fl. St. adds: "and took great levies west from the land."

[5] The readings of Fl. and St. are: "King Magnus went from Trondhjem, a little later [than king Hakon (and he had the ship that king Hakon had had in the autumn) St.]; [and Fl.] the two queens [went with him, and he was slow in setting out St.]. He had services on Easter-day in Frekeyiarsund, [and sailed in the day south to Hereyiar. King Magnus came south to Bergen after Easter, and he remained there but a little while before St.] he went south to Stavanger."

[6] "north" not in Fl. St. reads: "When king Hakon had finished his business in the Vik, he went north into the land, and came . . . ."

[7] The Invention of the Cross; the 3rd of May.

[8] Fl. and St. read: "He remained there during the spring, and . . . ."

[9] "as . . . possible" not in Fl. Here Fl. and St. add: "[When Fl.] [As soon as St.] king Magnus had [finished his business, and St.] made his plans for [the levyings and ship-equipment Fl.] [all the preparation St.] in Rygiafylki, he went to meet with king Hakon [his father St.]."

English ships were impressed: see Bain, i, no. 2355.

[10] Fl. and St. read: "After that [this St.], men collected daily to the town—both barons and bailiffs, and most of the liege-men in the land."

[11] "in Bergen" not in Fl.

[12] This sentence is not in Fl.

sea with[1] this army to Scotland, to avenge the warfare that the Scots had made in his dominions.

But[2] king Magnus offered to go instead of him[3] upon this expedition,[4] while king Hakon should remain behind.[5] [King Hakon] thanked him for that, with many fair words[6]; but said that whereas he was older, and had longer had information about the western lands,[7] he wished therefore to go upon this expedition.[8] But he gave all the government [of Norway] to[9] king Magnus.

In this assembly he decided many[10] affairs that concerned the land[11]; he also conceded to the yeomen that the bailiffs should proceed with no suits while he was away, except the suits that were the greatest.

For this expedition, king Hakon had[12] the large ship that he had had made in Bergen, entirely of oak[13]: it had a fine[14] dragon's-head, all gilded; and so too the neck.[15] He had many other large ships,[16] and well equipped.[17]

In the spring, king Hakon had sent west to the Orkneys[18]

[1] "all" adds St.

[2] "He also announced that" St.

[3] "instead of him" not in St.

[4] "to go . . . expedition." Fl. reads instead: "to be over the army."

[5] "while . . . behind" not in Fl.

[6] "with . . . words." Fl. reads instead: "affectionately"; St. (conflate):—"with many fair and affectionate words."

[7] "and had informed himself of what was customary there" adds St. (*ok gört sèr kunnigt, hversu thar var hátta*ð).

[8] "but said that he himself wished to go" Fl.

[9] "into the hands of" Fl., St.

[10] "other" adds St.

[11] "In this . . . land" not in Fl. St. reads: "both the land, and those who were to go with him."

[12] "prepared" adds St.

[13] "in Bergen, and which he intended for his voyaging-ship. It had twenty-seven [thirty-seven St.] benches, and was [big at that, and St.] made entirely of oak" Fl., St.

[14] "fine" not in Fl.

[15] "and decorated neck" Fl.; "and the neck also was decorated in equal measure" St.

[16] "for this expedition" adds St.

[17] This sentence is not in Fl.

[18] "west beyond the sea" Fl., St.

John, Langlif's son, and [Henry Scot][1] to Shetland,[2] to get pilots. John [and Henry][3] went to the Hebrides,[4] and told king Dugald[5] that the army was to be expected from the east during the summer.[6] And it was rumoured[7] that the Scots would plunder in the islands during the summer: but king Dugald spread the rumour that forty ships were [coming][8] west from Norway, and the Scots were deterred by that.

[c. 326] Some time before the king was ready, he sent four[9] ships west in advance. These were their commanders: Ronald Urka; Erling, Ivar's son; Andrew,[10] Nicholas' son; Hallvard Red.[11]

When king Hakon had equipped his ship, he put out from the town[12] to Eidsvágr, with the whole army; and afterwards he went into the town, and remained there for some nights[13]; and then went out[14] to Herdluver,[15] as is said in Hrafnsmál[16]:

"Companies, keen in the attack, sought the lofty increaser of spears'-clashing,[17] from the Finn-dwellings: all the way west

[1] "and [with him St.] Henry Scot" Fl.; St.

[2] "to Shetland" not in Fl.; St. reads instead: "and king Magnus gave them a ship and men to go to Shetland; and their errand there was to get pilots."

[3] *Their Jon*, showing that in the previous sentence Henry Scot's name must have stood also in the version from which Fr. was copied.

[4] "to the Orkneys" St. (erroneously); "John . . . Hebrides" not in Fl.

[5] "[and St.] [They Fl.] found king Dugald [in the Orkneys St.], and told him" Fl., St.

[6] "during the summer" not in Fl., St.

[7] "there" add Fl., St.

[8] "had come" Fl., St.

[9] "eight" Fl., St.

[10] "Urka . . . Andrew" not in Fl.

[11] "and many more" add Fl., St. St. continues: "They lay out for a while by the sea, and did not get a fair wind."

[12] "and [with him St.] the greater part of the army" add Fl., St.

[13] "for a time" Fl.

[14] "out to [his St.] ship, and sailed out" Fl., St.

[15] "All the army came together there, both south from the land, and from the east; and that was a very great army" add Fl., St.

[16] "which Sturla composed [made St.]" add Fl., St. For the following verse, see J.S., ii, A, 119-120; B, 126-127; stanzas 1-3.

[17] "the lofty . . . " i.e., "the war-king."

from the Gaut-elfr, the roaring of the earth's-girdle [1] moved [2] the victorious ships of the high-seat-watcher.[3]

"No terror of the serpents'-lair [4] ever saw more slaughter-folk of a dart-speeder in one place.[5] The severe deceit-repressor enclosed the outlying shores of lands, with war-skis of storms,[6] and shield-walls.[7]

"Ocean's-fire [8] clattered around the famous prince, on the sea-king's race-horses, broken to the roaring sea. The inexhaustible sun of the mail-glitter [9] shone from the fair-sailed ships above the wise fighter of battles."

Ronald and the others separated on the sea [10]; and Ronald [11] arrived in the Orkneys with some of the ships. But Erling and Andrew and Hallvard [12] sailed to the south of Shetland and so west of Thareyiarfiordr [13]; and saw no land before Sulnastapi,[14] west from the Orkneys. Then they sailed in under Scotland, under Durness [15]; and went ashore there, and stormed a certain castle [16]; and the men who were in it [17] fled

[1] "the roaring . . . " i.e., "the stormy sea."

[2] *fra*, Fr.; *bar* ("bore") Fl.; read *brá* with St.

[3] I.e., "the king." Fl. and St. add here: "And also :".

[4] "No terror . . . " i.e., "no spender of gold," "wealthy man."

[5] "more . . . " i.e., "more fighting-men of any war-king."

[6] "war-skis . . . " i.e., "warships."

[7] Fl. and St. add here: "King Hakon lay with all the army in Herdluver; that was a very great host, and fair. The king had many [large ships, and well-equipped; as is here said: Fl.]." Here follows a gap in St.

[8] I.e., "gold."

[9] "sun . . . " i.e., "brightener of the sword"; "gold."

[10] Fl. reads: "Some nights after king Hakon had come to Herdluver, Ronald and Erling sailed from the sea with the ships that they had; and they separated on the sea."

[11] "Erling" Fl. (erroneously).

[12] "Red" adds Fl.

[13] *fyrir thareyiarfiord.* Fl. reads *Barreyiarfiord;* St., *Bareyiarfiord:*— i.e., Burra Firth? Vigfusson would read [*fri*]*ðareyiarfiord* "Fair Isle firth"; but the readings of Fl. and St. seem to preclude this emendation.

[14] I.e., "gannets' pinnacle": "Sulnasker" in Fl., i.e., "gannets' skerry." This is probably Sule Skerry, which (with the Stack Skerry) lies to the west of Orkney, and north-east of Cape Wrath. There is also a rock called Sulisker, to the north-west of Cape Wrath, and north of the Butt of Lewis.

[15] "and came to land at Durness" Fl.

[16] "that was there" adds Fl.

[17] "there" Fl.

away. After that, they burned more than twenty towns. And then they sailed to the Hebrides, and met there Magnus,[1] king of Man.

[c. 327] Three nights after[2] Selia-men's festival,[3] king Hakon sailed into the North Sea[4] with the whole army. He had then been king in Norway for forty-six winters.[5] There was then an excellent favourable wind, and fair weather. The fleet was magnificent to see, as is here said[6]:

"Splendours of the brilliance of the surge[7] struck into the clear sky from the ship-fastened lamps of the valkyrias.[8] The passage of the companies of the rings' peace-breaker[9] through the sea-currents was like lightnings of the sky."

King Hakon had a very select company upon his ship. These were amidships[10]: Thorleif, abbot of [Nidar-]Hólmr; sir Askatin; four priests, and the[11] chaplains of the king[12]; Andrew of Thissisey[13]; Andrew, Havard's son; Guthorm, Gulli's[14] son; and Thorstein, [Guthorm's] brother; Eric Skota, Gaut's son; and many more. These were in the narrow-room[15]: Aslak, Dag's son; Steinar Herka; Klemit the Short[16]; Andrew Gums; Eric, Dugald's son[17]; Sighvat, Bodvar's son; Hoskuld, Odd's son; John Quiet-life; and Arni Slinkr.[18] In the third room were: Sigurd, Ivar's son[19]; Ivar, son of Helgi of Loflo[20];

[1] "there Magnus": Fl. reads instead "the."
[2] "before" Fl.
[3] This was St Sunniva's day, the 8th of July.
[4] *Solundarhaf.*
[5] I.e., in 1263.
[6] See J.S., ii, A, 120; B, 127, stanza 4.
[7] "brilliance . . . " i.e., "gold."
[8] "lamps . . . " i.e., "shields."
[9] "rings' . . . " i.e., "generous prince."
[10] Literally "in the middle room."
[11] "other" Fl.
[12] Fl. adds here: "these laymen:—Aslak Guss, the king's marshal;".
[13] "Pissisey" Fl.
[14] "Gilli's" Fl.
[15] A room before the poop.
[16] "the Tall" Fl.
[17] king Dugald's father" Fl., which adds: "Einar Lombard; Arnbiorn Svæla."
[18] "Slyngr" Fl.
[19] "Sigurd, son of Ivar Rofa" Fl.
[20] "Helgi, son of Ivar of Lofalækr" Fl.

Erlend Skolbeinn[1]; Dag of Sudrheimar[2]; Bryniolf, John's son; Gudleik Sneis; and many men besides of the king's household. Andrew Plyttr was the king's treasurer. These were in the forecastle: Eric Skifa,[3] Thorfinn Sigvaldi's son, Kari Eindridi's son, Gudbrand[4] John's son, and many cup-bearers besides. Most usually there were four men in [each] half-room.

Magnus, earl of the Orkneys, went with king Hakon from Bergen; and the king gave him a good long-ship.

These barons were[5] with the king: Bryniolf, John's son; Finn, Gaut's son; Erling, Alf's son; Erlend Red; Bard of Hest-bær; Eilif of Naust-dalr; Andrew Pot; Ogmund Crowdance.[6]

These were before the mast: Ronald Urka; Erling, Ivar's son; John Dróttning.[7] Gaut of Melr and Nicholas of Gizki remained behind with king Magnus.[8]

King Hakon got a gentle, favourable wind, and was two nights on the sea, and made Shetland with a large[9] part of the army at the place that is called Bressay Sound[10]; as Sturla said[11]:

"The lands' ruler divided the high-ridged blue waves of the main; with water-tight seams (?).[12] The clear harbour was lit up with the ember-red[13] fire of the eel-land,[14] from the most wealth-favoured ship-stems."

King Hakon lay in Bressay Sound for nearly half a month.

[1] "Skósvein" Fl. (i.e. "waiting-man").

[2] "of Sudreyiar" Fl. (i.e. "Hebrides"; erroneously).

[3] "Kifa" Fl.

[4] "Gudmund" Fl.

[5] "went" Fl.

[6] Fl. adds: "They sailed for Ronaldshay."

[7] Instead of this sentence, Fl. reads: "Erling Ivar's son, [and] John Dróttning, remained behind in Bergen, and many other ships'-commanders, because they were not ready." The reading of Fr. is probably more correct.

[8] Fl. adds: "With king Hakon were many other famous ships'-commanders, who are mentioned below."

[9] "large" not in Fl.

[10] *Breideyiarsund.* This is the harbour of Lerwick.

[11] See J.S., u.s., stanza 5.

[12] *helldo um . . . húfum*, Fr. ("men steered the stems over the sea" J.S.); perhaps read, with Fl., *helldum hufum.*

[13] "blood-red" Fl.

[14] "fire . . . " i.e., "gold."

And he sailed from there to the Orkneys, and lay for a while in Ellwick,[1] which is nearest[2] to Kirkwall. Then he announced to his men[3] that he intended to divide the army, and send part south to Moray Firth,[4] to[5] plunder there. But he himself sailed to Wide-wall Bay,[6] and lay there for a time. Then he sent a message[7] over to Caithness, and laid a tax upon them, and promised them peace in return[8]: otherwise they should bring upon themselves[9] hard terms. But the Caithness men submitted[10] to the tax,[11] as is here said[12]:

"The peace-giving wise watcher of the northern hill-pastures[13] took taxes from the [Caith-]ness peoples, who ransomed their lives.[14] All the people in the great-realms were a-dread of the terrible mail-clad belt-buckler."[15]

While king Hakon lay in Wide-wall Bay, great darkness

[1] *í Ellidarvík.* This is a bay in the south-west of Shapinshay, opposite to the bay of Kirkwall.

[2] "near" Fl.

[3] "There king Hakon had a talk with his council; and announced this to them" Fl.

[4] *til Breidarfiardar.*

[5] "and" in Fr.

[6] Fl. reads instead: "But he himself would remain with the Orkney-men, with the large ships, and the greater part of the army. But the yeomen and levied-men showed themselves opposed to going anywhere except with the king himself; and therefore this expedition came to nothing.

"Olaf's festival was on a Sunday [29th July, 1263], and king Hakon let festal services be sung in a tent on land, and during the day entertained the populace on his ship.

"After Olaf's festival, king Hakon sailed from Ellwick south off the Mull before Ronaldshay, with his whole army. Then Ronald had come out from the Orkneys to the king, with the ships that had accompanied him. King Hakon lay with the army in Wide-wall Bay" (*í Rognvalldzvog;* i.e., a bay in the north-west of South Ronaldshay).

[7] "men" Fl.

[8] "if they submitted" adds Fl.

[9] "they . . . themselves" not in Fl.

[10] "agreed" Fl.

[11] "and king Hakon set men there to receive it" adds Fl.

[12] See J.S., ii, A, 120-121; B, 128, stanza 6.

[13] "of the noble hill-pastures" Fr. Norway is meant in both.

[14] Fl.'s reading is to be corrected by Fr.'s.

[15] I.e., "warrior." I take "great-realms" to mean the mainland of Britain: J.S. translates it differently.

came upon the sun, in such a way that a small ring was clear about the outside of the sun[1]; and this continued for about an hour of the day.[2] On the day of Laurence's festival,[3] king Hakon sailed[4] across the Pentland Firth[5]; he bade the Orkneymen sail after him as soon as they were ready. Earl Magnus also was behind.[6] King Hakon sailed on the day of Laurence's festival off Hvarf,[7] with the whole army, and put in to the harbour that is called Halseyiarvík.[8] Then they sailed to Rona,[9] and thence into Skye sound, and to[10] the place called Kerlingar-steinn.[11] There came to him Magnus, king of Man, and the kinsmen-in-law Erling, Ivar's son; Andrew, Nicholas' son; and Hallvard.[12]

[1] There was an annular eclipse of the sun in 1263, according to L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, on August 5th, at 2½ p.m., Paris time—about 21 minutes earlier in Wide-wall Bay.

[2] The festival of St Laurence, deacon and martyr, was August 10th.

[3] Here Fl. adds: "King Hakon had heard evil tidings from the Hebrides; since John Langlif's son had come to the king in Shetland, when the king had sailed west, and had told him these tidings, that king John in the Hebrides would [probably] have changed sides in his allegiance, and gone over to the Scottish king. But king Hakon refused to believe it, until he had proved it."

[4] "from Wide-wall Bay" adds Fl.

[5] Fl. adds: "He had then learnt that John Dróttning, and Kolbein Aslak's son, and those ships that were expected from the east, and had remained behind, had then arrived in the islands."

[6] "he bade . . . behind" not in Fl.

[7] "on the day . . . Hvarf" not in Fl. Hvarf seems to have been Cape Wrath. (There is a district called The Parph, inland from Cape Wrath, in the Ordnance Survey map: possibly this is a survival of the old Norse name.)

[8] "Asleifarvík" in Fl. This seems to have been a harbour near Cape Wrath, on the western coast of Scotland.

[9] "Then . . . Rona." Fl. reads instead: "and from there to Lewis, and so to Rona."

[10] "and lay in" Fl.

[11] I.e., "old woman's stone"; possibly Rudha na Caillich ("nun's" or "old woman's promontory") in Lochalsh. The entrances to Lochalsh are narrow: if Hakon brought his fleet in there, he must have known that there was no risk of any considerable attack being made upon him.

[12] Fl. adds: "and Nicholas Tartr.

"They and John Dróttning sailed all together, and parted at sea. Nicholas had touched land nowhere before Lewis, after he sailed from Norway.

"On the day when king Hakon sailed from Skye sound, king Dugald came to him on a light ship, and begged king Hakon to hasten as much as possible after him."

King Hakon sailed from there to the Sound of Mull, and thence under Kerrera. And there the whole army came together; [including] both king Dugald and the Hebrideans. King Hakon had then between one and two hundred ships; and most of them large, and well manned.[1]

[c. 328] While king Hakon lay in Kerrera, he divided his army,[2] and sent fifty ships south to the Mull of Kintyre,[3] to plunder there. These were the commanders over them:— king Dugald; Magnus, king[4] of Man; Bryniolf, John's son[5]; Ronald Urka; Andrew Pot; Ogmund Crow-dance; Vigleik Priest's-son. Then he sent five[6] ships to Bute. These men were over them: Erlend Red; Andrew, Nicholas' son; Simon Short; Ivar the Young.[7] Then king Hakon sailed south along Kintyre and lay at the place that is called Gigha.[8] There king John came to him, going upon the ship of bishop Thorgils. The king asked [John] to accompany him, as he was bound to do. But king John refused to do this; he said that he had sworn an oath to the Scottish king, and held larger dominions of him than of the king of Norway. He bade king Hakon dispose of the dominion that he had given him.[9]

A certain abbot of a monastery of Grey-friars came to king Hakon there,[10] and begged [for peace[11]] for his place, and for[12] holy church. And the king granted him that, and gave him his charter for it. Then king Dugald's men also came to the king, and said that the chieftains, Murchaid and Angus, who ruled over Kintyre, held the island of Islay, and were willing to

[1] "well equipped, both with men and weapons" Fl.

[2] "he . . . army" not in Fl.

[3] "to the isthmus of Kintyre" Fl.; i.e., West Loch Tarbert. Similarly in Fr., below.

[4] "king" not in Fl.

[5] "John's son" not in Fl.

[6] "Fifteen" in Fl.

[7] Fl. adds: "Eyfari, and Guthorm, Hebrideans; each upon his own ship."

[8] "sailed to Gigha off Kintyre" Fl.

[9] Fl. adds: "King Hakon kept him with him for a time, and intended to soften his mood to loyalty to himself. Many strongly opposed [John's] case."

[10] Fl. reads: "But while king Hakon lay in Gigha, a . . . came to him."

[11] "for peace" Fl.

[12] "for protection of" Fl.

submit to king Hakon.[1] And the king said[2] that he would not plunder the headland[3] if they came into his power on the following day, before mid-day: "Otherwise I let my men plunder."[4] The messengers went back.[5] Upon the following morning, Murchaid and Angus came to king Hakon, and submitted their whole case to him, and swore him oaths, and gave hostages.[6] King Hakon laid a tax upon the headland[7]—ten hundred head of cattle.[8] Angus and Murchaid gave[9] the island of Islay into the king's power; and the king gave the island of Islay to Angus, [on the same terms] as the other chiefs of the Hebrides held [their territories] of him.[10] As is said in Hrafnsmál[11]:

"The ready-of-speech, the holder of councils with the

[1] "who ruled . . . Hakon." Fl. reads: "of Kintyre, were willing to give up the lands that they held, and to give the king their support."

[2] "gave this answer" Fl.

[3] "there" Fl.

[4] "otherwise he said he would plunder" Fl.; "'But if they have not then come, I shall let my men go ashore, and plunder'" St. (which recommences here).

[5] St. adds: "And then the king arranged his men for going ashore, so that two parts of the force should land."

[6] Fl. reads: "Upon the following morning, Murchaid came, and submitted everything to the king.

"A little later came Angus, and did the same thing. And the king promised to bring them to terms with the king of the Scots, if they came to terms. They gave the king hostages, and swore oaths."

St. reads: "And on the following morning, Murchaid submitted to the king, and laid all his case in his hands. A little later came Angus, and submitted his case to the king. King Hakon promised them both to get peace for them from the Scottish king, if there were peace between the kings. Then they gave hostages to king Hakon, and swore oaths."

[7] "upon their dominion" Fl. St. reads: "Then king Hakon sent a letter to his men, whom he had sent to plunder the headland, [telling them] that they should desist from warfare. And he laid a tax upon the headland . . . ."

[8] St. adds: "in addition to the plunder that had been taken before."

[9] "made peace in this way, that they gave" St.

[10] "Angus and . . . of him." Fl. reads: "The king gave the islands to Angus." Fl. has omitted the references to Islay; but that they probably were in its exemplar also is deducible from the fact that Fl. quotes Sturla's verses, in which Islay is mentioned.

[11] Cf. J.S., ii, A, 121; B, 128, stanzas 7-8.

Hringar,[1] proceeded with his adorned ships[2] by the sea-ways in the Hebrides: Angus gave up Islay, captured in battle, to the importunate destroyer of the serpent's bed.[3]

"Terror was caused by the leader (of mighty deeds) of gaping-beaked ships,[4] about the lands that are washed with the drizzling rain of western storms.[5] Outlawed princes brought their helmeted heads to the un-sparing terror of robbers."[6]

In the south of Kintyre is a castle; in it sat a certain knight. He went to king Hakon, and gave the castle into his power.[7] The king gave the castle to Guthorm Bakka-kólfr.[8]

There [in Gigha] died friar Simon; and his body was taken ashore in Kintyre, and buried at the Grey-friars' monastery, with a pall[9] spread over him. They call him holy.[10]

[c. 329] Now it is to be told of that part of the army which the king had sent to the isthmus of Kintyre, to plunder, that they went ashore there, and burned the inhabited lands that they found there,[11] and took all the treasure that they could get. They also slew some men; but all that could, fled away.[12] But

[1] The text of Fl. is here to be corrected by Fr.

[2] "his long skis" Fl.

[3] I.e., "spender of gold"; "wealthy lord." Fl. adds, "And also it is said:"; St., "And also he says:".

[4] Literally "of gaping-beasts." Fl. and fr. read: "of surge-beasts." (R.S. 88, ii, 373.)

[5] Fl. and fr. are to be corrected by Fr.

[6] The reading of Fl. is probably incorrect.

[7] St. and fr. add: "The king [therefore sent fr.] his men to it, to take over all that was there."

[8] St. adds: "and gave him men." fr.: "and men with him."

[9] *kogurr.*

[10] The readings of Fl., St., and fr., are: "Friar Simon had lain sick for a time. [He died in Gigha. Fl.]" (St. and fr., here conflate, read: "And while king Hakon lay in Gigha, [the fr.] friar [Simon St.] died. And [his body St.] [he fr.] was taken ashore in Kintyre"), "and the Greyfriars [received his body, and St., fr.] buried him [at Fl.] [in St., fr.] their church; and they spread a pall over his grave, and called him holy."

Simon was a Dominican. See Fr., cc. 291, 295, 301.

[11] "Now it . . . ." Fl. reads: "Those that had gone to the isthmus of Kintyre burned inhabited lands there."

[12] "but all . . . ." St. reads: "But all fled away, with as much as they could escape with. They had a very laborious journey, and great hardships."

"to plunder . . . away" not in fr., which reads: "They had there great hardships, and a laborious journey."

when [the Norwegians] had come to the main district,[1] king Hakon's letter came to them, forbidding them to plunder.[2] Then they went out under Gigha, to king Hakon; as is here said:

"The strong-minded wound-flame-groves of the treasure-keeper[3] went northward in Kintyre: the sword-storm-raising followers of Bragi[4] satiated the black-coated crows of battle[5] in Scotland."[6]

King Hakon sent a light ship south to Bute in advance, to those whom the king had sent there, because he was long in getting a fair wind.[7] The news there was that[8] they had gained the castle[9]; in this way, that those that were stationed in it had yielded it up, and[10] had taken truce from the Norwegians.

There was a certain ship's-commander[11] whose name was Ruadri.[12] He thought that he had an hereditary right to Bute. And because he had not got the island from the Scots, he had made great dispeace there,[13] and had slain many men; and for

[1] St. adds: "and they found there both the treasure" (or "cattle") "and the men"; fr.: "where they found both men and treasure" (or "cattle").

[2] "thenceforward; and they were very ill-pleased with that. [Yet St.] they went to their ships with the plunder that had been taken; and they sailed from there out under Gigha, and they met king Hakon there" St., fr.

"They also . . . plunder." Fl. reads: "until king Hakon's order reached them, [saying] that he forbade them to plunder."

[3] I.e., "the bold sword-wielders of the king."

[4] I.e., "warriors."

[5] *soknar dynbroka* in Fr.; fr. reads *dynflóka*, in the same sense. Fl. reads *snoka dynkroka*, which would mean "feather-claw snakes," i.e., "crows."

[6] See J.S., ii, A, 121; B, 128-129, stanza 9.

[7] St. and fr. read: "King Hakon was long in getting a favourable wind from Gigha. He then sent some light ships south; there [the leader fr.] was Andrew Pot. They were to go to Bute, to those who had been sent there."

[8] "King Hakon . . . that." Fl. reads instead: "King Hakon sent Andrew Pot south to his men [who had been sent] to Bute."

[9] "a castle" Fl.; "that they had attacked [a certain St.] [the fr.] castle, and gained it" St., fr.

[10] "in this way . . . and." Fl. reads instead: "and they."

[11] "with the Norwegians" add Fl., St., fr.

[12] *Rudri*. *Rudi* in fr.

[13] "there." Fl. reads: "against the Scots"; St., fr., "against them."

this he was outlawed by the Scottish king. He came to king Hakon,[1] and swore him oaths, and became his man; and his two brothers with him. And as soon as those that had given up the castle were away from the Norwegians, Ruadri[2] slew nine[3] of them, because he thought that no truce had been promised them. After this, the island[4] was laid under king Hakon, as is here said:

"The renowned and unsparing company of the peace-breaker won broad Bute from the god-hated ring-users[5]; the raven moved his wing's cloven sword[6] over the vulture's feast, in the Hebrides; the rulers' enemies fell."

The Norwegians who were in Bute went ashore in Scotland,[7] and burned a certain village, and many towns.[8] Ruadri went far and wide,[9] and did all the evil that he could, as is here said:

"The dwellings of the untrustworthy husbandmen were burnt; hall's destruction [was] hot in the sea-pastures.[10] The

[1] "in the Hebrides" add St., fr.

[2] "went after them, and" add St., fr.

[3] "many" fr.

[4] "of Bute" adds Fl.

[5] I.e., "unlucky princes."

[6] *hræfðiz hiorkleyfðan hrafn . . . fleygs.* Fl. reads: *hreyfdu hiorkleyfdann hrafn . . . flygr;* fr. has *hræyfðiz* and *flægygr* (*æ* for *e*). If we accept the first word in the reading of Fr. and fr. [*hreyfðiz*], and the last in the reading of Fl. and fr. [*fleygr*], and alter the second to *hiorkleyfðu*, the passage would read: "the flying raven hovered over the sword-cloven vulture's-feast" (see Egilsson, Lexicon Poeticum, s.v. *fleygr*). But since the texts closely agree in their readings of the termination of the second word, this alteration seems hardly justifiable. It is made in J.S. (ii, A, 121-122; B, 129, stanza 10).

If we accept the first word in Fl.'s reading, and the last in Fr.'s (both being correctly spelt), the meaning might be: "They moved the sword-cloven Raven [banner] over the vulture's-feast in the Hebrides. The enemies of the flying controller [i.e., of the banner] fell."

[7] Fl. reads: "They went from Bute, and ashore in Scotland." St. reads: "All the Norwegians together who were in Bute went ashore there in Scotland."

[8] *thorp nockut ok bæi marga.* Fl. reads instead, "some towns"; St., "some villages, and some towns"; fr., "many towns."

[9] "with slaughter and rapine" St., fr.; "went . . . and" not in Fl.

[10] *i haf-sætrom.* Fl. reads *i hialm-sætrum* "in the helm-pastures"; fr., *var hialm-sætrum* ("was promised to"?); St., *hálm-sætrum* "straw-pastures." Doubtless Fr. has the true reading.

dart-pines,[1] being attacked in the south by the ocean-skis,[2] fell death-doomed before the warriors of the swan's-field."[3]

[c. 330] While king Hakon was[4] in the Hebrides, messages reached him from Ireland, to the effect that the Irish offered to place themselves under his power, if he would rid them of the trouble to which English men had subjected them[5]; because [the English] had then occupied all the best places by the sea.

The king then sent Sigurd Hebridean to Ireland, with light ships,[6] in order to discover on what grounds the Irish wished to call him thither. After this, king Hakon sailed[7] south off the Mull of Kintyre, with the whole army[8]; and he put in to land in Arran-sound.[9]

At this time, messengers of the Scottish king came constantly[10] to king Hakon—Dominicans, or Barefoot friars[11]—, trying to make terms of peace between the kings.

Then king Hakon set free king John, and bade him go in peace,[12] wherever he wished; and gave him many good gifts.[13] A little while afterwards,[14] king Hakon sent men to the Scottish king[15]; and he received them fairly well, and was favourable to

[1] I.e., "fighting men."

[2] I.e., "ships."

[3] I.e., "sea."

Fl.'s reading is to be corrected by Fr.'s. See J.S., u.s., stanza 11.

[4] "When . . . arrived In" Fi., St.

[5] "if he . . . upon them." Fl. reads instead: "and they thought that there was much need that he should rid them of the oppression of English men" (similarly St., but reading conflately:—"the oppressive force to which English men had subjected them").

[6] "with . . . ships" not in Fl.

St. reads: "And while king Hakon lay in Gigha, he sent men out to Ireland on a light ship, [and] the man who was called Sigurd Hebridean."

[7] "from Gigha" add St., fr. (which omits, "While king . . . After this").

[8] "that was then with him" add St., fr.

[9] *viδ Hereyiarsund.* Fl. omits "south . . . sound"; Fl., St., and fr., read "to the Arrans" (*Hereyiar*). St. and fr. add: "Next, he lay in Arran sound, [between [Arran] and Holy Island St.]" (*Malasey*).

[10] "men . . . quickly" fr.

[11] "Dominicans . . . friars" not in fr.

[12] "in peace" not in fr. St. adds: "from him."

[13] Fl. and St. add: "And he [king John St.] promised to do everything for peace between him and the Scottish king; and to come to king Hakon, if he sent him word."

[14] "A little afterwards" not in Fl.

[15] St. and fr. read: "[As a result] of the conferences and negotiations of

terms of peace.[1] The messengers went back.[2] King Hakon had caused a list to be made[3] of all the islands that he claimed for himself, to the west of Scotland; and the king of the Scots had named those[4] that he would not let go: they were Bute, and Arran, and the Cumbraes[5]; but about the rest there was little [conflict] between the claims of the kings.[6] And yet[7] the agreement did not come off. The Scots withdrew the terms of peace, because the summer was nearly over, and the state of the weather began to grow worse.[8]

peace [which the Scottish king's messengers had had with king Hakon, fr.] [king Hakon adopted this plan, that St.] he sent men to the Scottish king" ("to make inquiries about terms of peace." Fl.) "The leaders [of the deputation] were the [two fr.] bishops—Gilbert of Hamar, and Henry, bishop of the Orkneys—; Andrew, Nicholas' son; and Andrew Plyttr; [[and] Paul Sour St.]."

Fl. reads: " . . . sent men . . . —Gilbert; and Henry, bishop of the Orkneys; and Andrew, Nicholas' son; Andrew Plyttr; and Paul Sour."

[1] "and he . . . ." Fl. reads: "They came to the Scottish king, and spoke about terms of peace. The king expressed himself favourably towards this, [saying] that he was willing to make peace; and declared that he would send to king Hakon an offer of the terms that he was willing to agree to."

St. and fr. read: "They met the Scottish king in the market-town of Nór" (*í kaupstaðnum Nórar;* fr. reads *Nóar.* Vigfusson suggests *Návar;* Dasent translates it "New Ayr." Neither identification seems probable); "and [he fr.] [the Scottish king St.] received them fairly well. And when they discussed terms of peace, the king [expressed himself favourably regarding this St.] [received it favourably fr.], [saying] that he was willing to make peace. He said that he would make his plans, and afterwards send men to the king of Norway with the conditions that he and his counsellors should decide upon. After this, the messengers went away; and the Scottish king's men, a night later. And when they met king [Hakon St.], the terms of peace were discussed."

[2] Fl. adds: "and the Scots came a little later."

[3] "had made a list" Fl.

[4] "that he claimed . . . named those" not in Fl. (through a jump from like to like).

[5] *Bót ok Hersey ok Kumreyiart* (*Botn ok Herey ok K.*, in Fl.). *Hersey* also in St.; *Hersæy* in fr.

[6] "but about . . . kings" not in Fl.

[7] "therefore" Fl.

[8] Instead of this sentence, Fl. reads: "The Scots further prolonged [the discussion]; and for this reason went back to their king."

St. and fr. read: "Then the Scots [adopted this plan, that they St.] prolonged the discussion [further St.]. And they followed this course,

After this, king Hakon sailed in under the Cumbraes, with the whole army. Now most men urged upon him that they should break off the peace, and plunder; because the army was very short of provisions.

[c. 331] King Hakon sent a message to the Scottish king, to the effect that they must meet, with their whole armies, and discuss further the terms of peace; or else they must fight. The Scottish king was not disposed to fighting with king Hakon.[1] It is so said in Hrafnsmál:

that the peace should not be broken off all at once; because then the summer was nearing an end, and the state of the weather began to grow worse. Thereupon they went back to the Scottish king."

[1] "Now most men . . . Hakon" not in Fl., St., fr., which read: "[There were then still goings-between; and the Scots constantly spoke in favour of peace. St., fr.] Then another meeting was arranged for, [in order to make terms, Fl.] ashore in Scotland. King Hakon sent [there Fl.] [to this meeting St., fr.] bishops, [and clerics, St.] and barons; and to meet with them [there St.] came some knights and cloister-men [came cloister-men and knights. And fr.] [Then St.] they spoke much about peace, and it [all fr.] came down to much the same place as before. And when the day was nearly over, [many Scots collected shoreward from the land. Fl.] The Norwegians thought they were [not to be trusted Fl., fr.] [acting treacherously; because many of them [they fr.] were collecting shoreward from the land. Then the Northmen St., fr.] [And they Fl.] went to their ships; and came to king [Hakon St.], and told him about their conversation, [as it had taken place; St.] and most men urged him to break off the truce, [and plunder; because the army was very short of provisions. St., fr.]

"Then king Hakon sent to the Scottish king his guards-man who was called Kolbein Knight. He took with him" (here there is a gap in St.; Fl. and fr. proceed:) "the letter of peace that the Scottish king had sent to king Hakon; and he was to bring back with him the letter of peace that king Hakon had sent to the Scottish king. At the same time he was to say [to the king that king Hakon offered him fr.] that [the kings Fl.] should meet [in person fr.], with all their army, [and hold a discussion; and have with them there the best men; and [he hoped that] they might there come to an agreement fr.]. [Should they then by God's mercy come to an agreement, it would be well; Fl.] but if this were not fated, king Hakon offered [to the king of the Scots Fl.] that they should fight, with their whole army: let him win whom God willed.

"[And when Kolbein Knight brought this message before the king, fr.] [the Scottish king Fl.] was not disinclined to fight [with king Hakon; but yet fr.] [but no decision was made. Fl.] Kolbein went [back to the king Fl.] [away, without getting any answer to this message. Kolbein took there king Hakon's letter, but left behind the letter belonging to the Scottish

"The battle-skilled[1] victory-increaser of the followers of Bragi,[2] from the east, often challenged spear-shafts to battle. The thanes of the out-lying fishing-places,[3] not being death-doomed, did not venture to fight with the consumer of ale-gleam,[4] of exalted courage."

Now was all peace declared to be broken off.[5] Then king Hakon sent forty[6] ships up Loch Long.[7] There they found Magnus, king of Man, and king Dugald; Alan, [Dugald's] brother; Angus; and Murchaid.[8] And when they came into the firth, they took their boats, and drew them up to a large lake, which is called Loch Lomond.[9] Out across the lake lay a county that is called Lennox.[10] There are also very many islands in that lake, and well-inhabited. The Norwegians wasted these islands with fire.[11] They burned also all the dwellings all around the lake, and[12] did there the greatest damage.[13] As Sturla said[14]:

king. He went to the place where he met king Hakon, and told him of his errand; fr.] [and he thought but little of the result of [Kolbein's] errand Fl.]."

For the verse that follows, see J.S., ii, A, 122; B, 129, stanza 12.

[1] "book-learned" Fl.

[2] I.e., "warriors."

[3] Here apparently the Scottish western islands.

[4] I.e., "spender of gold"; "wealthy lord."

[5] "all peace at an end" Fl., fr.

[6] "sixty" Fl., fr.

[7] *inn i Skipafiorð*, i.e. "ships' firth"; probably the same as Loch Long (i.e., "inlet of ships").

The fragment reads: "King Hakon drew up his army, and sent sixty ships from him into the firth that is called Loch Long."

[8] Fl. adds: "Vígleik Priest's-son; Ivar Hólmr." The fragment reads: " . . . Murchaid and Angus. These were the leaders of the Hebrideans. And over the Norwegians were Vígleik Priest's-son, and Ivar Hólmr."

[9] *Sokolofni.* Fl. (below) reads *Lokulofni.*

[10] *Lofnath.* Fl. (below) reads *Lofnard.* The fragment omits "which . . . Lennox."

[11] "fire and sword" fr.

[12] There is here a gap in fr.

[13] Instead of "And when they . . . damage," Fl. reads: "They wasted all the dwellings about the lake that is called Loch Lomond. That was a county that was called Lennox. Very many islands were in the lake; and they wasted them all, and carried [the plunder] to their boats."

[14] See J.S., u.s., stanza 13.

"Flight-dreading ring-users of the swayer of darts'-crashing[1] drew their boats by the broad strand-ways. The warriors of Skati, not fearful of journeying,[2] wasted with spear-wind the islands in the widely inhabited lake."

Alan, brother of king[3] Dugald, went far[4] across Scotland, and slew many men. He took many hundred head of cattle, and did much[5] damage; as is here said[6]:

"The stern-minded men pressed on widely upon expeditions of war, into the great dwellings of the sad feeder of wolves.[7] The battle-bold Alan gave the people a hot[8] extinction of life, in battle."

Then the Norwegians went to their ships. They met with a great storm there, so that some ten ships were wrecked.[9] Then Ivar Hólmr took a sudden disease, which led him to his death.[10]

[c. 332] King Hakon lay among the Hebrides, as was written before.[11]

Michaelmas was a Saturday; and on the night of the Monday following,[12] a great storm came on, with fury[13]; and a merchant-ship and long-ships were driven in-shore in Scotland. On the Monday,[14] the storm became so violent that some hewed down their masts; and some drifted. The king's ship also drifted up the sound: it had seven anchors out, and an eighth, a sheet-anchor; and [the ship] drifted none the less. A little later, the anchors held. So great was this storm that men said

[1] I.e., "courageous men of the war-king."

[2] "of mercy" in Fl. (wrongly).

[3] "king" not in Fl.

[4] "far" not in Fl.

[5] "the greatest" Fl.

[6] See J.S., ii, A, 122-123; B, 130, stanza 14.

[7] "the conquered king (the Scottish king)" J.S.

[8] "frequent" Fl. For Fl.'s *fellu* read *felli* with Fr.

[9] "The Norwegians . . . wrecked." Fl. reads instead: "They had some ten ships wrecked, in Loch Long."

[10] Fl. reads: "Ivar Hólmr fell ill, and died."

[11] "King Hakon . . . before" not in Fl.; "as . . . before" not in fr. (which resumes here).

[12] I.e., Sunday to Monday, 30th-31st September, 1263.

[13] "a great storm [furious storm fr.] came on, with rain-showers and tempest [tempestuous weather fr.]" Fl., fr.

[14] I.e., 31st September.

that witchcraft was the cause of it.[1] And men had there the greatest labour; as is here said:

"The much-inquiring scatterer of wealth[2] met with great sorceries of the barbarians' king[3]; the wave-broken sea loosened the fair-sailed ships of the ring-violator,[4] from their earth-fast cables.[5]

"An enchanted wind-storm blew over the battle-eager

[1] From "and a merchant-ship" to this point, Fl. and fr. follow a different source from Fr.'s, and read: "Those who were keeping watch upon the anchor-cables on the king's ship called out, and said that a merchant-ship was drifting from in front into their cables. Then men leapt up [swiftly, and drew the awnings from them, and clothed themselves. The fore-stay fr.] The fore-stays of the merchant-ship caught upon the king's ship, in the head [of the ship Fl.]; and it took off the nostrils. Then the merchant-ship drifted aft along-side, until the anchor caught and fastened in the cable [of the king's ship fr.]. Then the anchors [of the king's ship] began to loosen" (*at kraka*, Fl. Here fr. is interrupted. Fl. continues:) "Then the king bade them cut the cable of the merchant-ship; and so they did: it was then driven out upon the island; but the king's ship held. And they lay without awnings till day. But in the morning, when the tide flowed, the merchant-ship floated; and it was then driven ashore in Scotland.

"The wind began to increase so much that men employed similarly [all] the mooring-tackle that they were provided with. Then the fifth anchor was let down from the king's ship. And the king went into a boat, and rowed out to the island, and caused mass to be sung for him. But the ship was driven up the sound. Then the sheet-anchor was taken, and put out; but she drifted none the less.

"Some five ships were driven up on land. Then the anchors [of all the ships, and also" fr., which recommences here] "of the king's ship, held. There were eight put out, including the one that they had had upon the merchant-ship" (fr. reads: "There were seven anchors put out from it, and an eighth, which was fast in the cable, [the one] that . . . " as in Fl.).

"[Most men said that sorcery must have been the cause of this storm. Then the anchors held, on all the ships that had been driven shoreward. But three in all had been driven on shore; and they had fr.] [Men had there Fl.] the greatest labour."

For the verses that follow, see J.S., ii, A, 123; B, 130, stanzas 15 and 16.

[2] I.e., "wealthy lord" (reading *auðar*, with fr., instead of *othrar* in Fr., or *ædi* in Fl.).

[3] *ú-thjóða Inga.*

[4] I.e., "wealthy lord," or "generous king."

[5] Fl. adds: "And also it is thus said:".

"And also:" in fr., which is again interrupted after the following line.

followers of Bragi[1] in the army-peopled surge-skis.[2] The bethundered earth-harmer[3] drove the very strenuous men with the war-shield[4] ashore in Scotland."

[c. 333] When the Scots saw that the ships were driven on land,[5] they collected together, and went down against the Norwegians, and shot at them. But they defended themselves, and let the merchantman take care of itself. The Scots attacked them sometimes, but constantly from a distance; few men fell there, but many were wounded. Then king Hakon sent ashore a force upon some boats, because then the storm lessened somewhat.[6] As is here said[7]:

"The victorious divider of sword's-splendour[8] sent a quick-minded company late to the mail-coat-storm[9]; an army of valiant men, which slew the arrogant men of the bow-kings,[10] spoke the praise of Thengil's[11] honour."[12]

As soon as the king's men came to land, the Scots fled.[13]

On the following morning,[14] king Hakon came to land, and

[1] I.e., "warriors."

[2] I.e., "ships."

[3] I.e., "storm-wind."

[4] I.e., "on an expedition of war."

[5] "on land," not in Fl.

[6] "and shot at them . . . somewhat." Fl. reads instead: "But they defended themselves well, upon the merchant-ship. The king sent in men on boats, to help those who were on land."

[7] See J.S., ii, A, 123; B, 130-131, stanza 17.

[8] I.e., "distributer of gold"; "lord."

[9] I.e., "battle."

[10] *drótt . . . dal-gauta;* i.e., the Scots.

[11] I.e., "king Hakon's."

[12] The translation in J.S. is somewhat different.

Here Fl. adds: "After that, the king went out upon a skiff of torch-bearers, along with Thorlaug Bósi."

[13] Fl. adds: "and the Norwegians remained on land during the night. But the Scots went to the merchant-ship in the night, and took away as much treasure as they could." Here fr. resumes, and reads: "The Norwegians were on land in the evening, and during the night, until it drew towards day. Then all the Norwegians went into the merchant-ship. As soon as it was day, men clothed and armed themselves, upon the king's ship, and also on the other ships, and rowed to land. The Scots had been to the merchant-ship, and had taken as much treasure as they could come at." Here ("as much . . . ") St. resumes.

[14] "A little later" St., fr.

many folk with him.[1] Then he caused the merchant-ship to be unloaded, and [the spoil] conveyed[2] out to the ships.

[c. 334] A little later,[3] they saw an army of Scots; and men[4] imagined that the Scottish king himself was probably there, because the army was large.[5] Ogmund Crow-dance was upon a certain mound,[6] and a company of men with him; and those of the Scots who went in front made an attack upon them.[7] The Norwegians begged king Hakon to go out to the ships, wishing not to have him exposed to danger. He offered to remain on land; but they would not have that; and they took him out in a boat under the island, to his army.[8]

These barons were on shore: lord[9] Andrew, Nicholas' son; Ogmund Crow-dance; Erling, Alf's son; Andrew Pot; Erlend Red; Ronald Urka; Thorlaug Bósi; Paul Sour.[10] There were in all eight or nine[11] hundred men on shore. Two[12] hundred men were up upon the mound with Ogmund; and the rest of the force stood below, upon the beach.[13] Then the army of the

[1] This sentence is not in Fl. St. and fr. read: "and with him some barons, and many men."

[2] "carried to a boat, and conveyed" St., fr.

[3] "When the merchant-ship was very nearly emptied" St., fr.

[4] "most men" St.; "all men" fr. (which is again interrupted here).

[5] "A little . . . ." Instead of this sentence, Fl. reads: "Then came an army of Scots."

[6] *a haugi nockurom.*

[7] "and those . . . ." Instead of this, Fl. and St. read: "and the Scots [who came first St.] made a feint of attacking them" (*sóttu at theim gletting* [*thann* Fl.]).

[8] "The Norwegians . . . ." Fl. and St. read instead: "But when [they saw that St.] the main army was approaching, [the Norwegians] bade the king [go into a boat, and St.] row [out St.] to the ships, and send them a [much larger St.] force. The king offered to remain on land [with them St.]; but they wished not to expose him so to danger; [and for this reason he went into a boat, St.] and he rowed [out under the island St.] to his army."

[9] "lord" not in Fl., St.

[10] Fl. and St. place "Andrew, Nicholas' son" after Erlend Red, and omit "Ronald Urka." Fl. places "Thorlaug Bósi" after Paul Sour, and adds: "Andrew Plyttr." St. adds: "Nearly sixty men were there from the king's ship; their leader was Andrew Plyttr."

[11] "or nine" not in Fl. St. reads: "But according to most mens' estimate there must have been in all, on shore, eight hundred of the Norwegians, or nine."

[12] "Nearly two" St.

[13] *a maulinni* (i.e., "pebbles").

Scots came up.[1] There were nearly five hundred knights, with mail-protected horses, and many Spanish steeds, all caparisoned.[2] The Scots had a great army of foot-soldiers, well equipped with weapons[3]; they had mostly bows and Irish axes.[4]

The Norwegians who were upon the mound dispersed down to the sea, not wishing that the Scots should[5] surround them. Then Andrew, Nicholas' son, came up to the mound, and bade Ogmund and his companions come down to the beach, but not go scattered like fleeing men.[6]

The Scots attacked hard, and threw stones. Then a great shower of weapons was [sent against] the Norwegians[7]; but they[8] drew back, and protected themselves. And when they came down to the sand,[9] they went faster than they wished.[10] Those who were upon the beach thought that the others wished

[1] "came up . . . ." Fl. reads: "came up against them—very many, and well provided with horses and weapons." St. reads: "began to come up against them; and that was a very great army."

[2] Fl. and St. read: "It was the estimate of [some St.] men that there must have been five hundred knights." St. continues: "But some said somewhat less. This force was very well-equipped, with mail-protected horses, and many Spanish steeds, all caparisoned."

[3] "The Scots had . . . ." Fl. reads: "and many foot-soldiers." St. reads: "The Scots had a great army of foot-soldiers; and this force was but little equipped with weapons." Vigfusson prefers St.'s reading to Fr.'s. But the Irish axe was counted a good weapon, for a common soldier.

[4] *boga ok spaurður.*

[5] "so that . . . should not" in St.

[6] *ok flaukra eigi sem flottamenn.* Instead of this paragraph, Fl. reads: "Then Ogmund and his followers went down from the mound to their companions." Fr.'s text and St.'s are perhaps conflate.

"and bade . . . ." St. and fr. read: "[and asked St.] Ogmund if he did not think it more prudent to go down to the beach, to the force that was there; and that plan was adopted. [Andrew bade men go down, but not disperse [*fleykta*] like fleeing men." St.]

[7] Fl. reads: "Then the Scots attacked them hard, with stone-throwing and arrow-shooting."

[8] "the others" Fl.

[9] *a melinn.*

[10] Fl. reads: "But when they came to the bottom of the slope, each was going faster than the rest." St. and fr. read: "But when they came out upon the slope that goes in front of the mound, each . . . " as in Fl.

to flee[1]; and some of them sprang[2] to their boats, and thus got away from land.[3] Andrew Pot sprang over two boats, and into the third; and so he went from land.[4] Many[5] boats sank, and some men were lost.[6]

Some Norwegians retreated in flight, down by the sea.[7] There fell Hakon of Steinn, king Hakon's guards-man.[8] Then the Norwegians fled southward, from the merchant-ship.[9] These were the leaders there: Andrew, Nicholas' son; Ogmund Crow-dance; Thorlaug Bósi; Paul Sour.[10] There was a hard[11]

[1] Fl., St., fr., read: "And when those who were below [upon the beach St., fr.] saw this, they thought that [the Norwegians were fleeing Fl.] [the Norwegians wished to flee" St., fr.].

[2] "Then many sprang" Fl., fr.; "Then the Norwegians sprang" St.

[3] "and so from land" Fl.; "and some escaped in this manner from the land, and out to the ships" St., fr.

[4] Andrew Pot . . . " not in Fl., St.

[5] "Most of the" Fl., St., fr.

[6] Fl. adds: "Some leapt into the merchant-ship." St., fr.: "Many Norwegians leapt under the merchant-ship, and [some up into it." St.]. Here the Arna-Magnæan fragment ends.

[7] This sentence has been omitted by Fl., which adds: "The others called out that they should turn back. Then some men turned back; but only a few."

St. reads: "When the Norwegians came down from the mound to the dale, between [the mound] and the beach, most men began to flee. But then it was called out that they should turn back. Then some men turned back; but only a few."

[8] "Hakon of Steinn, and two other men" Fl. (cf. St., below).

[9] This sentence has been omitted by Fl.; it continues Fl.'s statement (not given in Fr.) that some of the Norwegians took refuge in the beached merchant-ship.

St. reads instead: "Then the Norwegians [i.e., on the beach] still went away. And when they [i.e., Ogmund's company] came down to the beach, it was again called out that they should turn back. Then again some turned back, but not many. That was upon the beach, to the south of the long-ship that had been driven ashore. There fell two Norwegians.

"Those who had turned back had no [choice] but to defend themselves; and so they retreated backwards until they came to the north of the long-ship. There they found some number of Norwegians, and they all joined in together."

The leaders named in Fr. after this must be understood to have been the leaders in this renewed battle.

[10] Fl. and St. name "Ogmund Crow-dance" first. Fl. places after him "the two Andrews," and omits Paul Sour.

[11] "the hardest" Fl.

battle there; and also a very unequal one, because there were [1] ten Scots to one Norwegian.

One young Scottish knight, who was called Ferus, and was very powerful, both in race and in dominions, had a helmet all gilt and set with precious stones; and the rest of his armour to match. He rode boldly against the Norwegians, and none of the others with him. He rode through the ranks of the Norwegians, and back to his men. Then had come into the ranks of the Scots Andrew, Nicholas' son. He met this worthy knight, and struck him on the thigh with his sword, so that he cut through the mail-coat, and the blow was stopped by the saddle. There the Norwegians took from him a splendid belt.[2]

There was the hardest battle there. Men fell on both sides; and more upon the side of the Scots.[3] As Sturla said[4]:

"The stout-hearted wary ring-valuators[5] slew a very noble ring-lord[6] in the mail-coat-assembly.[7] Slaughter-vultures[8] filled themselves with the slain[9] body of the wealth-summoner,[10] in distant lands. Who shall avenge the ring-spender[11]?"

Eilif from Naustdalr rowed ashore in a boat to the battle, and acted very boldly.[12]

[1] "must have been" St.

[2] Instead of the last paragraph, Fl. reads: "Then fell a certain Scottish knight, who was called Perus; and many more."

St. reads: "There fell one young man of the Scots, who was called Perus. He had come of the best families, and was the son of a powerful knight; and he rode boldly, unaccompanied by any other knight."

[3] This sentence is not in Fl.

[4] See J.S., ii, A, 123-124; B, 131, stanza 18.

[5] I.e., "men." Fl.'s reading is to be corrected by Fr.'s.

[6] I.e., "wealthy noble."

[7] I.e., "battle."

[8] Probably "eagles."

[9] Correcting Fr.'s *fiolselldom* by Fl.'s *fiorselldum*.

[10] I.e., "wealthy man."

[11] I.e., "generous lord."

[12] Instead of this sentence, Fl. reads: "While the battle continued, there was so great a storm that king Hakon saw no means of bringing a force to land. But Ronald and Eilif came to the battle, with some men; and [Eilif] and the Norwegians who had gone upon the boats acted very boldly. But Ronald fled out again to his ship, while Eilif proceeded most valiantly."

St. reads: "While . . . to land [as in Fl.]. But Ronald, and Eilif of Naustdal, rowed upon a skiff in to land; and Eilif went on shore in a boat,

The Norwegians began to collect their forces. Then the Scots withdrew, up to the mound; a feint was then made[1] for a time, with arrow-shooting and stone-throwing. But when the day was nearly over,[2] the Norwegians made an assault upon the Scots, up on the mound, boldly,[3] as is here said[4]:

"The excellent lords of the North-Mærr-men's debater[5] spoke in battle-verses with[6] the warlike yeomen.[7] The valiant body-guard of the watcher of the high-seat[8] went iron-hooded[9] in the sword-swelled clash of battle.

"The bright edge bit upon the perfidious people of the war-tents[10] in the red yards,[11] before the Scottish cloud-gods of the edge-storm[12] hastened away from the slaughter-groves of the very vigorous one."[13]

Then the Scots fled from the mound, as many as could get away[14]; and the Norwegians[15] went to their boats, and rowed out to the army.[16] And in the morning they went on land,[17] [to look] after the corpses of the men that had fallen.[18] These men fell there: Hakon of Steinn, [and] Thorgils Gloppa,[19] body-

but Ronald fled out again to his ship. Eilif came to the battle, with some men; and he, and the Norwegians who had gone upon the boats, and had got ashore upon the beach, acted very boldly."

[1] "between them" add Fl., St.

[2] "began to draw to an end" Fl.

[3] "boldly." Fl. and St. read: "and then attacked most boldly."

[4] "said in Hrafnsmál" Fl., St. See J.S., ii, A, 124; B, 131, stanzas 19-20. This is the conclusion of Hrafnsmál.

[5] I.e., "the local officials of the king of Norway."

[6] I.e., "taunted in battle."

[7] *haulða.*

[8] I.e., "the king."

[9] I.e., "helmeted."

[10] I.e., "men under shields"; "warriors."

[11] I.e., "field of slaughter."

[12] I.e., "leaders of battle."

[13] I.e., "from the warriors of king Hakon."

[14] "to the mountains" adds Fl.; "to the mountain" St.

[15] "And when the Norwegians saw that, they" Fl., St.

[16] "to the ships. And they got there with difficulty, because of the storm" Fl., St.

[17] "following morning, men went" Fl., St.

[18] "there" adds St.

[19] "these were" add Fl., St.

guards-men of king Hakon; Karlshofud,[1] and Hallkel, and three torch-bearers.[2] The Norwegians could not find out exactly how many of the Scots had fallen, because they had taken every one that fell, and carried him to the wood. King Hakon caused the bodies of his men to be carried to a church.

A little later, the king sailed away from Cumbrae,[3] out to Melasey.[4] The men that he had sent to Ireland came to him there, and told him that the Irish offered to maintain his whole army, until he freed them from the power of English men.[5] King Hakon was much inclined to sail to Ireland; but the whole army dissuaded him from this.[6]

The king then announced that he would sail to the Hebrides, because the army was short of provisions. After that, the king sailed under Gigha[7]; and from there out into Islay sound; and

[1] "There fell a good yeoman of Trondhjem, who was called Karlshofud" Fl., St. (i.e., "Charles's head").

[2] "and Hallkel . . . ." Fl. and St. read instead: "another yeoman from Firdir, who was called [Hallkel St.] [Askel Fl.]. There perished three torch-bearers, Thorstein Boat, John Ball-head, Hallvard Buniardr."

[3] "A little later . . . ." Fl. and St. read instead: "On the [fifth day Fl.] [Thursday St.] after, [king Hakon Fl.] caused the anchors to be weighed, and his ship to be moved out under the island. And on that day the army [that had gone Fl.] [that he had sent St.] into Loch Long came to him. On the following Friday, the weather was good; the king sent ashore royal retainers [*gesti*], to burn the ships that had been driven on land. And on the same day, the king sailed away from Cumbrae."

[4] "Melansey" in Fl. This is apparently Holy Isle, Lamlash.

Fl. and St. add: "and lay there for some nights."

[5] "until he . . . men"; Fl. reads: "until king Hakon . . . men"; St. omits "king Hakon . . . men," through a leap from like to like.

[6] "but this was very contrary to the inclination of the host" Fl., St.

[7] "The king then . . . ." Fl. and St. read: "And since there was not a favourable wind for going out in that direction, the king held an assembly with his army, and announced that he would give leave to all to sail to the Hebrides [as soon as there was a favourable wind St.]: because the army was short of provisions.

"Then king Hakon had the body of Ivar Hólmr carried in to Bute; and he was buried there.

"After that, king Hakon sailed away from Holy Isle [*Melansey*, Fl.; *Malasey*, St.], and lay during the night under Arran [*Hersey*], and from there under Sanda, and so to the Mull of Kintyre; and he came north under Gigha during the night."

he lay there for two nights. He laid a tax of three hundred head of cattle upon the island [of Islay].[1]

From there[2] king Hakon sailed on the first Sunday in winter.[3] And he met with so great a storm, with darkness, that only a few ships kept their sails. Then the king took harbour in Kerrera.[4] And men went between him and king John; but yet nothing came of their meeting.

Then the king learned that [John's] men had made a great shore-slaughter in Mull, and had slain some of the people of Mull.[5]

From there king [Hakon] sailed to the Calf of Mull.[6] There parted from him king Dugald, and Alan, his brother. And [the king] gave to [Dugald][7] the dominion that king John had had.[8] He gave Bute to Ruadri, and Arran to Murchaid. To Dugald he gave the castle[9] that Guthorm Bakka-kólfr had occupied, during the summer.[10]

In this expedition, king Hakon had won back again all the dominions that king Magnus Bareleg had acquired and won, from Scotland and in the south[11]; as is here said:

"The ruler of Agdir[12] quickly won back from the Scottish king all the tributary lands of the great violator of the might[13] of the spear-bridge.[14] No harbinger of battle's storm[15] raised

[1] Fl. and St. add: "Some were to pay it in meal and cheese. [He placed men behind there, to receive it. St.]"

[2] "From there" omitted in St.

[3] "on Sunday in the winter-nights" Fl. This seems to have been the 14th of October in 1263.

[4] *i Biarkarey*, Fr.; *i Kiarbarey*, Fl., St.

[5] "and that there had been slain some of the people of Mull, and also two or three of the Norwegians" Fl., St.

[6] "in to the Calf of Mull" Fl. This was probably Calve Island, Tobermory.

[7] "to him" Fr.; "to them" Fl., St.

[8] "had previously had. King Magnus, and the other Hebrideans, had parted from him before" Fl., St.

[9] "in Kintyre" add Fl., St.

[10] "during . . ." not in Fl., which adds: "and had won from Scotland."

[11] "had won from Scotland and the Hebrides" Fl., St.

[12] I.e., "king of Norway." This is stanza 10 of Hákonarflokkr. See J. S., ii., A 127, B 134.

[13] "of the bonds" Fl. (wrongly).

[14] I.e., "of the shield."

[15] Correcting Fr.'s text by Fl.'s and St.'s. I.e., "No warrior."

the shield against the young [king]; the strife-seeker's dominions in the west beyond the sea were uninjured."

[c. 335] *King Hakon's guards-men slain.*

King Hakon sailed from Rona, and directed his course to the north. But the wind turned against him, and he sailed into West-firth, in Skye[1]; and he took a tax of stores from the island [of Skye]. From there he sailed off Hvarf. But when he came off Durness, the wind fell to a dead calm. Then the king had his ships brought into Góafiordr.[2] That was on the mass-eve of the two apostles, Simon and Jude.[3] This incident occurred during the day, that nine[4] men from the ship of Andrew Buzi[5] went ashore in a boat.[6] A little later, they were heard shouting, up on land.[7] Men rowed to them then from the ships[8]; and two were taken from the sound, badly

[1] "King Hakon . . . ." Fl. and St. read: "King Hakon sailed from the Calf of Mull to Rona [with all the army that remained with him, and had not sailed away St.]. He found lying there Balti Yeoman, from Shetland, and the men that he had sent to the Orkneys [(and they sailed for the Orkneys, to the men who had sailed before; and the king wished them to await him in the Orkneys) St.]; and [also St.] those to whom he had given leave to go to Norway. [King Hakon sailed upon his way from the Rona islands, and set his course northwards. But St.] the wind turned against [the king Fl.]; and he then sailed into West-firth [*i Vestrafiord*], in Skye; and he lay there for some while."

[2] *i Goafiorð;* possibly "Gói's firth"; a harbour sheltered even in February and March. Fl. reads: "Then he put in to Giáfiordr" [*i Giafiord*]; but Fl. reads below "from Góafiordr" [*or Goafirði*]. Probably Loch Erriboll is meant. St. reads: "Then the king made them row in under the land; and he put in to harbour in the firth that is called Góafiordr."

[3] 27th-28th October. Fl. and St. read: "That was on the mass-eve of the two apostles, Simon and Jude; and the mass-day was Sunday. The king lay there during the night" (i.e., 27th-28th October). Fr.'s exemplar also must have had something to this effect, because Fr. calls the following day "Monday" [29th].

Fl. and St. add: "On the mass-day, when mass had been sung, there came to him some Scottish men whom the Norwegians had taken. King Hakon gave them truce, and sent them up to the dwellings; and they promised to come down to the king with cattle. But one [of them St.] remained behind, as a hostage."

[4] "eleven" Fl., St.

[5] "Kuzi" Fl., St.

[6] "to fetch water" add Fl., St.

[7] "up on land" not in Fl., St.

[8] "from the ships" not in Fl.

wounded; but seven had been slain on shore.[1] And the Scots had attacked them.[2] But as soon as the Scots saw this,[3] they sprang to the wood; and the Norwegians took the bodies away with them.

On Monday,[4] king Hakon sailed to the Orkneys, into Wide-wall Bay, with the greater part of his army.[5] But while they sailed across the Pentland Firth, there was a strong current running in the firth; and in it one ship, from Rygiafylki, was lost, with all the men that were on board. John of Hestbær was driven eastwards through the firth, and he narrowly[6] escaped being driven into the whirlpool.[7] But by God's mercy the ship was driven eastwards into the [open] sea; and[8] he sailed for Norway.

[c. 336] *King Hakon went to Kirkwall.*

But while king Hakon lay in the Orkneys, the greater part of the army[9] had then sailed for Norway; some,[10] with the king's leave; but many[11] gave themselves leave. And since a favourable wind was long in coming, the king decided to sit in

[1] "but nine were found on shore, all slain" Fl., St.

[2] Fl., St., add: "and they had [all St.] sprung to their boat; but it was left high upon the beach. And they were all weaponless, and [therefore Fl.] no defence was made."

[3] "saw that men were rowing towards them" Fl., St.

[4] "the Monday" Fl., St.; i.e., 29th October. These words in Fr. show that Fr. has omitted the statement, which appears in Fl., that the previous day was Sunday.

[5] Fl., St., read: "King Hakon sailed from Góafiordr [Loch Erriboll?] and he let the Scottish man be conveyed ashore, and he gave him quarter. The king came in the beginning of the night to the Orkneys, and lay in a certain sound [Scapa Flow?], to the north of Ásmundarvágr [Long Hope, Hoy]. From there he sailed to Rognvaldsvágr [Wide-wall Bay, South Ronaldshay]; and there came together [the greater part of the army, which was then in the Orkneys: that was St.] the greater part of the force that had sailed in advance."

[6] "very narrowly" Fl., St.

[7] I.e., the Swelkie, near Stroma.

[8] "and since he had missed the islands," Fl., St.

[9] Fl., St., read: King Hakon came into Wide-wall Bay. And a great part of the army . . . ."

[10] "some" not in St.

[11] "some" in St.

the Orkneys during the winter.[1] He appointed twenty[2] ships to remain behind [there], and he gave the others leave.[3] But all the barons remained behind.[4] The king sent letters to Norway concerning the affairs that were necessary.[5]

After the mass of All Saints,[6] the king caused his ship to sail to Midland's-haven[7]; and the ships were laid up there. After that, he went to Kirkwall. He was then very ill.[8] He went into the bishop's residence,[9] with such of his men as[10] he maintained at table. Both the king and the bishop kept each a table for his men in the hall. But the king took meals above, in his apartments.[11] He had a list made of the ounce-lands, for

[1] "And since . . . ." Fl., St., read: "King Hakon had said at first, when he had come to the islands, that he should sail for Norway. But since the state of the weather began to grow worse, and a favourable wind would not blow, he decided to sit in the Orkneys during the winter."

[2] "nearly twenty" Fl., St.

[3] "to sail home" add Fl., St.

[4] This and the next sentence are transposed in Fl. and St., which read: "With king Hakon remained behind all the barons who had gone west, excepting Eilif of Naustdalr; he had sailed east. And most of the best men [from the land Fl.] [of Norway] remained behind with the king."

[5] Instead of this sentence, Fl. and St. read: "Then king Hakon sent [men with his letters Fl.] [letters by his men St.] concerning the government of his kingdom in Norway, and other matters."

[6] I.e., after 1st November, 1263.

[7] "out to Midland's-haven" Fl. This was probably one of the bays between Midland Ness and Orphir, in Pomona.

[8] "and the ships . . . ." Fl. and St. read instead: "And he remained during the day [1st November] in [South] Ronaldshay, and went in from there to Kirkwall. After that, every ship's-commander looked after his own ship. Some were drawn up in Midland's-haven, and some in along Scapa isthmus [*vid Skalpeid*]. King Hakon rode out to Midland's-haven, on the Saturday [10th November] before Martinmas, that was on the [mass- St.] eve, when he was very ill. He remained on his ship during the night; but in the morning [11th November] he had mass sung to him on land. Then he disposed of his ship, deciding where it should be laid up. And he bade men take great pains in looking after the ships. Then he went in to Scapa isthmus, and so [rode Fl.] to Kirkwall."

[9] "entertainment" Fl.

[10] "all his followers whom" Fl., St.

[11] "was above in the apartments, and always took meals there" Fl., St.

the barons and heads of companies, for the purpose of billeting.[1] Andrew Plyttr was the steward at the king's table.[2]

These barons were in Kirkwall:—Bryniolf, John's son; Erling, Alf's son; Ronald Urka; Erling of Biarkey; John Dróttning; Erlend Red.[3] And the rest of the barons[4] were in the country-district.[5]

[c. 337] *King Hakon very ill.*

During the summer, king Hakon had had many sleepless nights, and anxieties.[6] And as soon as he came to Kirkwall,[7] he quickly took to his bed, from a disease.[8] But when he had lain for some nights,[9] he was somewhat better; and he was on his feet for three days.[10] Then[11] he had a bath prepared for him, and he went into it, and had himself shaved. The same night after this he grew worse, and took to bed again.[12]

[1] "to support the companies that were with them; and so from all the ounce-lands" add Fl., St.

[2] Fl., St., read instead: "Andrew Plyttr was to [undertake to St.] maintain the king's own table, and to give out [provisions] for the body-guard, the royal retainers, and the torch-bearers, and all his followers [—for these too no less—; as he did. Fl.]

"When men had seen to their ships, they went each to the place that had been assigned to him."

[3] "and many other ship's-commanders, and leaders of companies" add Fl., St.

[4] "and ship's-commanders" adds Fl.

[5] "in the ounce-lands to which they had been assigned" add Fl., St.

[6] "great anxieties. He was often appealed to by his men, and he had little leisure" Fl. St. reads: "great anxieties. He was appealed to, and had little leisure from his men."

[7] Fl., St., read: "But when he came out from Midland's-haven, from his ship, as was said before",

[8] Fl., St., add: "[And yet Fl.] the disease did not go very rapidly at first."

[9] "for some three weeks" Fl., St.

[10] Fl., St., read: "and for [some] three days he was [on his feet Fl.]: [in such a condition, that St.] the first day he went about the apartments, indoors; and the second, into the bishop's chapel," [here is a gap in St. Fl. continues:] "and attended mass there. On the third day he went to Magnus' church, and about the shrine of the holy earl Magnus."

[11] "On that day" Fl.

[12] "his illness began to grow much worse, and he took to bed the second time. And then men thought his illness was much worse" Fl.

In this illness, he had the Bible read to him.[1] Then he had Norwegian books read [to him], night and day.[2]

King Hakon thought that he found his disease grow more severe. Then he[3] provided for the payment of war-wages to his body-guard, and determined that a mark[4] of refined silver should be given to each guardsman; and half a mark to the royal retainers, and the torch-bearers.[5] Also he had his ungilded table-service weighed, and bade them give some of it, if the rest were not sufficient to go round.[6]

Then also letters were written to king Magnus regarding the government of the land, and about the other affairs in which king Hakon wished to assist his subjects.[7]

King Hakon received extreme unction, one night[8] before Lucia's mass. Present there were[9] Thorgils, bishop of Stavanger; Gilbert, bishop of Hamar; Henry, bishop of the Orkneys; abbot Thorleif; and many other clerics. And before he was anointed, men who were present were recalled to his memory. He[10] was then still able to speak. Then his confidants asked him if he had another son surviving, besides king Magnus[11]; and he said emphatically about this that it was not so.[12]

[1] Fl. reads instead: "In this illness, he at first had Latin books read to him. But then he thought it a great trouble to consider what they meant."

[2] Fl. adds: "first stories of holy men; and when these came to an end, he had the series of the kings [*Konunga-tal*] read to him, of Halfdan the Black; and after that, of all the kings of Norway, one after another."

[3] Fl. reads: "When king Hakon . . . he."

[4] I.e., 8 ounces.

[5] "cup-bearers" Fl., which adds: "and to the rest of his men-servants."

[6] Fl. reads: "Then he had all his table-service weighed that was not gilded; and so spoke about it, that if there were not enough pure silver, then the table-service was to be given, so that all should have their due" Fl.

[7] "Then also letters were written, which he wished to send to king Magnus, with all the orders that he thought of most importance" Fl.

[8] I.e., on the 12th, or 11th-12th December.

[9] "the bishops" adds Fl.

[10] "The king" Fl.

[11] "Then his . . . ." Fl. reads: "He was asked in his illness by his confidants whether, if things should go so badly that they should lose him, or king Magnus, he had no other son surviving, except king Magnus; or whether they could at all turn to another place, where his offspring might be" Fl.

[12] "that he had no son surviving him, except king Magnus; and not a daughter whom men did not know of before" Fl., which adds: "When the

[c. 338] *Death of king Hakon.*

The mass-day of the virgin Lucia was a Thursday.[1] And on the Saturday[2] following, late in the evening, the king's sickness so pressed upon him that he lost the power of speech.[3] And when[4] midnight had passed, almighty God called king Hakon from this world's life. This was the greatest grief to all the men who were[5] with him, and to many[6] who heard it later.

After the king's death, a requiem was sung.[7] Then men went away from the apartment, everyone except[8] bishop Thorgils, and Bryniolf, John's son, and two other men. They washed the body,[9] and did for it all the other services that were fitting for so famous a lord and chief[10] as king Hakon had been.

On the Sunday, the king's body was carried up into the loft-hall, and set upon a bier.[11] The body was clothed in robes of state, and a garland was set upon his head; and in all respects things were done as they ought to be done, for[12] a crowned king.[13] The torch-bearers stood holding[14] candles. The whole hall was lighted up.

Then the people went in to see the body; and it seemed to

series of the kings had been read, down to Sverri, he made them begin to read Sverri's saga. It was then read constantly, both night and day, whenever he was awake."

[1] Thursday, 13th December, 1263.

[2] I.e., 15th December.

[3] Fl. adds: "Near midnight, Sverri's saga had been read to the end."

[4] "rather after" Fl.

[5] "present" adds Fl.

[6] "others" adds Fl.

[7] "After . . . ." Fl. reads: "These barons were present at the death of the king: Bryniolf, John's son; Erling, Alf's son; John Dróttning; Ronald Urka; and some of the serving-men that had most waited upon the king in his illness. Immediately after the king's death, the bishops and clergy were sent for; and as soon as they came, they sang the requiem."

[8] Fl. reads: "After that, all men went from the apartments, except."

[9] "and shaved it" adds Fl.

[10] "lord and chief." Fl. reads: "king."

[11] "and set . . . ." Fl. reads: "a bier was prepared there, with noble decoration."

[12] "so famous a chief, and" adds Fl.

[13] Fl. adds: "The body was laid on a bier; then all the bishops and priests that were in the town, and all the king's vassals, went to it."

[14] "held" Fl.

men bright and well-favoured, and [with] a fair redness in the countenance, as of a living man.[1]

The body-guard watched over the body during the night.[2]

On Tuesday, the king's body was laid in a coffin; and he was buried in Magnus' church, in the choir, with a pall laid over him.[3]

Then it was arranged that[4] all the winter they should hold watch over the king's burial-place.

At Yule, Andrew Plyttr[5] provided as the king had determined; and to all men good pay was given.[6]

[1] Fl. adds: "It was a great consolation to men in the great grief that had then fallen upon men to see so fair a corpse of the departed man, and of their lord. Then the requiem was sung with ceremony."

[2] Fl. adds: "On the Monday, king Hakon's body was carried to Magnus' church, and was placed there for the second night."

[3] In Fl.: "On the third day, king Hakon's body was laid in a coffin, with such preparation" (*umbúnadi;* here, embalming?) "as is customary after [the death of] a crowned king. He was buried in the choir of Magnus' church there, upon the steps before the shrine of the holy earl Magnus. Afterwards the stone was closed down again over him as before, and a pall was spread over it."

[4] "Then a body-guard council was held, and this decision made, that" Fl.

[5] "the bishop and Andrew Plyttr" Fl.

[6] Sturlunga Saga, ed. Kålund, ii, 308 (ed. Vigfusson, ii, 256): "Sighvat [Bodvar's son] came to king Hakon, and became his man. He got there good esteem of the king; and became a great man and a strong. He went from land with king Hakon, west into Scotland; and got there very good renown for valour and briskness: the king promised him great honours before they should part, if they were both alive.

"In this expedition, king Hakon took the disease that led him hence from the world. Sighvat and many other men thought that irreparable loss. Then Sighvat went east to Norway with king Hakon's body, and betook himself to king Magnus, [Hakon's] son. Sighvat got then so much respect, that none of Icelandic men had had the like."

Sturlunga Saga, ed. Kålund, ii, 327 (ed. Vigfusson, ii, 272): "And a little afterwards, Sturla came into the greatest friendship with the king [Hakon]; and the king had him much in his counsels, and charged him with the task of putting together the saga of king Hakon, his father, according to his own direction, and to the accounts of the wisest men. But before the king had the saga put together, king Hakon had died in the Orkneys. And men thought this great tidings, through all the north lands; and the greatest loss."

PART XIV

End of Alexander III's Reign, and Extinction of the Royal Family

1264

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 190, s.a. 1263

In this year, on the day of St Agnes,[1] the queen of Scotland gave birth to a son, at Jedburgh. He was baptized by Gamelin, the bishop of St Andrews; and they called him Alexander, according to his father's commands.

And it so happened that, upon the same day on which it had been announced to the king of Scotland that a son had been given to him by God, it was also announced to him that the king of Norway was dead. Wherefore uplifted with a double [cause for] joy, he returned thanks to God; who exalts the humble, and humiliates the proud.[2]

[1] 21st January, 1264. This date is rendered by Fordun wrongly (Annals, c. 56; i, 300), as "the twelfth day before the Kalends of January"; read, "of February." Fordun says also that the same messenger, on the same day, brought to the king news of the birth of his son, and of the death of king Hakon: but this must be an error.

[2] Here this section of the chronicle ends. On the reverse of the leaf (folio 62), lists are given of the abbots of Melrose, and of the bishops taken from the monastery of Melrose. See above, year 1136.

The remainder of the chronicle (years 1263-1270; folios 63-74) is written in different contemporary hands. Variations in handwriting do not coincide with changes of subject. For the handwriting of this part of the chronicle, see the last two facsimiles in Plate III of Stevenson's edition, pp. 164 × 165.

On 2nd January, 1264, pope Urban IV wrote to the bishops [Gamelin] of St Andrews and [Richard] of Aberdeen, and the abbot [Matthew] of Dunfermline; and gave them authority to decide a dispute over the succession to the earldom of Monteith (Theiner, 93-94, no. 237; Bliss, i, 408-409).

Walter Comyn, earl of Monteith in the right of his wife, the countess Isabella, and lord of Badenoch in inheritance from his father (William Comyn, earl of Buchan, † 1233), had died in 1258. His wife's sister Mary had married Walter, the 3rd son of Walter the Steward, Alan's son († 1241)

1264

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 192

In the year of the Lord 1264, in the battle of Lewes, the barons of England, with the aid of Gilbert, the earl of Gloucester, along with an army of the Londoners, triumphed over their king, Henry, and Edward, his eldest son, soon after Easter.[1] And on the day after the battle, the barons handed over both the king and his son to the keeping of Simon de Montfort.

In the same battle, two nobles from Scotland—Robert de Bruce, and John Comyn—were captured. And they were placed in the confinement of a prison, in the castle of Dover.[2]

The dispute over which the strife arose between the king

(S.P.). Walter Steward appears as earl of Monteith, on 17th April, 1261 (Paisley, p. 121). He was still earl on 20th November, 1292.

On 13th January, 1264, pope Urban wrote two letters to the bishop of St Andrews, bidding him obtain repayment to certain Florentine merchants of sums borrowed by bishops in Scotland (Bliss, i, 395 ; cf. the letter of 6th September, 1264 ; ibid. 404). On 26th January, 1264, the pope wrote to [Robert] the bishop of Dunblane, on behalf of other Florentine merchants (ibid., 395).

On 31st January, 1264, pope Urban appointed Adam of Kirkcudbright a papal chaplain (Theiner, 93, no. 236). This Adam, rector of Dalton, had been permitted to hold an additional benefice, on 6th March, 1259 (Bliss, i, 365).

On 28th March, 1264, pope Urban bade [John] the bishop of Glasgow receive the resignation, on the ground of age, (if it were spontaneous) of William Avenel, rector of Torthorwald ; and give it to another, with consent of the alleged patrons, the Premonstratensians of Holywood (Bliss, i, 418).

[1] Easter was 20th April in 1264. The battle of Lewes was fought on 14th May. See F.H., ii, 494-497 ; iii, 251, 259-260 ; R.S. **86**, iii, 232 ; and the Annals of Lewes (to 1357), in E H.R., xvii, 89.

[2] According to F.H., ii, 496, John de Balliol also, and the other barons of Scotland (*Albaniae*) who were present in the battle, were captured ; while a great number of infantry from Scotland (*de Scotia*) perished. See E.C., 380. Cf. F.H., iii, 259-260. For John de Balliol, see below, year 1269.

For Robert de Bruce, 4th lord of Annandale, see S.P., ii, 430-431. For John Comyn, 4th lord of Badenoch, see S.P., i, 506-507. His capture is mentioned by Langtoft, ii, 142.

The Annales S. Rudberti Salisburgenses (M.G.H., Scriptores, ix, 797, s.a. 1264) erroneously say that the kings of France and Scotland invaded England, and besieged London.

For the peace agreed upon after the battle of Lewes, in June, 1264, see Foedera, i, **1**, 443.

and his barons had its beginning and end in the retention of foreigners; whom the king and his queen, Eleanor, the mother of Edward, had for a long time supported and cherished, contrary to the advantage of his kingdom. . . .[1]

1264

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 135; s.a. 1264[2]

King Hakon's body was conveyed from the Orkneys to Norway.[3]

1264

Icelandic Annals, version A, in Flateyiarbók, vol. iii, p. 535; s.a. 1264[4]

Barefoot friars came from Scotland to king Magnus.[5]

1264

Frisbók's Hakon Hakon's son's Saga, c. 339; Unger's Codex Frisianus, p. 581[6]

King Hakon's body carried to Bergen.

King Hakon had arranged for this,[7] that his body should be carried east to Norway; and he wished to be buried beside his

[1] This paragraph begins a noteworthy account of the wars between Henry III and Simon de Montfort (pp. 192-216). The writer's sympathies are with Simon. Cf. p. 195: "And it is to be known that no one of sane mind ought to adjudge to him, or call him by, the name of a traitor. He was not a traitor, but a most devout upholder and faithful protector of the church of God in England, and a shield and defender of the kingdom of the English; an enemy and expeller of foreigners, although he himself was one of them by race."

[2] With dominical and paschal letters of 1264. Similarly in DA (194; Fl., iii, 535).

[3] E reads (258; with letters of 1264): "Beginning of the sole reign of king Magnus, Hakon's son, in Norway. King Hakon's body-guard conveyed his body from the Orkneys to Christ's-church in Bergen."

[4] Also in Storm's Annaler, 383.

[5] Cf. CA, s.a. 1265 (136; Fl., iii, 535), where the meaning appears to be: "The ruler of the Barefoot-friars' house died; and they chose Hakon, the bishop of Oslo" (i.e., of Christiania).

[6] Also in F.S., x, 150-151, c. 331. Cf. the parallel passage in Fl., iii, 231-232, c. 286 (also in Unger's K.S., 481-482, c. 367; and R.S. 88, ii, 356-357, c. 331).

[7] "in his illness" adds Fl.

ancestors.[1] And when[2] mid-winter was past,[3] the great ship that king Hakon had had in the west was put out, and quickly[4] prepared.[5] Then the[6] body-guard went out with the body[7] across the Scapa isthmus[8] to the ship.[9] The chief men on the ship were bishop Thorgils,[10] and Andrew Plyttr. They put out to sea on the first Saturday in Lent[11]; and they had heavy and contrary winds. And they made the land south in Silavágr. Then[12] they sent a letter to king Magnus, and told him these tidings.[13] After that, they went north to Bergen, as soon as they got a fair wind.[14] They came to Laxavágr before[15] Benedict's mass. On the mass-day,[16] king Magnus[17] rowed to meet the body; then the ship was put in to the king's residence,[18] and the body was carried up into the summer-hall. On the following morning, the body was carried out to Christ's-church. King Magnus went there with it; and the two queens, the body-guard, and the people of the town.[19] After this, the body was buried in the choir of Christ's-church. And king

[1] "and other relatives" adds Fl.

[2] "as soon as" Fl.

[3] "and the sea began to grow calm" adds Fl.

[4] "as quickly as possible" Fl.

[5] Fl. adds: "On Ash Wednesday, king Hakon's body was taken from the ground: that was on the third day ([5th March] before the Nones of the month of March." Ash Wednesday was the 5th of March, in 1264.

[6] "all the" Fl.

[7] "with the body" not in Fl.

[8] *um Skalpeið.*

[9] "to the ship." Fl. reads: "and the body was conveyed in a boat, out to the ship."

[10] "Erling, Alf's son," adds Fl.

[11] I.e., 8th March.

"They put . . . ." Fl. reads: "There were on board the king's body-guard that had gone to the west. And when they were ready, they put out to sea. They sailed out on the first Saturday in Lent."

[12] "And immediately" Fl.

[13] "these great tidings, that in their journey had arisen" Fl.

[14] "for the course" adds Fl.

[15] "on the day before" Fl.; i.e., 20th March.

[16] I.e., 21st March.

[17] "and bishop Peter" adds Fl.

[18] "to the town, beside the king's residence" Fl.

[19] "the body-guard . . . ." Fl. reads: "the bishops, the clergy, and the king's vassals, and all the people of the town. Then the requiem was sung."

Magnus gave them thanks for the carrying of the body, with many fair words.[1]

All the people stood above there, with afflicted minds. As Sturla said:—

"Odin's assembly-maple[2] came to Bergen, three nights before the sword's-din-trees[3] buried the noble king. Then many a gold-spender[4] stood, little cheerful, with wet eye-lash, over the tomb of the people's sea-king; that was a great affliction."

King Hakon was buried three nights before Mary's mass.[5] Then had passed since the birth[6] of our Lord, Jesus Christ, twelve hundred years and sixty and three years.[7]

1264

Magnus Hakon's son's Saga; Rolls Series, no. 88, vol. ii, pp. 361-362[8]

In the spring after the death of king Hakon, the barons and men of note who were in the Orkneys sent bishop Henry, and sir Askatin the chancellor, up to Scotland, to Alexander, to inquire about the making of peace between the lands. But this was taken unfavourably; and the Scots threatened to kill the Norwegians who had come there, or to cast them into prison. The Scots accused the Norwegians of having burned and plundered more than a third of Scotland. And they got no result of their errand.

Then sir Askatin went east to Norway, and to king Magnus, and told him of his journey, and how unfavourably his errand had been received in Scotland. King Magnus adopted the plan of sending Ogmund Crow-dance to the Orkneys; he gave him authority over them, for the defence of the land. And

[1] "and made an eloquent speech over the buried man" adds Fl.

[2] I.e., "the warrior" ("Odin's assembly" means "war"): king Hakon's body. For this verse see J.S., ii, A, 127; B, 134-135. It is the last stanza of Hákonarflokkr.

[3] I.e., "the fighting-men."

[4] I.e., "wealthy man."

[5] I.e., on 22nd March.

[6] "and Incarnation" adds Fl.

[7] "and three nights less" adds Fl.; the years being reckoned to begin on the day of the Annunciation.

[8] Also in F.S., x, 155-156.

he sent Eric Dugald's son to the Hebrides. [Eric] had an eighteen-benched ship, manned with guards-men, and royal retainers, and torch-bearers. With him were to go from the Orkneys John Thiórí and Eric Bósi; and each of them was to have his own ship.

But when Ogmund came to the Orkneys, he learned that the Scottish king had sent an army to Caithness. And they took much treasure from the Caithness people, before king Hakon had laid a tax upon the Caithness people. Then it was much spoken of that there would be plundering in the Orkneys; and therefore Ogmund did not wish that the forces should go out of the Orkneys. Eric and his companions remained there during the winter.

Sir Askatin came to Norway, as was written before; and Ogmund and his company had then gone abroad. And then Hoskuld Odd's son prepared to go west to the Orkneys. Then king Magnus caused friar Maurice to go with him, and another Bare-foot friar, who was called Sigurd; and also Henry Scot, to attend upon them, and many lads. And they went up into Scotland as quickly as possible, and came to the Scottish king. And he received them somewhat more favourably than the bishop had been received. The Scottish king bade them go back to Norway, and say to king Magnus that he should send again during the summer good messengers to Scotland, if he desired to make peace between the lands. They went back to Norway the same autumn.

1264-1265

Magnus Hakon's son's Saga; Rolls Series, no. 88, vol. ii, pp. 363-364[1]

This winter, king Magnus sat in Trondhjem; and this was the second winter of his reign.

During the winter, after Yule,[2] friar Maurice came to Trondhjem, and those that had gone with him to Scotland. And they told king Magnus the results of their errand, exactly as they had occurred.

In the spring, king Magnus went south to Bergen, and came

[1] Also in F.S., x, 158-159.

[2] I.e., early in 1265.

there after Easter.[1] Then he sent to Scotland bishop Gilbert, and sir Askatin, according to what the Scottish king had required.

They went first to England, in the south, to Lympne.[2] There was great strife in England then: that summer, Simon Melfort had been killed.[3] Then the bishops went north to York, and remained there for a while.

In the autumn in which Ogmund Crow-dance and his company had come to the Orkneys, and the Scots had gone to take taxes from the Caithness people, lord Dugald had fallen on them when they were going back, and had killed many of them, and had taken the great treasure that they were carrying with them. He slew there the law-man of the Scots.

That summer, the Scots went out to the Hebrides with an army; and then Angus in Islay submitted to the Scots, and many of those that had followed king Hakon when he was in the Hebrides.

[The Scots] went as far south as Man, and compelled Magnus, [the Manxmen's] lord, to give them oaths. But lord Dugald defended himself in ships, and they took no hold of him.

And in the following spring, he came to the Orkneys, and asked for men. With him there were his son Eric, and Eric Bósi, and John Thióri. They had three ships. Then they went . . .[4]

1264 × 1265

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 215, s.a. 1268[5]

In those days,[6] the venerable man, Oliver, the abbot of Dryburgh, was sent to [prince] Edward, on behalf of [the

[1] Easter was 5th April in 1265.

[2] *í Linn.* Presumably the ancient harbour in Kent.

[3] Simon de Montfort fell on 4th August, 1265. See below.

[4] Here there is a gap in the MS.

[5] This passage (folios 71-72) stands near the end of the Melrose chronicle's account of Simon de Montfort's affairs. Almost the whole of the section for the year 1268 (pp. 198-216) is filled with a continuation of this account; although the events contained in it do not belong to that year, but should have been placed immediately after the events described under the year 1264. Possibly 1268 was the year in which the chronicler wrote this account.

[6] The incident described here must have occurred after the battle of Lewes, and before the battle of Evesham.

king] and the queen of Scotland, Edward's sister. When Simon [de Montfort] had heard of his arrival, [Oliver] was conducted to Edward; the canon who had come with him being left below, by himself (since Edward occupied at that time a high chamber).[1] Simon ascended all the steps leading up to the chamber,[2] in advance of the abbot; the abbot following behind him. And when [the abbot] had come to him to whom he had been sent, after a salutation they spoke together in the friendly manner of those that sit together; while Simon stood before them all the time, until they had separated from each other. And while he so stood, he did not turn away his eyes, to one side or the other; but watched them both with a steady gaze, to see that no suspicious letter should be given to Edward, nor even an injurious word be spoken to him by [the abbot], on behalf of those that sent him. And when they had conversed as long as they wished, the abbot rose, begged leave, and departed; and Simon followed him, fearing (so the abbot supposed) that perhaps, if he had gone behind Simon's back, he might have handed to Edward a letter containing treachery. The abbot had before gone to [Edward], as has been said, with this Simon in front; so that there should be no chance of his giving a letter of secret suspected import to [Edward], by throwing it to him, [as he might have done] if the abbot had gone in front of [Simon]. Yet such an instance of precaution on Simon's part was an exceedingly small one, compared with his greater precautionary measures.

1265[3]

[1] *in alto solio . . . commorans* (perhaps "a high seat"?).

[2] *per singulos gradus solii.*

[3] On 9th January, 1265, letters of safe-conduct in England until 2nd February were issued for John de Balliol and others, in coming to the king (Patent Rolls (1910), 400).

On 17th January, 1265, letters of safe-conduct from 27th January to 16th February were issued for John de Balliol and others, named, in coming to the king of England from the north, remaining, and returning: provided that they did and received justice in his court, if they were accused by any one of transgressions (Foedera, i, 1, 450).

On 22nd May, 1265, safe-conduct from 24th May to 14th June was issued to messengers of king Alexander, coming to the king of England at Hereford

1265

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 199-200, s.a. 1268

Edward moved towards Evesham, with a numerous army, against Simon [de Montfort].[1] And when Edward had approached within two leagues of Evesham, Simon went out against him, trusting in hope where no hope was. For he had hoped, as I have mentioned above,[2] that his son Simon (who had fled with the others) would come to his aid, behind Edward, in his rear. And therefore, in hope, he went out with the small army that he had; after all those that were to go out with him to the battle had first confessed, and partaken of the viaticum of the sacrosanct eucharist. But Edward had six or seven men, where Simon had scarcely two.

(Foedera, i, 1, 455). They were:—[Nicholas] the abbot of Jedburgh; Guy de Ball[iol]; Walter de Lindsay; John of Dunmore.

On 26th April, 1265, pope Clement IV authorized the bishop of Aberdeen [Richard of Potton] to appoint canons and priests to prebends, churches, and benefices, that had long been vacant, and had devolved upon the Roman see (Theiner, 96, no. 242; Bliss, i, 425).

On 4th May, 1265, pope Clement gave to deacon cardinal Ottobon of St Adrian powers of papal legate in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland (Theiner, 96-98, no. 245); and enjoined obedience to him upon the clergy of the British Islands (Bliss, i, 426). On the same day, the pope authorized Ottobon to preach the crusade in north-western Europe, including Scotland (Bliss, i, 427-428); and to absolve prelates and monks who had been excommunicated for disobeying statutes of pope Gregory IX, and persons excommunicated by judges who had been delegated by the pope, and whose jurisdiction had lapsed (ibid., 428).

Among other powers given to him, on 5th May, 1265, Ottobon received authority from the pope to permit noble women to enter monasteries for devotion, once a year, during his legation; on 5th and 10th May, to grant canonries, prebends, etc., to his clerks; on 14th May, to permit 4 persons related in the fourth degree to marry; and on 29th May, to grant dispensation to 50 clerks of illegitimate birth, so that they might hold benefices in England; and to 50, in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland (ibid., 428, 429). On 4th July, he was instructed that noblemen's sons and prelates' nephews who fostered disturbances in the British Islands were to be deprived of ecclesiastical dignities and benefices (ibid., 429).

On 11th May, 1265, Ottobon was empowered to collect tithes in the British Islands, and in Norway, for the purposes of his legation; certain religious orders being exempted (Theiner, 98, no. 246).

[1] The battle of Evesham was fought on 4th August, 1265. See R.S. **95**, iii, 4-6: **36**, iii, 239; ii, 102, 364-365.

[2] C.M., 198.

The terrible and numerous army of Edward, and the weak army of Simon de Montfort, met each other in battle; an exceedingly courageous knight, Guy de Balliol, leading Simon's army, with Simon's standard: beside which was Henry, a well-known knight, Simon's eldest son, named after king Henry. This [Henry] struck the first blow in the battle. He was struck in return, and fatally wounded in many places by many men. He fell first of them all, and died.

Few fell on Edward's side, because of the large number of very powerful men-at-arms: but on Simon's side, nearly all [fell], and died; including, in the end, Simon himself: because of the small number of their supporters, who were quickly overpowered, excepting a few that yielded to Edward's soldiers, and gave up to them their arms.

But Guy, whom I mentioned above (a very strenuous knight; by race, a Scot), although he could then have been saved from temporal death, refused [to save himself]. So he fell; along with many of the magnates of England who had come to the battle, in order to fight for justice in England. . . .

They fell in a just cause, fighting for justice; and therefore after their death some of them merited to receive from God the appearance of miracles, and glory, and veneration: wherefore they are believed to reign with God in glory.

Among these most valiant heroes was Roger de Rule, the aforesaid Guy's companion, who also died with him.[1]

[1] The chronicler continues the praise of Simon de Montfort. On p. 216 (folio 72, verso), is the conclusion: "Here ends the little work published concerning the noble Simon de Montfort."

About this time, the prior of St Andrews seems to have had some difficulties in his dependency of Dull.

Register of St Andrews, 349: "Memorandum, that in the year of grace 1264, on the Thursday next after the festival of St Scolastica the virgin, [i.e. on 12th February, 1265] sir John, the prior of St Andrews, held his pleas at Dull in Athole, beside a great rock on the western side of the house of sir Thomas, the vicar; without impediment, inhibition, or contradiction, on the part of any one . . . ." Kolinus, son of Angus the Shoemaker; Bridin, the son of [Kolinus]; and Gylis, Kolinus's brother, did homage as liege-men to the prior and convent of St Andrews.

Ibid.: "Memorandum, that on the day of St Baldred, in the year of grace 1269, [i.e. on 6th March, 1270] Andrew, son of Gillemuire Clerech [*Gilmur Clerauch*], of Dull, did homage to sir John of Haddington, prior of St Andrews, on bended knees, placing his hands within the prior's hands;

1265

Continuation of the Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 110

In the year of the Lord 1265, on the eighth day before the Kalends of December,[1] Magnus Olaf's son, the king of Man and the islands, died at the castle of Rushen. And he was buried in the abbey of St Mary at Rushen.[2]

1265-1266

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 196-197

In the year of the Lord 1265, during the reign of Alexander III, king of the Scots, sir Reginald of Roxburgh, a monk of Melrose, a man of glorious eloquence and super-excellent resourcefulness, set out for Norway; being sent by the same king [Alexander], to acquire the land of Man (which was formerly called a district[3]), along with the small islands that lie about the broad district[3] of the Scots. And when he arrived there, he was very honourably received by the king; who caused all the magnates of that land to assemble to a

Thomas, vicar of Dull, and the canons William de Clatti and John of Norham the Younger, being present: and there swore, touching *sacrosancta*, that he would hold faithful homage to the said prior and convent; and that he had never done homage, nor by right ought to do homage, to others than the prior and convent."

St Andrews priory had acquired the church of Dull from Richard de Prebenda, 1203 × 1210, saving 20 shillings from the Appin of Dull (among other reservations) to the bishop of Dunkeld. See St Andrews, 294-297.

[1] I.e., on 24th November.

[2] Fordun says that in 1264, after the death of king Hakon, the Scots prepared to send a great army to Man, and led it to Dumfries. There the regulus of Man met them, and "became the man of the king of Scotland, doing homage to him for his little kingdom, to be held for ever of him"; on condition that the Manx should have safe refuge in Scotland if the king of Norway troubled them. "And the regulus of Man was to provide his lord, the king of Scotland, whenever there was need, with ten pirate ships [*galeas piratas*]:—five of 24 oars, and five others of 12 oars." After this, Alexander, earl of Buchan, William, earl of Mar, and Alan Doorward, led a punitive expedition to the Hebrides (Fordun, c. 56; Bower, ii, 101-102).

Fordun has perhaps substituted the submission for the death of king Magnus. Man and the islands were apparently not in the hands of the Scots, and the Hebrideans had apparently not been punished, at the time of the treaty of 1266.

[3] *regio* (perhaps "kingdom"?).

conference with himself, and discussed with them concerning the aforesaid islands. In this discussion, the king said that it would greatly favour the preservation of peace, that they should be sold to the king of the Scots. And when his magnates heard this, some of them assented, and some gainsaid it; but their king's counsel prevailed; and in the end they all gave their consent, [agreeing] that [the islands] should be sold to the king of Scotland, at his request. And thus an agreement was made between the two aforesaid kings. And this is the annual sum of this agreement:—that every year in perpetuity the king of Scotland shall give to the king of Norway a hundred pounds of sterlings, in recognition of the homage done to the king of Norway by the said Alexander, king of Scotland. And for greater security, [king Alexander] has paid in advance to the king of Norway[1] four thousand marks, which the same king of Norway has received at one time in the island of Orkney, by the hands of the bishops of that island, for the islands mentioned above.[2]

In the year of the Lord 1266, the said sir Reginald, a monk of Melrose, returned from Norway, after having carried through, according to the wishes of all Scots, the affairs that he had gone to carry through. And indeed none of the sons of the Scots has ever been able to accomplish this mission, with the exception of the aforesaid monk (a wise man, and one exceedingly gifted in solemnly preaching divine orations); so that he has truly merited for the good of his house for ever the gratitude and favour of all kings who shall henceforth be in Scotland; unless haply those kings should be found ungrateful, rendering evil for good to the house of Melrose: which

[1] Here, in the bottom margin of folio 64 verso, is inserted a note, which relates to year-section 1264. It reads: "In the year immediately following [i.e., in 1265], he [i.e., Richard of Cornwall] founded the noble abbey of the Cistercian order that is called Hayles" (i.e., in gratitude for his safety after the battle of Lewes, in 1264). This is erroneous. The abbey of Hayles was founded by Richard in 1246, after his escape from Bordeaux in 1242; and was dedicated in 1251 (see R.S. **57**, iv, 229, 562, 569; v, 262, 292: **36**, iii, 252: **95**, ii, 312; iii, 24).

Hayles abbey was burned down in 1271. Richard's wife Sanchia was buried there in 1261; Richard himself, in 1272. For Richard, see above, year 1256.

[2] This alleged payment of the whole sum at one time was not in accordance with the agreement (see below).

[ingratitude] may God dispel from the heart of every Christian king!

And the chancellor of the lord king of Norway accompanied this monk, coming to Scotland soon afterwards in the same year; [and] bringing with him the above-mentioned agreement.

1266

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 136; s.a. 1266[1]

Peace [was made] between Magnus, the king of Norway, and Alexander, the king of the Scots,[2] on these terms:—that Alexander, king of the Scots, should take under his power and dominion Man, and all the Hebrides; and should pay from this year onwards a hundred marks of refined silver every twelve months to the king of Norway; and moreover four thousand marks of refined silver[3] during the next four winters after the peace. And excommunication [is] laid down for him that breaks [the agreement].[4]

[1] With dominical and paschal letters of 1266.

[2] Similarly in KOP, s.a. 1266 (28, 67-68, 330).

[3] *iiii marka brendra:* i.e., 1,000 marks a year, for 4 years (see below).

[4] EA read, s.a. 1265 (258, Fl., iii, 535-536; both with letters of 1265): "Peace between king Magnus and Alexander, king of the Scots, upon these terms, that the king of the Scots should rule for ever over Scotland and the Hebrides; and the king of Norway should take from the Scottish king 900 marks of English sterlings in each year [for the four winters next after the peace; and afterwards 100 marks each year, E] for ever."

The treaty is preserved (Acts, i, 420-421; Diplomatarium Norvegicum, viii, 13-17: translated by Goss, Chronicles of Man, ii, 323-333; and in Munch's Det norske Folks-historie, iv, 1, 455-459). It is dated in 1266, on the Friday next after the festival of the apostles Peter and Paul [Friday, 2nd July, 1266]; in the church of the Friars Preachers at Perth. King Magnus, through his plenipotentiaries (Asketinus, his chancellor; and Andrew, Nicholas's son, his baron) resigned all right and claim of himself and his heirs to "Man, with the other islands of the Hebrides, and all the other islands on the western and southern side of the great sea [*Haff*]"; "to be held and had and possessed by the said lord Alexander III, the king of Scotland, and his heirs; with the seigniorial rights [*dominiis*], feudalities [*homagiis*], revenues, services, and all rights and appurtenances of the said islands, without any reservation: along with the right of patronage of the bishopric of Man, saving the right, jurisdiction, and liberty, of the church of Nidaróss, in all respects; which [right] or [jurisdiction and liberty the church

Upon the vigil[1] of St Laurence's mass, at an assembly in

of Nidaróss] has, regarding the bishop and church of Man: and excepting the islands of Orkney and Shetland, which the same king of Norway has specially reserved for his own dominion, along with the seigniorial rights, feudalities, revenues, services, and all their rights and appurtenances adjacent to them: in such manner that all the vassals of the said islands that have been conceded and resigned and quit-claimed to the aforesaid lord, the king of Scotland, both small and great, shall be subject to the laws and customs of the kingdom of Scotland; and shall in accordance with them henceforward be governed and judged." The islanders were to have pardon for injuries done by them in adherence to the king of Norway, and freedom to leave the islands if they chose. The king of Scotland, Alexander, and his heirs, "shall give and render for ever to the aforesaid lord king of Norway, and his heirs, and their designates, within [*infra*] the octaves of the Nativity of St John the Baptist, in Orkney, . . . in the church of St Magnus, into the hands of the bishop of Orkney or the bailiff of the lord king of Norway, specially deputed by him for this purpose; or shall deposit in the same church . . . in the custody of the canons of that church . . ., 100 marks of good and legal sterlings, according to the mode and use of the Roman court, and the kingdoms of France, England, and Scotland, to be paid annually; and in addition 4,000 marks of sterlings, to be paid in the said manner within [*infra*] the next period of four years, at the place and term noted above: namely, 1,000 marks within the octaves of the Nativity of St John the Baptist, in the year of grace 1267; and 100 marks of the aforesaid pension": 1,100 marks to be paid also in 1268, 1269, and 1270. "And thenceforward, at the said term and place, [they shall give] 100 marks of the aforesaid pension only, to be paid in the aforesaid manner, annually, in perpetuity, for everything." The agreement was sworn to by Askatin and Andrew, on behalf of king Magnus; and by Adam, earl of Carrick, and Robert de Meyners, on behalf of king Alexander. A penalty for breach of the agreement was fixed at 10,000 marks of sterlings, with excommunication and interdict until the fine was paid. There was to be peace and amnesty between Norway and Scotland; fugitives from either kingdom were not to be received in the other kingdom, for a longer period than one year; fugitives for treason were not to be received at all. Shipwrecked sailors should retain right to goods that they had not abandoned. Disturbers of the peace between Norway and Scotland should be exemplarily punished.

The chirograph of this document preserved in Norway bore the seals of king Alexander; Gamelin, bishop of St Andrews; John, bishop of Glasgow: of earls Alexander Comyn, of Buchan; Patrick, of Dunbar; William, of Mar; Adam, of Carrick: and of baron Robert de Meyners.

The chirograph preserved in Scotland bore the seals of king Magnus; Peter, bishop of Bergen; Thorgils, bishop of Stavanger; and of the nobles Gaut [Gunter, in Acts], of Melr; Bryniolf, son of John; Finn, son of Gaut; Andrew, son of Nicholas; and Askatin, the chancellor.

[1] 9th August. So also in F (Annálar, 134).

Christs'-church yard in Bergen, king Magnus proclaimed his peace with the Scottish king. . . .

Magnus, Olaf's son, king in Man,[1] [died].[2]

1266

Continuation of the Chronicle of Man, vol. i, p. 110

In the year 1266, the kingdom of Man and the islands was transferred to Alexander, the king of the Scots.

1266

Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 64, s.a. 1256[3]

In the same year, while Ivar still governed Man, the kingdom of Man and the islands was transferred to king Alexander, the son of Alexander, king of the Scots, with the consent and good will of Magnus, Hakon's son, the king of Norway: upon the terms, however, that yearly tribute should be paid to the king of Norway, and his heirs.

And the king [Alexander III] appointed his bailiffs in Man. Of these, the first was Godfrey Mac-Mares; after him, Alan Earl's-son; after him, Maurice Okarefair; after him, Reginald, the lord king's chaplain.[4]

1266[5]

[1] "of the Hebrides" P.

[2] "Magnus . . . died" also in PA, s.a. 1266 (330, 536; with letters of 1266). See E.C., 380; and above, year 1265. Magnus's death preceded the agreement between the kings of Scotland and Norway.

[3] This passage (written at the end of the year-section) is derived from a source cognate with the Chronicle of Man. It has been entered ten years too early, in C.L.; and may originally have been an addition, copied into the text.

[4] The Scottish queen's brother-in-law (Frederick II), and brothers (Edmund and Richard), were successively kings of Sicily. The three legs of Sicily were substituted for the viking-ship as the arms of Man.

[5] On 23rd May, 1266, pope Clement IV wrote several letters, empowering master Sinicius, papal nuncio and clerk of the papal chamber, to exact and receive payment of debts owing in the British Islands to the pope, and for the Holy Land; and commanding ecclesiastics to deposit money for transmission, as the nuncio should direct (Bliss, i, 423).

The English tax of 1,000 marks had then been unpaid for 5 years.

On the same day, the pope bade the archbishops, bishops, and heads of religious orders, in the British Islands, to receive master Sinicius, and provide him with 4 or 5 mounts; 6 or 7 attendants; and other necessaries, or else 7 shillings sterling daily. Also on the same day, the pope commanded

? 1266

Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 81, s.a. 1266

Edward, king [Henry's] eldest son, afterwards entered the holy way of pilgrimage to Jerusalem, at the prompting of conscience; both for his own sake, and for his father's. And many nobles of his land accompanied him.[1]

So too he visited in person his sister Margaret, the queen of Scotland. She met him at Haddington. And he gave to her, in remembrance of him, to be sustained by her, a certain esquire, who professed that he had with his own sword stabbed earl [Simon] de Montfort. What happened to him shall be told later, in the end of this book.[2]

[Margaret] had at that time received from the king, her husband, her first child, a daughter called by her own name, [now] fourteen years old; and secondly a son, similarly bearing his father's name, already in his twelfth year.[3] Delighted with the sight of these, [Edward] bade his sister farewell.

that forged letters of Urban IV, given in security for loans (forged by the provost of Mont-Cenis) were to be given to Sinicius (Bliss, i, 424).

On 8th and 22nd June, 1266, the pope ordered that a tenth was to be exacted, with the consent of the king of Scotland, from all Scottish ecclesiastical and monastic revenues, for the assistance of Henry, king of England, in order to pay the debts of the English queen; and, if the king of Scotland should refuse his consent, 60,000 marks of Tours of the English tithe granted to the English king were to be applied to this purpose (Theiner, 99-100, no. 249; Bliss, i, 432, 433).

The king of Scotland evidently did refuse; and the grant of 60,000 marks of Tours was made, on 15th July, 1267 (Bliss, i, 434).

[1] Edward took the cross at Northampton, in 1268, on June 24th; and set out on his way towards Palestine in 1270, on August 20th (C.L., 85, 90; R.S. **36**, ii, 107, 109; iv, 217-218, 236-237: **13**, 238).

Cf. year 1270.

[2] C.L. (95-96, s.a. 1273) records that this esquire perished in the Tay, near Kinclaven, in the presence of Margaret, her esquires, her ladies-in-waiting, and also her confessor, who related the matter to the chronicler. See Maxwell's translation, pp. 7-8. Margaret's confessor was a Franciscan friar. See year 1275, below.

From the words "at the end of this book," we may deduce that the writer of this part of the chronicle did not at this time carry the work beyond the year 1273. Before the section for the year 1274 is the note: "From the Beginning of the World, 6,470." Cf. the following note.

[3] It is implied that, at the time of Edward's visit, Margaret's third child, David, had not been born. He was born in 1273 (or 1272).

The period within which Margaret and Alexander were of the ages

1267

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 197-198

In the year of the Lord 1267, sir Adam of Maxton, the abbot of Melrose, was deposed in the general chapter. He had, not within the chapter of his order, deposed his son, the abbot of Holme [Cultram]; and therefore he received the same penalty of deposition. Along with him, the abbot of Holme [Cultram] was deposed, because he deserved deposition; since he had procured the deposition of his abbot, Henry[1]; who was restored to his former seat by the general chapter.

The deposed abbot of Melrose was succeeded by sir John of Edrom, the master of the lay brothers of the same house.

Sir James, the abbot of Cîteaux, was deposed in the general chapter; the convent of Cîteaux procuring his deposition. The same deposed [abbot] was afterwards made archbishop of Narbonne in Gascony. Sir John, the abbot of Savigny, was made the successor of his deposition.[2]

Sir Adam of Smailholm, the abbot of Deer, a monk of Melrose, voluntarily resigned his office; since he preferred the sweetness of the Melrose [monks], whom he had fully proved, to having rule over the hovel of the monks of Deer, whose

specified was 28th February, 1275, to 20th January, 1276. Queen Margaret was no longer alive. See year 1275. Edward did not visit Scotland during that time; although he was at Thirlwall, near the borders of Northumberland and Cumberland, on 20th September, 1275 (see Foedera, i, 2, 529; and Hartshorne's Itinerary of Edward I). It seems probable that the ages given were the ages of Alexander's children at the time when the chronicler wrote; and that this part of the Chronicle of Lanercost, down to the year 1273, was written in 1275.

Cf. year 1279.

There seems to be no good reason for rejecting the fact of prince Edward's visit (1264 × 1270); notwithstanding the uncertainty of the date. The chronicler neither states definitely that the visit was paid in 1266, nor that it was paid after Edward took the cross in 1268; so that he does not necessarily contradict himself.

Letters written to king Edward by prince Alexander and princess Margaret establish a presumption that they had been presented to him (Innes, National MSS. of Scotland, i, no. 65; Bain, ii, no. 185).

[1] Henry had become abbot of Holme Cultram in 1255.

[2] For the statutes of this chapter, see Fowler's Cistercian Statutes, 126-127.

fervid religion he was never able to test by true experience.[1] He was succeeded by sir Hugh, the cellarer of the same house of [Deer].

1268

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 137; s.a. 1268[2]

Dugald, king of the Hebrides, died.[3]

1268

Annals of Loch Cé, vol. i, p. 458; s.a. 1268[4]

Dugald, Ruadri's son, king of the Hebrides and of Argyle, reposed.[5]

1268

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 216, s.a. 1268[6]

Sir John of Edrom, the abbot of Melrose, resigned the office of his abbacy. He was succeeded by sir Robert of Keldeleth,[7] a monk of Newbattle, who had previously been abbot of Dunfermline and chancellor of Scotland.[8]

[1] *malens dulcedinem Melrosensium, quos preexpertus fuerat, quam preesse tugurrio monachorum de Dere, quorum fervidam religionem nuncquam per veram experientiam scire poterat.*

[2] With dominical and paschal letters of 1268. Similarly in A (Fl., iii, 537).

[3] Similarly in P (331), s.a. 1269. O reads, s.a. 1268 (68): "[Death] of king Dugald." See year 1249.

[4] With ferial, and numbers in the lunar cycle and indiction, of 1268; but for epact 11, and solar cycle 28, read 13 and 17 respectively. The annal corresponds to that numbered 1266 in A.U.

[5] Similarly in F.M., iii, 404, s.a. 1268; but F.M. read "lord" instead of "king," and "died" instead of "reposed."

Bower, ii, 109, s.a. 1268: "The king of Man died; earl Malisse of Strathearn afterwards married his widow, namely the daughter of Eogan of Argyle." This lady may have been the wife of king Dugald. Fordun and Bower, however, do not notice the death of his predecessor, king Magnus. See year 1265, note.

See S.P., viii, 246-247. Cf. Inchaffray, no. 96 (a charter of 1258 × 1284, dated Pentecost 1218 = ? 1268).

[6] This passage has been added at the end of the year-section, immediately after the conclusion of the account of Simon de Montfort.

[7] I.e., Kenleith, Currie; or the parish of Currie.

[8] For Robert, see year 1240, note. He had been a messenger from

1268-1273

Chronicle of Melrose, p. 212, s.a. 1268[1]

John, the bishop of Glasgow, died in France, at the city of Meaux; and he was buried in that [city].[2] In his place,

Henry III to the king and queen of Scotland in 1260 (August-September); see Bain, i, nos. 2198, 2199, 2202, 2208.

See also Dunfermline, no. 348.

Robert was appointed chancellor of the king of Scotland, according to Bower, in 1249. He appears as chancellor on 17th February, 1251; he resigned his abbacy before 13th February, 1253: and in 1253 the chancellorship was given to Gamelin, a canon of the church of Glasgow.

According to Bower, ii, 108, Richard bishop of Dunkeld and Robert bishop of Dunblane were sent as delegates of the Scottish bishops to a council to which all the bishops of Scotland had been summoned, and which was held in presence of Ottobon, on 22nd April, 1268. The abbot of Dunfermline and the prior of Lindores were sent as representatives of the rest of the clergy of Scotland; who afterwards refused to observe the orders of the council. The contemporary writer, Fitz-Thedmar, places this council in 1267, at St Paul's (see E.C., 380).

At the instance of Ottobon and king Henry, according to Bower, ii, 109, pope Clement ordered a tenth penny of the ecclesiastical revenues of Scotland to be paid to king Henry, for the crusade. This was refused by the king and clergy of Scotland, on the ground that they were already contributing to the crusade in a manner proportionate to the resources of their kingdom. Cf. year 1266, note.

On 2nd August, 1268, safe-conduct was given to the king and queen of Scotland, in coming to the king of England on his invitation, for the sake of recreation; remaining; and returning (Foedera, i, 1, 477).

C.L., 85, mentions a cattle-plague, called "lung disease," in Lothian, in the year 1268. Under the same year, C.L. notices Alan Doorward's death, for which see year ?1275.

[1] This passage is entered in bolder letters, but probably by the same hand, near the top of folio 71.

With the exception of this, and the passage next quoted, the events in this year-section do not belong to the year 1268.

[2] For John of Cheam, see year 1259; and cf. the Chronicle of Lanercost, 65: "In the year of the Lord 1258, bishop William of Bondington was succeeded in the church of Glasgow by John of Cheam [*de Cheham*], sent [*collatus*] by the pope, and consecrated in the [Roman] court: a man born in the south of England, but exceedingly hostile [*infestus*] to England. For in his last days, his cupidity increased, and he claimed an ancient right to parts of Westmoreland, in prejudice of the church of Carlisle; saying that his diocese extended to the Rere-cross of Stanemore. Embittered in mind over this, he hastened to the court of the pope; but on the way, he died.

"When he departed from his province, he had left [in charge of it] his

William Wishart, the king's chancellor, was elected.[1] But while he was [bishop-]elect, Gamelin, the bishop of St Andrews, died[2]; and [William Wishart] was elected to the bishopric of the same saint [Andrew].[3]

And Robert Wishart, his nephew, the archdeacon of Lothian, became [bishop-]elect of Glasgow; and was afterwards consecrated bishop.[4]

official—a man dear to God, and renowned for sanctity; and one with an excellent knowledge of law—, master John de Lenne . . . ." Cf. Kelso, no. 342; Glasgow, no. 219.

A charter given by bishop John of Cheam is dated at Tournai, on 11th June, 1268 (Glasgow, no. 218).

For a Lanercost story of the character of John, see year 1245. For an account of the events of his life, see D.B., 304-305.

[1] Before the election of William Wishart, according to Bower (ii, 109-110), Nicholas of Moffat (for whom see year 1259) had been re-elected to the bishopric of Glasgow; but had died, unconsecrated, in 1270. Cf. D.B., 305-306.

William Wishart became archdeacon of St Andrews in 1254; he held that office on February 22nd of that year. He was still simply archdeacon on 20th September, 1255. He was appointed king's chancellor, according to Crawford, in 1256; and appears as chancellor on 29th August, 1261 (Lindores, no. 117). He held both the archdeaconry and the chancellorship until 1273, when he was consecrated bishop of St Andrews.

[2] Gamelin was alive on 14th April, 1271 (Northberwick, 22-23, no. 21). Bower says that he died at Inchemurdauch on 29th April, 1271 (i, 360; Cf. D.B., 18).

[3] William Wishart, archdeacon of St Andrews, was elected to the bishopric on Wednesday, 3rd June, 1271. See Moray, 338-339, no. 261.

C.L., 84, s.a. 1268: "At this time, master Gamelin, who had lain bedridden for a long time, died [† 1271]; and in the fourth year afterwards [1274 × 1275], he was succeeded by the king's chancellor, William Wishart; although through the eye of a needle, as will appear below." Cf. ibid., 92-93, s.a. 1272; where the same chronicle says that William Wishart was consecrated to the bishopric of St Andrews by dispensation obtained from pope Gregory X, in that pope's first year (1272, March 27th × 1273, March 26th). Gregory wrote a letter, on 15th March, 1273, authorizing the bishops of Moray, Aberdeen, and Argyle, to consecrate William, if he were found to be qualified for consecration. See Theiner, 103, xii, no. 256 (for "2nd year" read "1st year").

Bower (VI, 43) says that William Wishart was consecrated to the bishopric of St Andrews on 15th October, 1273; a Sunday (cf. D.B., 306, 18-19).

For his death, cf. year 1279, below. C.L. (93) repeats gossip to William's discredit. See Maxwell's translation, 2-3.

[4] Robert Wishart was elected after the election and transference of

1269

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 216-217

In the year of the Lord 1269, while that glorious prince the king of France was upon his way to the holy land, a tremendous storm of wind in the sea of Greece drove him from the course he had taken, to a foreign land. When he had entered it, finding that it was the district[1] of Barbary, he subdued the king to himself; and he besieged its metropolitan city—exceedingly renowned, and strong, and populous—; and after a siege, he took it. That city, Tunis by name, with the other cities of the district, rendered a great tribute yearly to the king of France.

Its inhabitants worship one supreme God—although not in three persons—; and therefore they were spared from being slaughtered by the French, since they worship one God, without the law of the Jews. There are two bishops in that district.

After the district of Barbary had been made subject to the king of France, while the same king was returning homewards, along with the king of Navarre, they both died upon the way. Along with them upon that pilgrimage died David, the earl of Athole.[2]

Louis was succeeded in the kingdom by Philip, his son.

Albinus, the bishop of Brechin, died. He was succeeded by friar William of Kilconquhar, the lector of the Friars Preachers of Perth.[3] . . .[4]

Sir Guy, the abbot of Newbattle, resigned the administra-

William Wishart (see the previous note). He was consecrated before 15th April, 1273 (see Soutra, no. 44). Bower (ii, 116) says that Robert was consecrated on 29th January, 1273. Cf. D.B., 306.

See below, year 1278.

[1] *regio* (perhaps "kingdom"?).

[2] Cf. Bower, ii, 109, 111. Bower says that earl David died on 6th August [1270], in Carthage. Cf. S.P., i, 245.

For Louis IX's crusade of 1269-1270, his expedition to Tunis, and death, v.i.a. B.R., xx, 21-23, 54-57, 305-308, 440-460, 562-563, 774-775; R.S. **95**, iii, 19-20: **36**, iv, 236-239. He died on 25th August, 1270.

[3] Albinus, the successor of Gregory (see year 1218), was postulated to the bishopric of Brechin before 19th July, 1246: he was the son of unmarried parents. See year 1249, note. He was bishop of Brechin in 1248.

On 20th February, 1257, the monastery of Lindores, having acquired the church of Dundee, was exempted by pope Alexander IV from burdens that

tion of his house. To it was appointed sir Waltheof, a monk of Melrose, who had been cellarer of the same house.[1]

Lora, the countess of Athole, died; and she was buried at Melrose.[2]

John de Balliol died.[3] This lover of scholars made, for the sake of God, a house perpetually endowed,[4] at Oxford; assigning to each of its scholars every week eight pence, for their common table.[5]

There is another house for scholars there, better than that. They receive for their common good twelve pence every week, by the gift of a bishop of Bath.

might be exacted in the diocese of Brechin, in which diocese Dundee was situated (Theiner, 74, no. 193; Bliss, i, 341).

For Albinus and William of Kilconquhar, see Brechin, i, p. vii; D.B., 175-177.

After Albinus, William, the dean of Brechin (perhaps the William who was dean in 1248; Arbroath, i, nos. 240, 243) was elected to the bishopric of Brechin.

On 24th May, 1275, pope Gregory X wrote to the bishops of St Andrews and Dunkeld. The bishop-elect of Brechin, William, dean of Brechin, had died; and William Comyn, a Friar Preacher, regent in the faculty of theology in the Dominican college at Perth, was unanimously elected by vote. The pope bade these bishops examine William's election, and gave them authority to consecrate him, or annul the election (Theiner, 106-107, no. 262; Bliss, i, 450). He was bishop before 29th April, 1276 (St Andrews, 111-112).

On 2nd December, 1289, pope Nicholas IV gave William, bishop of Brechin, permission to make his will (Theiner, no. 325). William still lived in 1290 (Foedera, i, 2, 730). His successor was appointed at Rome in 1296 (Theiner, no. 350).

[4] Here follows an account of the foundation by Philip III of the Cistercian monastery of Réalmont (founded 1272).

[1] Guy had been appointed in 1261; Waltheof died in ? 1272.

[2] Perhaps the widow of Patrick, earl of Athole († 1242). Cf. S.P., i, 423.

[3] It is certain that John de Balliol died before 24th October, 1268. See Bain, i, no. 2501; cf. ii, nos. 265, 276. Cf. above, year 1264, note. He was survived by his wife, Derbforgaill. Cf. year 1237.

[4] *perpetuam domum.*

[5] Cf. Bain, i, no. 2401. The grant was not finally made until after 7th October, 1285; but the college had already been fully established in 1282, after which date this part of the Melrose chronicle must have been written. See Bain, ii, no. 276. John Balliol's widow, Derbforgaill, who made the grant, died on 28th January, 1290. Bain, ii, no. 405. Cf. Stevenson's Documents, i, 20-21; Bain, ii, no. 276.

1269

Icelandic Annals, version O, in Storm's Annaler, p. 68; s.a. 1269

The death of Henry, bishop in Kirkwall.[1]

1270

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 138; s.a. 1270[2]

Peter was consecrated bishop to the Orkneys.

1270

Chronicle of Melrose, pp. 217-219

In the year of the Lord 1270, sir Edward, the eldest son of the king of England, a knight most accomplished in war, set out for the holy land.[3] When he came there, he remained in the tower of the city of Acre; and he did not set foot outside of that city in order to accomplish any difficult affair, except on one occasion, when he was led by one Christian spy, who belonged to the sect of the Suliani. They are Christians, who dwell as hermits among the Saracens; and for this reason they always have peace with [the Saracens], because they live in wildernesses: since all Saracens and pagans revere all hermits, because of the honour they have for the holy solitary, John the Baptist; whom they love and honour with the greatest veneration, because they triumphed over the Christians on the day of his festival, in a battle.

And the said Sulian came to Acre, to announce to Edward that the inhabitants of a certain city, which is called Caconia, had now gone forth, according to the custom of their country, with their flocks and herds of cattle, to feed them, to a wooded region, where they had pitched for themselves many tents:

[1] CPA read, s.a. 1269 (138, 331; Fl., iii, 537; all with dominical and paschal letters of 1269): "Henry, bishop in the Orkneys, died." This appears to have been the Hervi who was consecrated in 1248.

[2] With dominical and paschal letters of 1270. Similarly in A (Fl., iii, 537).

Peter was consecrated before 3rd September, 1270 (Diplomatarium Norvegicum, iii, 14-15; no. 14). For his death, see year 1284.

[3] Cf. years 1266, note; and 1274.

because once in the year the inhabitants of that city go out together to such places, for the benefit of the air, in order to enjoy themselves; and they all return to the city together.

Edward proceeded therefore towards the holiday-makers' tents, which were three days' journey from Acre; and by day he hid in dark and wooded places, as he had been instructed by the Sulian to do, through fear of the numbers of the pagans; since they could quickly have overwhelmed the few Christians that were with him. For he had with him only a few pilgrims, along with the more select of the people of Acre. So he made his marches by night, in order that the pagans should be deceived, through not knowing the stages of his advance. One morning, very early, he came to the place described; and found the Saracens in bed, and their wives, with their little children. And he slew them all with the edge of the sword, because they were enemies of the Christian faith. After killing them, he took with him to Acre all their herds and flocks, and all their equipage; losing none of all the men that were with him, excepting one esquire, called Nicholas, who was the esquire of a certain knight of Scottish origin, named Alexander de Seton. This esquire, carrying his master's shield behind him on a horse, had withdrawn a little from the company of the Christians, in order to relieve himself; and was immediately captured by a few pagans who dwelt beside the way by which the Christians (quite unseen by the pagans) had passed: the Christians would have killed them, if they had seen them. The Christians did not from that day see the esquire whom the pagans had carried off with them. . . .

Afterwards that true treasure of Christ, lord Edward, returned from the holy land, without accomplishing the conquest of the pagans; since he could not effect it, because of the small numbers of the Christians. He had proposed never to return home, until he had conquered the lands of paganism, in so far as he could (if he had obtained the support of Christendom as he wished); but hearing of the death of his father, the excellent king Henry, . . . he had of necessity to return home, to be crowned, in succession to his father in the kingdom, as his lawful heir.

Adam of Kilconquhar, the earl of Carrick, died in Acre.

Afterwards Robert de Bruce the Younger took to himself as spouse [Adam's] wife, the countess of Carrick.[1] . . .[2]

1270 × 1271

Note from folio 62 of the Chronicle of Melrose
(Stevenson's edition, p. 222)[3]

In the year of the Lord 1271, the winter was [severe] and [cold].

? 1272

Note from folio 59, verso, of the Chronicle of Melrose
(Stevenson's edition, p. 222)[4]

In the year of the Lord 1275, sir Waltheof, the abbot of Newbattle, of pious remembrance and holy life, entered the

[1] Adam had become earl of Carrick in the right of his wife, Margaret or Marjory († 1292), the eldest daughter of the guardian, earl Nigel or Niall († 1256), son of earl Duncan († 1250), son of Gilbert Fergus' son.

For countess Margaret's second marriage, see S.P., ii, 426-427, 432. According to Fordun, Robert was abducted by the lady (c. 60, i, 304; Bower, ii, 114-115).

Robert de Bruce, in her right earl of Carrick († 1304), was the son of Robert, lord of Annandale and Cleveland, the claimant to the throne († 1294), and Isabella, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford. See Bain, i, no. 1498. King Robert I was the son of earl Robert and Marjory.

A dispute had arisen between the king and Robert de Bruce of Annandale, the father, concerning advowson and fruits of the church of Annandale. Robert had through forgetfulness neglected the king's rights. The dispute was settled, and the decision announced, on 28th March, 1270 (National MSS. of Scotland, i, no. 61).

For a story of life in Annandale, see C.L., 99-100, s.a. 1277 (Maxwell's translation, 14-16). The chronicler obtained this story from sir Robert of Roberstone.

Another story of Annandale is told, on the authority of two Franciscans of Dumfries, ibid., 107-108, s.a. 1281 (Maxwell's translation, 26-28).

[2] Here (pp. 219-221; folio 74, the last folio of C.M. preserved) follows a eulogy of Edward ("the most valiant youth in the world; a glorious soldier of Christ"). The conclusion of this eulogy is lost. It must have been written before 1296.

For the death of Agnes de Burnevilla, in Spott, in 1270, see C.L., 90.

[3] This note is added at the end of the section of the chronicle that concludes in 1263. The words in brackets are rubbed, and almost illegible.

[4] This is an early addition, written in red-tinged ink, between years 1261 and 1262. The beginning of the same note has been written after year 1262 on

way of all flesh, while his house remained in the highest peace and the best state, in regard both to temporal and to spiritual affairs. And with a happy death he departed to the Lord in the third year of his administration, on the third day before the Nones of February.[1] His body was entombed with the due honour (since he was a father abbot), on the vigil of Agatha, the virgin and martyr.[2]

? 1272

Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 97, s.a. 1275

Richard of Inverkeithing, the bishop of Dunkeld, departed from this world[3]; taken off by poison, it is said: as also the aforesaid queen is by many thought to have been taken off. For a certain man, the maker of this poison,[4] being under sentence of death,[5] after the murder of the aforesaid man, said that he had sold the poison both in this and in the former case[6]; and that still a full bottle [of it] remained in the kingdom of Scotland.

And since in that kingdom the effects of bishops when they die fall to the king, this bishop alone—and another, called Robert de Prebenda,[7] bishop of Dunblane—more than all others that we remember, made so great a virtue of necessity,

the same page, and erased. The year-number is there left incomplete ("In the year of the Lord 12 — —, sir Waltheof, of pious remembrance, the abbot . . . ").

[1] I.e., on 3rd February, ? 1272. Waltheof had been elected in 1269; if he died in 1275, this passage would imply that his consecration had been deferred until 1272, which is improbable. We must either read 1272 for 1275, or (less probably) "sixth year" for "third year."

[2] I.e., on 4th February.

[3] See year 1250. Richard was still bishop of Dunkeld in July, 1271 (Arbroath, i, 191; no. 253). He died (still chancellor), according to Bower (ii, 115), on 16th April, 1272; but on 26th April, according to Aberdeen, ii, 247. He was buried at Dunkeld; and his heart, in the choir of Inchcolm, beside the northern wall.

He was succeeded by Robert de Stouteville, dean of Dunkeld; who was elected before 7th May, 1273 (Theiner, no. 255; Bliss, i, 445); and consecrated later in the same year.

[4] *hujus confectionis auctor.*

[5] *et morti addictus.*

[6] *et huc et illuc venenum vendidisse.*

[7] *de la Provendir.* See years 1258, 1259.

by giving away their goods when death was imminent, that they left scarcely anything to satisfy the king's cupidity.

1273

Note from folio 59, verso, of the Chronicle of Melrose
(Stevenson's edition, p. 222)

In the year of the Lord 1272, on the thirteenth day[1] before the Kalends of April, David, the son of king Alexander III, was born, about the first hour of the night,[2] at — —[3].

1273

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 139; s.a. 1273[4]

Magnus, Gibbon's son, earl in the Orkneys, died.

1274

Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 96, s.a. 1274

When the council was held at Lyons,[5] . . . where the heir of England [Edward I] was present,[6] messengers were sent, and exhorted him to return to his country; and to restore to order his desolate kingdom. So he returned to England in the same year: and, at the age of thirty-five years and two months, was received with honour by the whole people; and solemnly anointed and crowned by brother Robert of Kilwardby, archbishop of Canterbury, on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of September.[7]

[1] 20th March, 1273; including the previous evening.

[2] I.e., probably about 6-7 p.m., 19th March, 1273.

[3] The place is omitted in the note. For David's death, cf. D.K., 100. He died in 1280, according to Bower, ii, 124; but Fordun says (Annals, c. 63; i, 307) that he died in the end of June, 1281, at Lindores; and was buried at Dunfermline.

On 13th April, 1273, pope Gregory X invited the king of Scotland (among other kings) to be present at the council that was to be held at Lyons (Bliss, i, 446). See year 1274.

[4] With dominical and paschal letters of 1273. Similarly in A (Fl., iii, 538; but for *d.* in A read *v.*).

[5] This council was held by pope Gregory X, from 7th May to 17th July, 1274 (Potthast).

[6] Cf. with this statement R.S. 95, iii, 33.

[7] I.e., on Sunday, 19th August; in London. See Foedera, i, 2, 514. Edward had landed at Dover on the 2nd of August (ibid.). Cf. Hartshorne's Itinerary, Collectanea Archaeologica, ii, 114.

The nobles of the land, along with innumerable people, were present at the celebration; showing in many ways their magnificence,[1] in favour of the new king. But the lord king of Scotland, Alexander, who was present, along with his wife, and a retinue of nobles, exceeded the generosity of all the others, in hospitality and gifts.[2]

1274-1275

Note from folio 51 of the Chronicle of Melrose[3]

In the year of the Lord 1274, sir Richard, the abbot of Kinloss, of pious memory and holy life, upon his way back from the general chapter died at Ware in England, upon the vigil[4] of the blessed Dionysius; and his body was with due reverence

[1] Cf. the language of Wykes; R.S. **36**, iv, 259-260.

[2] On 28th December, 1274, a writ was issued for the payment of the expenses of Alexander, king of Scotland, in coming to the king of England's coronation (Foedera, i, **1**, 520): "165 pounds, which by our order they have delivered to our dearest brother and vassal, Alexander, illustrious king of Scotland, for the 100 shillings daily that he receives from us in each of his visits to England at our summons."

On 17th September, 1274, pope Gregory X wrote to the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, and all the bishops (pertaining directly to the Roman church) in Scotland, bidding them preach the crusade (Theiner, 103-104, no. 257; Theiner's Monumenta of Hungary, i, no. 537).

On 20th September, 1274, the pope gave master Boiamund de Vitia, canon of Asti, chaplain of deacon cardinal U[bertus], of St Eustace, authority to collect tenths for the Holy Land, in Scotland, for six years from 24th June, 1274 (Theiner, 104, no. 258; Bliss, i, 449). The computation of tenths exacted by Boiamund for the 3 years, 1274-1276, amounted to 7,195 pounds, 6 florins, and 6 pence, of sterlings (Theiner, 109-116, no. 264).

On 13th November, 1274, the pope bade Dominican and Franciscan priors preach the crusade in Ireland and Scotland (Theiner, 105-106, no. 260).

For a controversy in Elgin in 1274, see Batten's Beauly, 56-57, no. 5.

[3] In Stevenson's ed., p. 222. This note is faintly written with some kind of pencil, in a half-page left blank between the letters that are entered under the year 1245. The writing appears to be of the 13th century. It is rubbed, and all but illegible to me. Mr Ronald Coates, of the MSS. Department of the British Museum, has kindly transcribed this passage for me; but the same words that defy me resist him also.

[4] I.e., according to Stevenson, 11th March; but this is erroneous: because Dionysius the Carthusian, whose festival is 12th March, died in 1471 (L'Art), nearly two centuries after this note was written. Dionysius (S. Denis), the bishop of Paris († ? ca. 286 A.D.), whose death is commemorated on 9th October, was honoured also on 22nd April (Giry). The

entombed at Warden — —[1] in presence of the chapter of the same place. Andrew, the prior of Newbattle, and formerly prior of Pluscarden, of the — — [other?] order, was promoted in his place, and on the vigil[2] of Epiphany the charge of souls of Kinloss was laid upon him in the chapter-house of — —. And he was installed in the choir of the same place by the father-abbot [? of Melrose], sir Patrick of Selkirk (?), with great rejoicing. O marvellous dispensation of God, whence hath proceeded such an election!

1275

Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 97, s.a. 1274

In this year, Margaret, the queen of Scotland, and sister of the king of England, died, on the fourth day before the Kalends of March[3]; a woman of great beauty, chastity, and humility: three qualities that are seldom combined in one person. To visit her in her illness came in great numbers both bishops and abbots; but she refused to all of them entrance to her chamber. And, after receiving from her confessor (a Minorite friar)[4] all the sacraments, she granted no audience

pope Dionysius († 269 A.D.), whose death is commemorated on 26th December, was honoured also on 12th February (Giry).

Probably 8th October, 1274, is the date intended.

[1] The words that follow are undecipherable. Stevenson's edition incorrectly reads these words, "on the first Sunday of April." The first two words might perhaps stand for a date. But the context seems rather to require such words as "a house of the Cistercian order."

Ware is in Hertfordshire; Warden (*Wardonia*) appears to be Old Warden abbey in Bedfordshire, nearly 30 miles distant, by modern roads, from Ware.

[2] I.e., on 5th January, 1275; a Saturday.

[3] I.e., the 26th of February, 1275 (not the 27th, as Stevenson and Maxwell say). Cf. E.C., 381. She certainly died before 3rd May, 1275 (Close Rolls (1900), p. 164; Bain, ii, no. 44).

The Chronicle of Man, Continuation, s.a. 1274, notes Margaret's death, and adds (i, 110): "She lies at Dunfermline." According to Fordun (Annals, c. 61; Skene's ed., 305), Margaret died at Coupar, and was buried at Dunfermline.

Margaret's death is noted also by the Annals of Furness (Continuator of W.N.), s.a. 1274 (R.S. 82, ii, 568). For other references, see D.K., 96.

See year ? 1272.

[4] The chronicler appears to have got this information directly from Margaret's confessor. Cf. above, year 1266, note.

to any others, down to the time of her death; unless it happened that her husband was present.

She left behind her three children:—Alexander, and David, and a daughter, Margaret. They all followed their mother, after a short time[1]; by reason (it is believed) of the sin of their father.

1275

Chronicle of Lanercost, pp. 97-98, s.a. 1275

During the same time, there dwelt in England, at Hartlepool, William, the bishop of Orkney; an honourable man, and a lover of literature. He related many marvels of the islands that are subject to Norway. . . .[2]

In the same year, there was universal sickness throughout the whole stock of sheep in England.

In this year, on the seventh day of the month of October, the fleet of the king of Scotland put into the harbour of Ronaldsway.[3] Immediately sir John de Vesci[4] and the king's nobles landed, with their armies, on the island of St Michael; while the Manxmen were prepared for battle, under Godfrey, Magnus' son, whom they had a little while before set up to be their king. But the king of Scotland's magnates and captains sent an embassy of peace to Godfrey and the people of Man, offering to them the peace of God and of the king of Scotland, if they would desist from their most foolish presumption, and submit voluntarily to the king and his nobles. Godfrey, however, and some perverse counsellors of his, did not consent to the embassy of peace; but on the following day, before the rising of the sun, while still the shades of darkness were upon the land, and the minds of the foolish men were darkened, a

[1] See years 1284, 1273 (note), and 1283.

[2] Here C.L. repeats a few of this man's stories, regarding Iceland.

This passage follows C.L.'s account of the death of Richard, bishop of Dunkeld. See year ? 1272.

The actual bishop of Orkney at this time was Peter (1270-1284).

[3] *Reynaldway*: in the Chronicle of Man, *Rognalwath*. This was the harbour now called Derby Haven, between St Michael's Island and the farm of Ronaldsway, at the S.E. corner of the Isle of Man (cf. Moore, Manx Names (1903), p. 214).

[4] C.L., 122, s.a. 1287, says: "Sir John de Vesci died, and was buried at Alnwick." See D.N.B.

conflict took place; and the wretched Manxmen turned their backs, and perished miserably.[1]

1275

Annals of Furness, in Rolls Series, no. 82, vol. ii, p. 568; s.a. 1274

Also Richard, the bishop of Man and of the islands, [died;] and was buried in the abbey of Furness, on the day of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin.[2]

[1] Cf. E.C., 382-383.

The Chronicle of Man, Continuation, i, 110, s.a. 1275, draws from the same source as C.L.:—"In the year of the Lord 1275, on the 7th day of the month of October, the fleet of lord Alexander, king of Scotland, put in at Ronaldsway. And on the following day, before the rising of the sun, a battle was fought between the Manxmen and the Scots: and the Scots, being the victors, slew in that conflict five hundred and thirty-seven men of the Manx. Hence a certain rhymester said: '50 ten times, 10 three times, five, and two, fell. Beware, Manx race! of future losses.'" This passage is entered later, on a page left blank between the end of the chronicle and the list of Manx bishops, in a thirteenth-century hand (see ed. Goss, i, 232-233).

[2] I.e., on 25th March, 1274. But the true year seems to have been 1275.

For the question of the appointment of a successor, see E.C., 381-382.

Addition to the List of Bishops, appended to the Chronicle of Man, i, 116-118: "After Simon, the venerable bishop of the Hebrides [† 1248], Richard, an Englishman by race, was consecrated by the archbishop of Nidaróss, at Rome; and ruled the church of the Hebrides for 23 years [1253-1275].

"And, while coming from the general council [of the year] 1274, he died at Langalyver, in Copeland; and was buried in the monastery of St Mary of Furness. [Cf. D.B., 278-279.]

"After him, Mark, a Galwegian by race, ruled the church of the Hebrides, most nobly, for 24 years. He was then exiled by the Manxmen; and for this reason, the land was under interdict for 3 years. But afterwards he was recalled, and returned. And for the relaxation of the said sentence [of interdict], they gave one penny from every house that smokes; a grant that is still rendered, by ancient custom, to every succeeding bishop, when he returns from the islands.

"And the aforesaid Mark, a hospitable and courteous man, died, blind, in good old age; and he was buried in the church of St German, in the island of Holm" (now St Patrick's Island, near Peel, in the parish of Kirk German). According to Icelandic Annals A (389), "Mark, bishop of Man," died in 1303.

There were six sessions of the council held at Lyons in 1274:—on May 7th and 18th, June 7th, July 6th, 16th, and 17th (Potthast).

With the smoke-penny tax, cf. Paisley, 125-128.

1275

Icelandic Annals, version C, in Storm's Annaler, p. 140; s.a. 1275[1]

Mar[k] [was] consecrated bishop to the Hebrides.[2]

? 1275

Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 84, s.a. 1268

Within the cycle of this year, sir Alan, called Doorward, passed away.[3] . . .[4]

1276

Pontifical Offices of St Andrews, p. xx

These are the churches that bishop William [Wishart] has dedicated:

The church of Dunnottar was dedicated in the year of grace 1276, on 15th May.

The church of Cowie, in the same year, on 22nd May; in such wise that no prejudice should result to the mother-church of Fetteresso.[5]

[1] With dominical and paschal letters of 1275.

[2] This bishop's name is obscured by a hole in the parchment; the missing letters are supplied by Vigfusson and Storm from Langebek's transcript.

In P, s.a. 1276 (336; with letters of 1276), Storm supplies the name from I. P reads: "[Mark] was consecrated in Tönsberg as bishop to the Hebrides."

[3] Alan the Doorward was alive on 24th September, 1268 (Bain, i, nos 2492, 2493). He appears in charters of 1272, and of 1273 × 1283 (Coupar, i, 87; later than May 7th).

According to Bower (ii, 122), he died in 1275, and was buried at Coupar; and his lands were divided among his three daughters.

Alan Doorward appears as justiciar of Scotland 1246-1251, and 1256-1257.

[4] Here follows (84-85) an agrarian anecdote, told at his expense. In it the following sentence occurs:—"The agricultural lands of Scotland are not given, as elsewhere, in perpetual tenancy [*locationi perpetuae*]; but they renew the leases yearly, or increase the rents" (*annuatim renovant pacta, aut aggravant firmas*).

[5] I have translated the dates from the Roman to the English calendar. The names are:—*Dunothyr* ~ ; *Collyn* ~ ; *Fethyressach* ~. These conclude the list translated under 1240-1249, above.

1276

Icelandic Annals, version O, in Storm's Annaler, p. 69; s.a. 1276

Magnus, the king of Norway, gave the title of earl to Magnus, the son of Magnus, earl of the Orkneys.[1]

1277[2]

1278[3]

[1] Similarly in CDPA (140, 194, 336; Fl., iii, 539-540; all with dominical and paschal letters of 1276).

Instead of "earl of the Orkneys," D reads "earl in the Orkneys"; P reads, "and the earldom." A omits "title of earl." CDA add: "in Tönsberg" (which is also implied by P); P adds: "on Olaf's mass-day," i.e. July 29th.

Under the same year, OA note "an eclipse of the sun." This seems to have been the eclipse, visible in north-western Europe, of 1276, June 13th, 5 p.m. (L'Art).

See year 1284.

[2] On 10th July, 1277 (29 Alexander III), writing at Cupar-Fife, Alexander, king of Scotland, requested king Edward to give credence to the bearers of his letter; his envoys being:—W[illiam], bishop of St Andrews; R[obert], bishop of Dunblane; Robert de Bruce, earl of Carrick; Richard of Straiton. Foedera, i, **2**, 543.

[3] With E.C., s.a. 1278, cf. Edward I's letter to Boniface (Foedera, i, **2**, 933): "Also, Alexander, the king of the Scots, our cousin, did homage to Henry, our father, for the kingdom of Scotland; and afterwards, to us."

See year 1251, and E.C., 365-366.

The day appointed for king Alexander's homage to king Edward was 13th October, 1278 (Foedera, i, **2**, 554; Close Rolls (1900), 493; the appointment was made × 21 Mar. 1278).

On 12th June, 1278, king Edward proclaimed safe-conduct for king Alexander, with all the household that he should bring, in coming to Edward in England within three weeks after Michaelmas; remaining; going to any part of England; and returning: to continue until 2nd February, 1279. Foedera, i, **2**, 558.

On 15th September, 1278, king Edward ordered that the prices of goods were not to be raised in English cities and boroughs for the king of Scotland and his company, who were upon the point of setting out to come to him. Foedera, i, **2**, 562.

On Sunday, 16th October, 1278, at Tewkesbury, king Alexander offered to do homage to king Edward. Because king Edward had not his council with him, he postponed receiving homage from Alexander until a later day, at London; and on 17th October, at Cubberley in Gloucestershire, pro-

1278

Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 101, s.a. 1278

Also in this year, Robert Wishart was made bishop of Glasgow; and he still survives, in good health.[1]

claimed that the postponement should not be prejudicial to Alexander or his heirs (Palgrave, 2; Patent Rolls (1901), 280; Bain, ii, no. 128).

On 29th September, 1278, according to a Close Roll memorandum, king Alexander offered to do homage, and did homage to king Edward in the king's chamber at Westminster, in these words: "I, Alexander, king of Scotland, become liege man of lord Edward, king of England, against all men." Edward received his homage, reserving the right and claim of himself and his heirs with regard to the homage of the king of Scotland and his heirs for the kingdom of Scotland, when they should wish to speak of it. Immediately after his homage, Alexander offered his fealty; and begged that Edward would receive it by the mouth of Robert de Bruce, earl of Carrick. This was conceded. Robert swore in these words: ". . . I, Alexander, king of Scotland, shall preserve good faith to lord Edward, king of England, and his heirs, the kings of England, in life, and members, and earthly honour; and shall faithfully do the services due for the lands and tenements that I hold of the aforesaid king of England." Alexander confirmed and ratified the oath. Foedera, i, 2, 563; Close Rolls (1900), 505.

The date of this homage is erroneous. King Edward had been absent from Westminster since July, and did not arrive there before 24th October. See Gough's Itinerary (1900), i, 84-88. The Register of Dunfermline (217; no. 321) places the homage on 28th October: " . . . *Memorandum*, that in the year of Grace 1278, on the day of the apostles Simon and Jude, at Westminster, Alexander, the king of Scotland, did homage to lord Edward, the king of England, son of king Henry, in these words:—'I become your man [s.l.] for the lands that I hold of you in the kingdom of England, [and] for which I owe you homage; reserving my kingdom.' Then [William of Middleton] the bishop of Norwich said:—'And be it reserved to the king of England, if he have right to your homage for the kingdom.' And the king answered him, speaking clearly:—'To homage for my kingdom of Scotland, none has right, save God alone; nor do I hold it, save of God alone.' Then Robert de Bruce, the earl of Carrick, did fealty for the said lord king of Scotland, swearing upon his soul in these words:—'So may God help me, and these holy things: my lord the king of Scotland, who is here, will be faithful to you, in life, and members, and earthly honour; and will conceal your counsels.' And then the king of Scotland added, according to the form of the homage that he had done to [Edward]:—'For the lands that I hold of you in the kingdom of England.' And the king of Scotland conceded that he should, reserving his kingdom, render the services that were due and customary, from [the lands] for which he had done him homage."

[1] With this indication that this part of C.L. was nearly contemporaneous

1279[1]

with the events described, cf. below, year 1279; and see notes under years 1245, 1266, 1268, 1274.

Robert Wishart was consecrated 1272 × 1273. See above, year 1268. He soon fell into difficulties in his diocese (cf. e.g. Glasgow, nos. 226, 227, 227 *). Pope Gregory's letters of 1274, August 9th, and October 18th, give no indication that Robert was then in his see (ibid., nos. 215, 222-224). But king Alexander III (who seems to have supported Robert) calls him "bishop of Glasgow," on 18th May, 1277; and on 19th July, 1279 (ibid., nos. 233, 234). Cf. Kelso, no. 341 (9th February, 1278).

Probably C.L. refers here to Robert's confirmation, return, or reinstallation in his see. Cf. however Sir Herbert Maxwell's note, in his translation, p. 16.

Robert Wishart died after 30th April, 1316 (Glasgow, no. 263). His successor, Stephen of Dunnideer, died, unconsecrated, before 18th August, 1317 (Bliss, ii, 132). See D.B., 306-309, for an account of Robert Wishart's life.

[1] On 4th January, 1279, king Edward required R[obert de Insula], bishop of Durham, to punish John de Grendone, a burgess of Durham, for an assault that he had made upon one of the men of Alexander, king of Scotland, while Alexander was passing through Durham on his return to Scotland. Foedera, i, 2, 565.

On 4th February, 1279, king Edward commissioned W[illiam of Middleton], bishop of Norwich, John de Vesci, master Robert of Scarborough, and Thomas de Normanville, to hear and decide the disputes between king Alexander and R[obert], bishop of Durham, concerning rights and properties that Alexander claimed, as of the kingdom of Scotland, and that the bishop of Durham claimed, as pertaining to the church of Durham: the conference to be held in the borders of Northumberland on Mid-Lent Sunday [12th March, 1279], as had been arranged in Edward's last parliament in presence of Alexander, and later in council in presence of Alexander's attorneys. Foedera, i, 2, 565.

On 16th February, 1279, king Edward wrote to the sheriff of Northumberland, desiring him to maintain the customs relative to fugitives for felony crossing the frontier. Roger de Musgrave and William Ryband, detained in prison, and Hugh Grey, Thomas Grey, and Simon de Holden, admitting that they were guilty of the death of Robert of Copeland, whom they had killed in the previous year at Berwick within Scotland, sought the king of England's peace in Northumberland. If, after inquiry, it were found that the custom was to receive Scottish fugitives for felony, and that Roger and William had done nothing against the king of England's peace, Roger and William were to be released; and they, and Hugh, Thomas, and Simon, and those who had received them, were to be granted peace, and freedom from molestation. Foedera, i, 2, 566.

On 26th March, 1279, writing at Edinburgh, Alexander, king of the Scots, complained to king Edward of recent actions of Edward's bailiffs in the Scottish march; by which actions he felt himself undeservedly aggrieved.

1279

Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 103, s.a. 1279

At that time,[1] the bishop of St Andrews, William Wishart,[2] departed from the world, at Morebattle[3]; [and was] buried at his see. He was succeeded by William Fraser—he too being the king's chancellor—; who still survives.[4]

He announced that he would send envoys to discuss the matter, as soon as he could after Easter [2nd April in 1279]. Foedera, i, 2, 531.

On 25th May, 1279, at Selkirk, Alexander, king of Scotland, begged king Edward to listen with ears of equity and benevolence to the envoys that he was now sending to Edward's court; and that Edward would not permit that his liberties should be infringed. Foedera, i, 2, 533.

These last two letters are dated 30 Alexander III, but are placed under 1276 in the Foedera, and in Hardy's Syllabus, i, 84.

For disputes in connection with the Scottish king's lands of Tynedale, in 1279, see S.S. 88, 266 (cf. 277-279; and 365, where the lands are placed "outside the kingdom of England, within the kingdom of Scotland"); and L. F. Salzmann, English Industries of the Middle Ages (1913), 41 (for the lead-mines of Alston).

[1] The events previously mentioned are the death of Walter Giffard [† before 7th May, 1279]; and the succession of William of Wykeham [or Wykwane; consecrated 19th September, 1279; † 27th August, 1285] to the archbishopric of York. The last previous sentence, before the passage translated here, implies that the chronicler was writing in the days of William of Wykeham's successor (*nec dum, etiam in diebus sui successoris*); i.e., of John Romanus, who was elected on 29th October, 1285; was consecrated on 10th February, 1286; and died on 11th March, 1296 (Hardy's Le Neve). Cf. below.

Another notice of Walter Giffard's death is entered immediately after the passage translated here.

[2] See above, year 1268.

[3] In Roxburghshire. Cf. Bower, VI, 43.

[4] With this indication of contemporaneity, cf. the passage quoted under year 1278. This passage was written before 20th August, 1297; a date confirmed by the previous deduction, that the chronicler wrote before 11th March, 1296.

On 23rd March, 1277, pope John XXI permitted master William Fraser, dean of Glasgow, to hold one benefice in addition to the deanery of Glasgow and the church of Ayr (Bliss, i, 454).

William Fraser was still dean of Glasgow on 6th December, 1279 (Glasgow, no. 232).

On 21st May, 1280, pope Nicholas III gave William, bishop of St Andrews, a letter, stating that the bishop, then dean of Glasgow, had been elected by the way of compromise, by powers granted to the prior [John of Haddington] of St Andrews; Randolph, subprior of St Andrews (s.l.); and the canons of St Andrews, Alexander of Haddington, William of Claty

1281

Icelandic Annals, version B, in Storm's Annaler, p. 50; s.a. 1281 [1]

King Eric [2] married Margaret,[3] daughter of Alexander, the king of the Scots.[4]

1281

Chronicle of Lanercost, pp. 104-105, s.a. 1280

At this time, the king of Norway had died, and left a son, called Magnus, as his heir.[5] He, hearing that the king of Scotland had an unmarried daughter, refined and beautiful, and chaste,[6] and also of an age agreeing with his own—since

(cf. year 1265, note), Hervey (s.l.) of Kinross, Thomas of Wedale, and Adam of Crail; and master Gregory, archdeacon of St Andrews. His election had been confirmed, and he had been consecrated by the cardinals O[rdonius], bishop of Tusculum; G., priest of the church of Twelve Apostles; J[ames], deacon of St Mary in Cosmedin [afterwards pope Honorius IV]. The pope therefore bade him take up the yoke of the Lord (Theiner, 124, no. 276; Bliss, i, 462). The pope made a similar announcement to the clergy and people of the city and diocese of St Andrews, and to all vassals of the church of St Andrews; and to the king of Scotland (Theiner, 125).

According to Bower (VI, 43-44), William Fraser was elected on 4th August, 1279; consecrated on 19th May, 1280; and died on 20th August, 1297. Cf. D.B., 21. His successor, William of Lamberton, was consecrated before 17th June, 1298 (Theiner, 165-166, no. 362).

On 5th April, 1281, pope Martin IV wrote to the bishops [Robert] of Dunblane and [Laurence] of Argyle. Hugh of Abernethy, in the diocese of Dunblane, had married his wife, Mary, not knowing that they were related in the fourth degree of consanguinity; and had besought dispensation to remain in this marriage. The pope gave these bishops authority to grant the dispensation (Theiner, 125, no. 277; Bliss, i, 463).

On 5th May, 1281, the king of England accepted the attorneys sent by king Alexander to plead in his courts (Foedera, i, 2, 591). They were Adam de Charleton and Warin de Fannes.

[1] With dominical and paschal letters of 1281. Similarly in CDEPA (141, 195, 260, 337; Fl., iii, 540: but for *d.* in C, read *.d*), and (without letters) in O (70).

[2] "Eric, king of Norway" CD.

[3] "Lady Margaret" OD.

[4] "And she was crowned" add DE.

[5] King Magnus the Good, Hakon's son, died in 1280 (May 6th × 17th; Foedera, i, 2, 579, 580).

The son who succeeded him was called Eric, not Magnus. Eric reigned 1280-†1299. See years 1283, 1286 notes; D.K., 108.

[6] *generosam et formosam ac morigerosam.*

he also was a handsome youth, of about eighteen[1] years—, could not rest until, after twice sending, as messengers of state, both powerful men and men in religion, he obtained her as his mate in marriage, and his colleague in the kingdom. . . .[2] And although the marriage was much against the inclinations of the girl, and of her relatives and friends (because she could have been allied much more easily and suitably elsewhere), at the instance of the king her father alone this bond was made, that he should give with her seventeen[3] thousand marks; principally for the sake of the marriage contract, but accessorily in order to buy back his right to the islands.[4]

She was therefore put on board ship at — —, with great pomp and a large retinue of attendants, on the morrow of St Laurence[5]; and after great danger to her life (which [danger] they had passed through on the night[6] of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin), they lowered their sails at Bergen, in the earliest morning of the same festival.[7] When afterwards she had been solemnly crowned, and proclaimed before all to be of lofty parentage, she bore herself so graciously towards the king and his people that she changed [his] manners for the better; taught him[8] the idiom of France, and of England; and raised him to a more honourable level in regard to clothes and food.

[1] Read "thirteen." He was born in 1268, according to Icelandic Annals KOCA.

[2] Here follows a story, told "by one of these same messengers," concerning the birth of king Eric.

[3] Read "fourteen."

King Eric received 7,000 marks of his wife's dowry during Alexander's life-time; for the remainder, he was given the rents of certain lands. It was adjudged in Edward's council at Berwick, on 2nd June, 1292, that Eric had a life-interest only in these lands (see Stevenson, Documents, i, 312-317).

[4] *pro redemptione juris Insularum.*

See the text of the contract, in the Acts, i, 79-82; or Foedera, i, 2, 595-596. The contract was made on the 25th of July, 1281; at Roxburgh. Eric was at that time in his fourteenth year. The marriage was to be consummated between 30th August and 8th September, [1281].

[5] I.e., on 11th August.

[6] I.e., 14th-15th August.

[7] The morning of 15th August, 1280. The true year was 1281.

[8] Sir Herbert Maxwell translates "them"; but the MS. has *eum.* The chronicler is drawing a parallel between queen Margaret and her ancestress St Margaret, king Malcolm's queen.

He had by her one daughter only; who lived but for a little time after her mother.[1]

1282[2]

[1] See years 1283, 1284, 1286 (note).

[2] On 20th February, 1282, pope Martin IV gave authority to master Geoffrey de Veçano, canon of Cambrai, clerk of the papal chamber, and papal nuncio, to collect Peter's pence and other dues in the British Islands (Bliss, i, 475); and on 7th March, 1282, authority to collect contributions promised to the Holy Land; redemptions of crusaders' vows; legacies, etc.: but not tenths for the Holy Land (ibid., 476; Theiner, 126, no. 279). (On 11th October, 1283, Geoffrey was appointed collector of the Holy-Land tenth in England; Bliss, i, 469.)

On 15th March, 1282, the pope ordered master Geoffrey to collect dues of 2 bezants in the abbey of Arbroath; 2 bezants in the abbey of Lindores; 1 mark sterling in the abbey of Kelso; 3 marks yearly in the church of Glasgow; 1 marabut and 1 campul in the abbey of Jedburgh; 2 shillings (owing to be sent by the Hospitallers, by order of cardinal J. de Salerno) from Gillecrist, earl of Mar; 2 shillings from the church of St Mary, Monimusk (Bliss, i, 475-476). (The earl of Mar in 1282 was Donald.)

On 12th April, 1282, pope Martin ordered Boiamund de Vitia, canon of Asti, collector of the Holy-Land tenth in Scotland, to assign part of the tenth (which the pope had asked king Alexander III to permit to be taken from Scotland) to certain merchants of Florence (Bliss, i, 465); and on 13th April, bade him warn prelates and clerks who had been excommunicated for not paying the Holy-Land tenth that they must pay within a given time, or go to Rome (ibid.).

On 30th May, 1282, the pope instructed Boiamund that if the king [Edward] should take the cross (as the pope had urged him to do, by letters sent by two Friars Preachers, Garnerius and Raynerius, of Florence), the remainder of the tenth was to be deposited in safe places. If the king did not take the cross, nine-tenths of the money were to be paid to certain Florentine firms: half of this sum to one, a quarter each to two others (Bliss, i, 465).

On 15th June, 1283, the pope repeated his order to Boiamund to pay the money to the Florentine firms; which he had not done: but had, it was said, upon the pretext of the king's prohibition, lent the money for his own and others' advantage (Bliss, i, 469). On the same day, master Geoffrey, canon of Cambrai, was ordered to compel Boiamund to obey (ibid.).

Boiamund was recalled × 21st August, 1283; and ordered to appear at Rome within three months (Bliss, i, 469).

On 26th May, 1284, pope Martin IV promised Edward, king of England, that if he took the cross before Christmas he should receive the tenths collected in England, Ireland, Wales, and (if the Scottish king consented) in Scotland: but in that case he must provide for the Scottish magnates that wished to make the journey to the Holy Land. The tenth was to be

collected for 2 years, down to the date that the pope should fix for the setting out (Theiner, 128, no. 285 ; Bliss, i, 473-474).

On 6th August and 13th August, 1284, the pope ordered Boiamund, collector of the Holy-Land tenth in Scotland, to pay the money to certain firms of Florence, Siena, and Lucca, within 3 months. If he failed to do this, it was to be done by master Geoffrey, and John de Luco (Bliss, i, 478).

On 20th April, 1285, pope Martin promised king Edward the tenths from England, Ireland, and Wales for 3 years ; and also from Scotland (Theiner, 130-131, no. 287).

On 5th July, 1285, pope Honorius IV wrote to the king of Scotland, on behalf of the merchants of Florence, Siena, and Lucca, to whom pope Martin IV had ordered the Holy-Land tenth to be paid. The king's officials had obstructed the collection and removal of the tenth ; and did not permit it to be taken out of Scotland, unless the merchants gave guarantees that they would return, with the tenth, on the officials' command (*nisi prius datis cautionibus ab eisdem de representando se personaliter cum hujusmodi decima ad ipsorum officialium beneplacitum et mandatum*). The king must revoke the officials' actions, and cause the guarantors to be released (Theiner, 133-134 ; no. 295. Bliss, i, 481).

On 28th July, 1285, pope Honorius extended the time within which king Edward should take the cross, from Christmas, 1285, to Whitsuntide, 1287 (Bliss, i, 486 ; Foedera, i, 2, 660).

See the letters of 7th October, 1289 (Bliss, Potthast), 10th January, 1290, and 18th March, 1291 (Theiner, nos. 323, 328, 329 ; Foedera, i, 2, 747-753. Bliss, i, 504, 509, 551-553). Scottish affairs prevented Edward from going on the crusade.

On 1st July, 1282, writing at Scone, king Alexander requested king Edward to excuse the absence of Alexander Comyn, earl of Buchan, and justiciar to the north of the Forth (Foedera, i, 2, 610) ; and Alexander Comyn begged the king of England to excuse his absence, from the expedition to Wales (ibid., 611).

On 3rd July, 1282, writing at Scone, Alexander, eldest son of the king of Scotland, asked the king of England to obtain longer leave of absence for Adam of Kirkcudbright, Alexander's physician. Adam, formerly physician of Robert de Bruce, had restored Alexander to health from the gates of death ; and contrarily to the opinion of other physicians. He had benefices in England, and was molested from day to day because, being occupied with Alexander's health, he could not visit them. Alexander begged the king to induce the bishops of Norwich and Lincoln to refrain from troubling Adam, whose presence he could not dispense with, without irreparable danger to his health (ibid., 611). Cf. year 1264, note.

In the year 1282, an inventory was made of the documents preserved in the king of Scotland's treasury at Edinburgh. See Acts, i, 107 ; Bain, i, pp. vi-viii.

Under the year 1282, the chronicler of Lanercost (108-109) relates stories of wood-carving at Abbey St Bathans ; and of Bacchic revelry, led by the priest of Inverkeithing. See Maxwell's translation, 29-30.

1283

Icelandic Annals, version K, in Storm's Annaler, p. 29; s.a. 1283

Queen Margaret died.[1]

1283-1284

Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 111, s.a. 1283

On the second festival of St Agnes,[2] Alexander, the son of the king of Scotland, was withdrawn from the world; dying on the same day on which he had been born, aged only twenty

[1] Similarly in O (70), and in BCDEPA (50, 142, 196, 260, 337, 383: with dominical and paschal letters of 1283: but for *l.* in P, and *i.* in A, read *.i*).

CA add: "the daughter of Alexander, king of the Scots." D adds; "in Tönsberg."

EA add: "She gave her mantle to the church of Holar [Queen Margaret had given her mantle to the church at Holar A]; and bishop Iorund caused to be made of it a cowl, which is since then called 'the queen's gift.'"

Margaret's death is erroneously placed under 1282 in Lorenzen's Gammeldanske Kröniker, 129.

Through his first wife, Margaret, Eric became a claimant to the Scottish crown. See Foedera, i, 2, 777.

Before 25th September, 1293, king Eric married Isabella de Bruce, sister of Robert, earl of Carrick, and afterwards king of Scotland. See Bain, ii, no. 675. (The reference in D.K., 97, to Thómas Saga Erkibyskups, should be c. 5, not c. 51: R.S. 65, i, 22.)

Icelandic Annals KCD, s.a. 1293 (30, 144, 197): "Eric, king of Norway married Isabel, daughter of sir Robert, son of earl Robert of [Bruce in (CD)] Scotland." Cf. BOA, s.a. 1293 (51, 71, 384); EPI, s.a. 1294 (261, 338). Their daughter, Ingibiorg, was born in 1297 (P; 339). Eric died in 1299 (BOCDEPA); July 10th (EA). He was succeeded by his brother, Hakon.

[2] I.e., 21st January, 1284.

The festival of St Agnes is the 21st of January; its octave, the 28th. The "second festival" has been understood (by D.K., 99, and others) to mean the octave; but this is not in agreement with the chronicle itself, which says below that Alexander died on his birthday; i.e., the 21st of January. See year 1264.

For *secundo* we should perhaps read *secundo sequente*. In any case, the day meant seems to be the second 21st of January after events previously described. Alexander's death is the first event recorded under 1283; the last recorded under 1282 is the death of Lewelin, who was executed on or before the 17th of December, 1282 (see Foedera, i, 2, 619). Probably C.L.'s source contained a reference to Alexander's marriage; and (as in the Extracta) the date is reckoned from that day.

years[1]; changing gladness at his birth[-day] into grief over his death[2]: because, if he had lived, he would have been the light of his country, and the joy of his family. He was taken at Cupar,[3] in Fife, by a slow ague. When he had suffered for some time from wandering of the mind, he came to himself, late on Thursday evening[4]; and he foretold (of his own death) that on the following day, at sunrise, the sun of Scotland would set. And of Edward, the king of England, he said: "My uncle will go to three battles; in two, he will conquer; in the third, he will be subdued."[5]

I heard these things from the relation of those who were

[1] Fordun (Annals, c. 63; i, 307; s.a. 1283) says that Alexander died "in the twentieth year of his age." If he had lived to the 28th of January, 1284, he would have died in his twenty-first year.

[2] Fordun (i, 307) says that joy over his wedding was turned into grief, at his death in the following year; the Extracta e Variis Cronicis, 114, at his death on the second festival of St Agnes [after his marriage; i.e., upon 21st January, 1284].

Alexander had married, at Roxburgh, on Sunday, 15th November, 1282, Margaret, daughter of Guy, the count of Flanders. See Fordun, Annals, c, 63; i, 306-307. Count Guy had requested of king Edward safe-conduct for his daughter: it was granted on 11th August, 1282, to continue until 1st November. See Foedera, i, **2**, 613. Guy sent for his daughter after Alexander's death (1284 × 1286). See Bain, ii, no. 247. There was dispute over her dowry; see Fordun, Annals, c. 63, i, 307; Theiner, 134-135, no. 297; Stevenson, Documents, i, 5-11, 12-20, 30-32; 41-44, 97-103, 403-406, 419-422. Cf. Anderson's Laing Charters, 4, nos. 12, 13.

Margaret († 1321) married secondly Raynold I, count of Gelderland († 1326).

Margaret's father, Guy de Dampierre, count of Flanders (born 1225; † 1305), was the son of William de Dampierre and of Margaret († 1279), the daughter of Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople († 1205).

Margaret's mother, Isabella († 1298), was a daughter of Henry II, count of Luxembourg.

Margaret's sister, Philippa († May, 1306), was betrothed to Edward, son of king Edward I. The contract was annulled by pope Boniface VIII, on 30th June, 1298 (Foedera, i, **2**, 894). Cf. i.a. the Annals of Ghent (1296-1310; ed. Lappenberg), in M.G.H., Scriptores, xvi, 561, 592, s.aa. 1296, 1306.

[3] Fordun says that he died at Lindores; and that he was buried at Dunfermline.

[4] *die Jovis in sero.* Here (as below, year 1286) this chronicle employs the name of the week-day to include the evening of the same day. This was the evening of Thursday, 20th (or 27th) January.

[5] Cf. year ? 1266.

present with him when he died. One of them was a knight, and his tutor; the other was rector of the church [of Cupar], and his priest.

Likewise his sister, the queen of Norway, went the way of death, in the following month of February, after an interval of only thirty days[1]: in order that the patience of God should with many blows soften to true patience[2] the heart of the father, through whose transgression these things occurred.

1284

Icelandic Annals, version K, in Storm's Annaler, p. 29; s.a. 1284[3]

Peter, bishop in the Orkneys, [died][4]; and Magnus, earl in the Orkneys.[5]

[1] I.e., on 28th February (her birthday), 1284. This is incorrect, both in the day and in the year. Fordun (Annals, c. 64; i, 307-308, s.a. 1283) says that she died on the 9th of April, "in the beginning of the same year in which her brother Alexander died"; i.e., on 9th April, 1283. Fordun says also that she had lived for a year and a half after her marriage: i.e., until after 28th February, 1283.

Both Margaret and Alexander were dead before 5th February, 1284; when the magnates of Scotland declared Margaret's daughter, Margaret, to be heiress to the Scottish throne (Acts, i, 82; Foedera, i, **2**, 638). Cf. Alexander's reply, written on 20th April, 1284, to king Edward's condolences on the occasion of the death of his son (Bain, ii, no 250).

[2] Sir Herbert Maxwell, following Dr Neilson, would read here "penitence" instead of "patience": a very likely emendation. Another error occurs at the end of the section for year 1284, where the chronicler has written *factus* instead of *fractus*.

[3] Similarly in BCDA (50, 142, 197, 383; with dominical and paschal letters of 1284).

[4] Similarly in OP (70, 337), s.a. 1284. See year 1270.

Peter's successor was Dolgfinn. KCA, s.a. 1286 (30, 142, 383): "Andrew, the bishop of Oslo [Christiania], consecrated . . . Dolgfinn bishop of the Orkneys." OD mention his consecration in 1286, and his death in 1309 (70, 196; 74, 202). Cf. the List of Bishops of Norway, in Langebek, vi, 619.

[5] "Magnus . . . [died]" also in I (337). See year 1276.

On 12th July, 1284, writing at Kinross, king Alexander begged king Edward to excuse Alexander de Balliol, of Cavers, from personal attendance in his army (Foedera, i, **2**, 644). The plea was that Alexander de Balliol was engaged in the restoration of the state of the lands and goods in Scotland of John of Athole, son of the late David, earl of Athole; which lands and goods had been devastated and usurped by enemies.

1285

Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 114, s.a. 1284

In this year, at the feast of All Saints,[1] Alexander, the king of Scotland, took his second wife, Yolande,[2] the daughter of the count de Dreux; to his own sorrow, and the almost eternal injury of the whole province [of Scotland], as will frequently be shown.

1285[3]

[1] 1st November.

[2] *Yoletam nomine.*

Cf. John of Eversden, s.a. 1285 (E.H.S. ed. of F.W., ii, 236). See Fordun's Annals, cc. 66-67 (i, 309), where the marriage is said to have taken place on 14th October, [1285]; at Jedburgh, according to Extracta (A.Cl. 23, 115).

Yolande (or Joleta), along with her brother John, received safe-conduct from king Edward, dated 19th August, 1285 (Bain, ii, 78; Patent Rolls (1893), 189). See D.K., 98; Mas Latrie, 1573, 1593.

[3] On 18th July, 1285, pope Honorius IV complained to the king of Scotland that the bishops [Robert] of Ross (cf. year 1213, note) and [Archibald] of Moray were oppressed by the king's officials, and through the king's letters; and bade him defend their rights (Theiner, 134, no. 296; Bliss, i, 481).

On 17th June, 1285 (Bliss, Potthast), the pope wrote to the bishop of St Andrews, and stated that the Friars Preachers of Berwick (*de Veranyco*), in the diocese of St Andrews, found their house inconveniently remote; and wished to have the place that had been vacated by the friars of the order of the Penitence of Jesus Christ, within that town. He bade the bishop sell it to them for a reasonable price, if what they said were true; and give the money to the funds of the crusade, or to the poor; or use it for other pious purposes, as had been appointed by pope Gregory X in the council of Lyons (Theiner, 131-132, no. 288). On 7th February, 1289, pope Nicholas IV ordered the bishop of St Andrews and Geoffrey de Veçano, clerk of the papal chamber, to ascertain that the price required by the Friars of Penitence was a fair one (Theiner, no. 309).

About the year 1285, abbot Henry succeeded abbot William in Arbroath (cf. year 1259, note). On 7th October, 1290, pope Nicholas IV bade the bishop of St Andrews inquire into, and correct and reform, the state of the monastery of Arbroath; whose abbot, Henry, had ruled over the monks for five years, so tyrannously, that they were forsaking the monastery; and so prodigally, that he had squandered the monastery's goods (Theiner, no. 338).

1286

Icelandic Annals, version K, in Storm's Annaler, p. 30; s.a. 1286

Alexander, the king of Scotland, died.[1]

1286

Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 47[2]

In the year 1285, on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of April,[3] Alexander, the king of Scotland, died, through an accidental fall,[4] upon the way towards Kinghorn.

1286

Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, continuation of version G; Skene's Picts and Scots, p. 303

The most illustrious king, Alexander III, the son of the most gracious king Alexander II, reigned for thirty-six years; and he died at Kinghorn on the fourth day[5] before the Kalends of April, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and was buried with great honour at Dunfermline.

He was beloved of God and man, and endeavoured to keep the nations of his land always at peace; and none of his predecessors was able to hold the kingdom with so great[6] peace and so great rejoicing.

[1] Similarly in O (70), and in BCDPA (50, 142, 196, 337, 383; with dominical and paschal letters of 1286: but for *e.* in D, and *e* in A, read *.e*).

[2] Also in facsimile, in Bouterwek's frontispiece.

[3] I.e., on 19th March, 1286. See the notes upon C.L., below.

[4] *casu fortuitu.*

[5] 29th March.

[6] For *tante* read *tanta.*

Version I reads (290): "Alexander, Alexander's son, [reigned] for 39 years, and he died at Kinghorn, and was buried at Dunfermline."

I concludes thus: "The sum of the years from the time of Kenneth to the time of the last Alexander is 567. And the land has been quiescent, without a king, for as many years as have intervened."

Version K reads (208): "Alexander, Alexander's son, who began to reign at the age of eight years, reigned for 37 years. He broke his neck at Kinghorn; from which cause came great misfortune."

Version N (306): "Alexander, the son of Alexander, reigned for 37 years. He fell from his horse in Kinghorn, and was buried in Dunfermline."

Version M (301): "This Alexander" [Alexander II, by confusion for

1286

Chronicle of Lanercost, pp. 115-118, s.a. 1285

Within the circle of this year, Alexander, the king of Scotland, was removed from the world by sudden death, when he had been prince for thirty-six years and nine months.[1] He departed from the world on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of April,[2] a Monday, late in the day[3]; on the

Alexander III] "married the daughter of king Henry of England, the third after the conquest. And he had by her one son, who died before his father; and one daughter, who was given to the king of Norway; who had by her one daughter, Margaret, who ought to have been married to Edward of Carnarvon, who was the son and heir of Edward, the first after the conquest." Here M stops.

Version N (306-307): "Then the [succession to the] kingdom fell among the sons of the three sisters, Margaret, Isabella, and Ada. Of Margaret was born Derbforgaill; and of her came John Balliol, whom Edward, illustrious king of England, raised to the throne of Scotland. Of Isabella came Robert Bruce, from whom [came] Robert Bruce II. And from him [came] Robert Bruce III, who caused himself to be crowned as king of Scotland at Scone [i.e., king Robert I; 1306-1329]. And he killed John Comyn." Here a date, A.D. 1465, is added, in a different hand; possibly the time of writing.

Cf. also the Chronicon Rhythmicum (P. & S., 338).

[1] The ninth month was not completed. See year 1249.

[2] I.e., on 19th March; a Tuesday in 1286. The day is probably reckoned, in the medieval way, to begin at nightfall (or six o'clock), on the previous evening.

Thomas de Normanville's computation of the rents of Alexander's lands, from 19th March to 29th September, 1286 (Stevenson's Documents, i, 1), implies that Alexander died on 19th March. This proves that that was the true date, according to the usage of the time.

[3] *die lunae in sero.* Here the term "Monday" is used in the modern way: cf. year 1284, note. Alexander fell before midnight of Monday, the 18th of March, according to modern reckoning.

The Annals of Worcester say that he died on 18th March; see E.C., 384. John of Eversden, who should probably have been quoted there in preference, says (E.H.S. ed. of F.W., ii, 236, s.a. 1286): "Alexander, the king of Scotland, entered the way of all flesh, on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of April" (i.e., on 19th March). Fordun also gives the 19th as the date.

To the reference, in E.C., 384, to Flores Historiarum, 74 (the Eton MS.), should be added a reference to the additions in that MS., printed in the earlier edition (Matthew of Westminster, 1601 ed., 414, s.a. 1290). This, and other 14th-century chronicles (in general excluded from E.C.), say that Alexander perished in Lent (which was 27th February - 13th April in

vigil[1] of St Cuthbert, bishop and confessor, the liberties and boundaries of whose bishopric [Alexander] and his subjects had for three years violated.[2] And while it is held, from what has gone before, that the Lord took from the world, while [Alexander] lived, both his wife, and his children, for his correction; and yet did not improve him: all may know that in him was fulfilled the prophecy of holy Job, who says:—"God will preserve to his children the sorrow of the father; and when he renders it [to them, their father] shall know it."[3] Indeed, it had been foretold to him by righteous men that the Lord had shaken his sword against him; had drawn his bow, and prepared it; and had made ready in it many arrows, etc.[4] Moreover, during that whole year, the ominous saying

1286):—Trivet, 316, s.a. 1289; Hemingburgh, i, 29-30, s.a. 1291; Rishanger, 118-119, s.a. 1289; Walsingham, i, 31, s.a. 1290.

Cf., e.g., Hemingburgh's account:

"But after reigning for many years in great prosperity, at last, led by some spirit or other, one very dark night he hastened to visit his new wife, who was a few miles away; though it was the sacred time of Lent. And as he proceeded with a few of his friends in the depth of the night, it chanced that his horse stumbled, and the rider fell to the ground; and breaking his neck (so it is said) immediately expired." Cf. Trivet, 316; who says: "his horse stumbled, and he fell; and, being badly injured, died" (*collisus graviter, exspiravit*). Trivet is copied by Rishanger and Walsingham. But Knighton, following Hemingburgh, says that Alexander broke his neck.

See Fordun, Annals, c. 67 (Skene's ed., i, 309-310), for a more favourable account of Alexander's life and character. For other references, see D.K., 98. Traditions, and translations of later accounts of his death, will be found in W.F. Skene's contribution "On the traditionary accounts of the death of Alexander III," to P.S.A.S., xx, 177-185. (Skene quotes there first, without comment, the account given by Rishanger; who says that Alexander was on the way to visit "his wife, the daughter of the count of Flanders." But she was in reality the king's daughter-in-law. This error is copied from Rishanger by the Eton MS. of the Flores Historiarum; 1601 ed., 414: by Walsingham, and by Knighton (R.S. 28, i, 31; 92, i, 284).)

For king Alexander's lands and holdings in England, see Stevenson's Documents, i, 1-3, 36-39, 122, 192-198; Palgrave, 3-14.

[1] 19th March (beginning in the evening of the 18th).

[2] This implies that Alexander had had the better of some dispute with clergy in the diocese of Durham, early in 1283. I do not know what dispute is referred to. Alexander had supported sir William de Soulis in his claim to the advowson of Stamfordham, in Northumberland, on 28th March 1283 (Bain, ii, no. 233).

[3] Job, XXI, 19.

[4] Psalms, VII, 12-13 (13-14 in Vulgate).

was passed round by the Scots throughout the province [of Scotland], that on that day should be the Day of Judgement: while many quaked, and some made mock of it.

In addition to this, in the December last preceding, under the sign of Capricorn,[1] terrible thunder-claps were heard, and lightnings seen; which, in the judgement of the wise, prognosticate the fall of princes. Because of these, he had been forewarned to be careful. But since all these premonitions, and more, were unable to avail to inform his mind, God punished him through the things that he performed[2]: because he was accustomed to desist[3] neither for night, nor for storm; neither for dangers on water, nor for obstacles of rock; but by night as well as by day, whenever he thought fit—sometimes with disguise of clothing; often accompanied by one associate—to visit, without sufficient regard for honour,[4] matrons and nuns, maidens and widows. And so on that very day which threatened to bring judgement upon him, although he did not understand it, there arose a storm so violent, that for me and many mortals it seemed bitter to expose one's face to the northerly wind, the rain, and snow. On this day, he was holding a council, with a great number of the nobles, in lofty Maidens' Castle[5]; deliberating on the reply to be given to the king of England's messengers (who were to be at Norham on the third day, with the bodily presence of Thomas of Galloway, whose release from prison was then sought by sir John de Balliol, son of the older [noble of that name])[6]; and, when it was dinner-time, between the courses and the cups, with smoothed-out brow he sent to one of the barons a gift of fresh eels,[7] with a message by an esquire, to have a merry meal; and bidding him know that this was Judgement Day. He, in

[1] I.e., about 15th × 31st December, 1285.

[2] *per quae patravit:* "by the means He appointed" Maxwell. But the context seems to require Alexander as the subject of the verb.

The Lanercost chronicler has a strong bias against Alexander.

[3] *parcere.*

[4] *non satis honeste.*

[5] More correctly: "Castle of girls." The upkeep of Edinburgh castle was computed for king Edward I at one mark daily: Stevenson's Documents, i, 206.

[6] See year 1235, note.

[7] *exennia de murena recenti.*

sending back thanks, replied to his lord facetiously: "If to-day is the Day of Judgement, we shall soon rise again with stomachs full."

When so prolonged a banquet was over, and the evening of the day approached, [the king] refused either to be detained by the inclemency of the weather, or to accede to the persuasion of his barons; but immediately hastened upon his way to Queensferry, for the sake of visiting his newly-married wife, the daughter of the count de Dreux, Yoleta by name, whom he had brought a little while before from foreign parts, to his own sorrow, and the perpetual injury of the whole province. For at that time she was dwelling at Kinghorn. And very many say that before her marriage she had changed her robe in a monastery of nuns, beyond the sea; but had looked back in the instability of her woman's heart, and in the ambition to be queen. When [Alexander] came to the village overlooking the ferry, he was met by the ferry-master, who declared to him that there was danger, and urged him to go back. But when [the king] asked him, in reply, whether he was afraid to die with him; "Far be it from me," he said, "lord; it well befits me to meet my fate in company with thy father's son."

So [the king] came, in deep darkness, to the borough of Inverkeithing, accompanied only by three esquires. And the master of his salt-works (a married man of that town), meeting him, recognized him by his voice, and said: "Lord, what dost thou here, in such weather, and in so great darkness? I have very often tried to persuade you that your midnight journeying will not go well for you. Remain with us; and we shall provide you with honourable lodging, with fitting necessaries, until the morning light." The other, mocking him, said: "It is not necessary; but supply me with two farmers, on foot, to guide me on the way."

When thus they had gone on for a couple of miles,[1] both guides and guided lost all knowledge of the way; except that the horses sought out by natural instinct the beaten path. In this way they were separated from one another, and he

[1] Skene says: "It is an obvious mistake to place the accident 2 miles from Inverkeithing." But the chronicler says that the king's party lost their way there; not that the accident occurred there.

took a wrong road,[1] while the esquires followed the right one. To cut my story short, he fell from his horse; and bade farewell to his kingdom, in the sleep of Sisera.[2]

In him is exemplified this proverb of Solomon: "Woe to him that is alone; because when he falls, he has none to lift him up."[3]

He lies at Dunfermline, alone; buried on the southern side, near the presbytery.[4]

Hence it is, that while we saw great numbers weeping both over the destitution of the kingdom, and for his sudden death; those alone wet not their cheeks with tears, who adhered most closely in his life-time to his acts of friendship, and his benefits. . . .[5]

[1] *demum* in Stevenson's text is the reading of the MS.; but the context shows with certainty that it is an error for *devium*. Skene has made the same emendation.

[2] "That is, with a fractured skull" Skene, P.S.A.S., xx, 181. See Judges, IV, 21. The later English chronicles do not support this. See above, p. 689.

Bower's account, not divergent from that of C.L. in regard to the manner of Alexander's death, has nevertheless misled later Scottish chroniclers into the belief that Alexander was prevented by storm from crossing, at Queensferry, into Lothian; and that he fell while returning to Kinghorn.

Bower says (ii, 128): ". . . In the same year [1285], on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of April, the king was detained by the ferry at Queen's-harbour [i.e., South Queensferry], until the twilight of a dark night. Advised by his [companions] not to go beyond Inverkeithing on that night, he spurned their counsel; and, surrounded by a band of knights, hastened by a precipitous way [*gradu praecipiti*] towards Kinghorn. On its western shore, beside the sea-beach, his charger stumbled in the sand; and alas! the noble king, too negligently attended by his followers, broke his neck, and expired . . . ."

The Books of Cupar and Perth add (ibid., note): "There a stone cross was erected, as a monument of the occurrence; and it is still seen by passers-by, upon the way-side."

[3] Ecclesiastes, IV, 10.

[4] Cf. the Chronicle of the Kings, above.

Fordun also records Alexander's burial at Dunfermline (Annals, c. 67; i, 309). Cf. the letter of the bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, representing all present at the burial, to king Edward; written on 29th March, 1286, at Dunfermline; in Stevenson's Documents, i, 4-5 (Bain, ii, no. 292).

Later MSS. of the Book of Pluscarden say that Alexander "rests buried before the great altar at Dunfermline" (i, 112).

[5] "On the Annunciation nearest to this event," i.e. on 25th March, 1286,

After so heavy a fatality in the death of their king, the greatest men of the land of Scotland provided for themselves salutary counsel, and chose for the community guardians of the peace, both from among the nobles, and the bishops; until it should be decided by discussion who should be put into a position of so great authority. These men ruled the land for six years; investigating the pleas of the people, and before all assigning a portion to the lady queen, the widow of Alexander, for her tierce. But she, employing a womanish trick, said falsely that she was with child; so that she should keep the minds of the people in suspense, and incline the favour of the populace more towards herself. But, since woman's cunning always has a miserable result, after she had disturbed[1] the land with her dissimulations from the time of the king's death down to the feast of the Purification,[2] without permitting honourable matrons to examine her condition, she decided to delude the people perpetually, by appropriating to herself a child born of another; so as to give in return ignominy to those from whom she had received reverence and honour. She caused a new font to be made, of white marble. She contrived to have the son of an actor brought in, to be attributed to herself. And when, at the time of the birth (a time fixed by herself in advance), all who had permission to take part in the rejoicings over so notable a birth were present at Stirling (the place where the aforesaid lady lived), she was caught in the castle-gate of her wickedness,[3] by the prudence of earl William of Buchan[4]; and exposed, to the confusion of all that were present; and, when they heard it afterwards, of all that had been willing to support her cause.[5] So she departed from the

a farmer, ploughing at Stenhouse, "a hamlet near the borough of Stirling" (apparently the Stenhouse near Carron), is here reported to have accidentally killed his son. See Sir Herbert Maxwell's translation, 42-43.

[1] *solitasset* in MS.; read *sollicitasset?*

[2] 2nd February, 1287.

[3] *in porta castri ejus nequitia;* read *nequitie.*

[4] The earl of Buchan was Alexander Comyn (from 1244 × 1248 to †1289). This error suggests that the story may be mere gossip.

[5] *et confodere eam volentibus.* Maxwell would alter *confodere* to *confidere;* but this would require the alteration of *eam* to *ei.* Probably the correct reading is *confovere*, which I have translated.

land in shame, who[1] had been brought from foreign parts by considerations of charity only, and allied to the king in marriage[2].[3]

[1] For *qui*, reading *que*.

[2] The chronicler ends the paragraph thus: "Let me say so much [*hoc dixerim*] for women's good faith; in favour of which, I shall add another instance, in another matter." This probably refers to the story told under the same year (ibid., 119-120); where it is related that a woman, falsely accusing the clerk to the chapter at Lonsdale of breach of promise, had died, in the act of taking the oath.

[3] Margaret, the daughter of king Eric of Norway, and of Alexander's daughter Margaret, was proclaimed queen of Scotland on 2nd July, 1286. See Acts, i, 78.

Eric communicated with king Edward, and Edward with the guardians of Scotland, for the safeguarding of her rights. See Foedera, i, 2, 706, 719-721. The Scots were anxious to have their queen; Eric delayed sending her to them.

On the 15th of May, 1290, Edward pledged himself to the amount of 3,000 marks, that she should arrive in Scotland before 1st November, 1290 (Foedera, i, 2, 734; Bain, ii, no. 428). He sent to Norway a ship, specially fitted out for her use. See Stevenson's Documents, i, 139-143.

Cf. Cotton, s.a. 1290 (R.S. 16, 174): "About the same time" (as the death of John of Kirkby, the bishop of Ely; † 1290) king Edward caused the most beautiful ship in the town of Yarmouth to be prepared; and he sent it to Norway, for the king's daughter, who was the heir of Norway and of Scotland. And immediately afterwards, the earl of Gloucester married the lady Joanna, the king's daughter; and their wedding was celebrated at London, in his parliament, soon after Easter."

A marriage had been arranged between queen Margaret and Edward's son, Edward. Cf. Foedera, i, 2, 730-739; and see Stevenson's Documents, i, 91, 105-113; cf. 139-143, 159-160, 162-173, 183-192, 200-201. Cf. Annals of Dunstable, R.S. 36, iii, 359; 368.

It was expressly stated (in the marriage treaty, at Brigham; 18th July, 1290) by Edward's messengers, and confirmed by Edward himself (at Northampton; on 28th August, 1290), that Scotland should retain her independence. See Stevenson's Documents, i, 167. Foedera, i, 2, 735, 738.

Queen Margaret died, on her voyage from Norway to Scotland, in Orkney, about 26th September, 1290. Cf. D.K., 106-107.

John of Eversden, s.a. 1290 (in E.H.S. ed. of F.W., ii, 244): "Margaret (the daughter of Eric, king of Norway, and of Margaret—daughter of Alexander, king of Scotland (who had very lately died without an heir born of himself), and of queen Margaret, daughter of Henry, king of the English; and sister of king Edward, the same king's son—), to whom pertained the hereditary right to the kingdom of Scotland, as being the nearest by blood; and who also was ready to have been united in a contract of marriage with the aforesaid king Edward's son, Edward (now that dispensation had been obtained in the Roman court), died in the island of Orkney." (The bull of

dispensation, dated at Rome, on 16th November, 1289, is in Stevenson's Documents, i, 111-113; Foedera, i, 2, 721.)

Rishanger, Chronica, s.a. 1289 (R.S. 28; 119): "[Alexander III's] daughter, Margaret, married to the king of Norway, had an only daughter, Margaret by name, who survived at her mother's death. By the advice of the king of England, the magnates of Scotland recognized her as the heir. She was summoned by the messengers of the king of England; and, as she was going by ship to Scotland, she fell ill while upon the sea, and died at [*apud*] the Orkney islands." Cf. Trivet, 316, s.a. 1289; Walsingham, i, 31, s.a. 1290; the Eton MS. of Flores Historiarum, 1601 ed., 414, s.a. 1290; Knighton, R.S. 92, i, 284.

Langtoft (ii, 190) says that Margaret died before the death of queen Eleanor († 28th November, 1290; Eversden, in E.H.S. F.W., ii, 244. At Harby, in Nottinghamshire; Rishanger, 120; see E.H.R., iii, 317-318).

Icelandic Annals KCA, s.a. 1290 (30, 143, 384): "Princess Margaret, daughter of Eric, king of Norway, died." To the same effect in BODP (51, 71, 197, 338).

Fordun says erroneously that she died in 1291 (Annals, c. 69; i, 311).

Henry of Rye and Thomas of Braytoft, the messengers sent by Edward to meet her in Orkney, went as far as Wick. They seem to have arrived there on the 3rd of October; and to have begun their return journey on the 5th. They had delayed for a day, on Sunday, 1st October, at Skelbo, in conference with the messengers of the Scottish governors. See Stevenson's Documents, i, 184; cf. 143-144.

Edward's messengers seem to have continued their way after hearing of Margaret's death. Probably they wished to meet her corpse. It would have had to undergo some process of preservation before being taken back to Norway. If they were in time to meet her body, it must have been in some place so near to Wick that the messengers were able to go there from Wick, and to return, in one day (the 4th of October). They could hardly have visited South Ronaldshay and returned within the time.

Cf. the letter of Audfinn, Sigurd's son, the bishop of Bergen, dated at Bergen, on Candlemas Eve (1st February), 1320: in Diplomatarium Norvegicum, vi (1864), 104-105. Audfinn says that Eric "had not more children by queen Margaret than one daughter; who, at her father's command, was to have gone to Scotland: and she died in Orkney, between the hands of bishop Narfi, in presence of the best men, who had, by the counsel and orders of her own father, been sent to accompany her from Norway. But after God had taken her soul, the aforesaid lord bishop, and sir Thori [? Hakon's son, chancellor; † 1317], and others, had conveyed her corpse aforesaid to Bergen, her father then caused the coffin to be broken open, and closely examined the body; and then he knew for himself that it was indeed his daughter's corpse. And after that, he caused it to be laid beside queen Margaret, in the north aisle of the choir" (*i sten wegenn paa then nordre side i koritt*). Cf. the translation in P.S.A.S., x, 417-418.

Narfi was consecrated bishop of Bergen in 1278 (Icelandic Annals, BOCDE); and died in 1304 (OCD). He was succeeded by Arni, Sigurd's

son; 1305 (OC) to † 1314 (D). Cf. Diplomatarium Norvegicum, iv, 65; i, 96.

Audfinn, Sigurd's son, the writer of this letter, was Arni's successor. He was bishop of Bergen from 1314 (D) to † 1330 (CDA).

A rumour of queen Margaret's death reached Leuchars by the 7th of October. See the letter of William Fraser, bishop of St Andrews, written to king Edward on that day; in the National MSS. of Scotland, vol. i, no. 70; Foedera, i, 2, 741; Bain, ii, no. 459. Cf. Stevenson's Documents, i, 146, 175. There had been a conference between English and Scottish ambassadors, at Perth, on 1st October; since that date, the rumour of Margaret's death had caused Robert de Bruce, and the earls of Mar and of Athole, to collect their forces.

APPENDIX

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

De Domibus Religiosis, fos. 56-57[1]

Lothian—

Abbey of	Newbattle,[2] of St Mary	white monks.
„	Melrose,[3] of St Mary	white monks.
„	Dryburgh[4]	white canons.
„	Kelso,[5] of St Mary	black monks of Tiron.
„	Roxburgh[6]	black canons.
„	Coldstream[7]	black nuns.
„	Edinburgh[8]	black canons.
„	Jedburgh	black monks.[9]

[1] In J.B.A.A., xxviii, 61-62. The MS. is of the end of the 13th century. Also in H. & S., ii, 181-182; Stevenson's Scalacronica, 241-242. Cf. G.C., in E.C., 327-328 (written ×1216). The list is incomplete. Cf. the lists added to Bower (ii, 538-542) in 1510. Cf. i.a. Chalmers, Caledonia, ii, 678-680.

Black canons are Augustinians; white canons, Premonstratensians. Black monks are Benedictines; white monks, Cistercians. Monks of Clairvaux, Savigny, and Tiron, were incorporated in the Cistercian order.

[2] See year 1140; and L.C., nos. 144, 145.

[3] See year 1136.

[4] See year 1150.

[5] See year 1128. The occupants are called "grey monks" by G.C.

[6] Not in G.C. A Franciscan monastery was founded in Roxburgh ca. 1235 (H. & S., ii, 182). There seems to be no other record of an earlier Augustinian abbey. Cf. year 1134.

[7] Founded before 1166. Cf. L.A., 109.

[8] See year 1128.

[9] "black canons" in G.C., correctly. For the foundation charters of Jedburgh abbey, 1147×1150, see L.C., nos, 189, 190. It was occupied by Belvacensians.

An inaccurate 16th-century list of David's foundations, in Harleian MS. 2363, fo. 46 verso (cf. year 1140, note), dates the foundation of Jedburgh abbey in 1148. Osbert, the first abbot, received the abbacy 1153×1155. He had previously been prior of Jedburgh, probably in succession to Daniel, who appears as prior on 16th August, 1139 (L.C., no. 121).

Priory of	Coldingham[1] . . .	black monks.
„	Haddington[2] . . .	white nuns.
„	South Berwick . . .	white nuns.[3]
„	North Berwick . . .	black nuns.[4]
„	Eccles[5]	white nuns.

In Scotland—

Bishopric of	St Andrews . .	black canons, céli-dé.
Abbey of	Dunfermline, of Holy Trinity[6] . .	black monks.

[1] King Edgar granted to the monks of Durham "Coldingham, and all the lands that they have in Lothian" (L.C., no. 18; the lands are named in no. 19). He was present at the dedication of the church of St Mary at Coldingham; and on that occasion granted Swinton to the church, at the disposal of the monks of Durham; and gave 24 head of cattle to the monks, to re-stock that land. Tenants in Coldingham-shire had consented to pay yearly half a mark of silver from every carucate to the monks (L.C., no. 20).

The church appears to have been occupied by a colony of Benedictines from Durham. In 1127, and ca. 1130, Robert, bishop of St Andrews, waived all claim to any custom or service in the church of Coldingham, excepting episcopal obedience (L.C., nos. 73, 89): that is to say, he claimed no authority over the monks who lived there, but only over the priest placed by them in the church. The presentation to the church belonged to the prior of Durham (E.C., 319).

The monks of Coldingham were ruled by a prior ("H.," L.C., no. 182, 1147×1150; "S.," no. 228, 1150×1159; cf. nos. 212, 236). It is not known when they were formed into a priory; but it may have been done in the reign of Edgar, at the time of the dedication of the church. The priory was later a cell of Dunfermline (Bower, ii, 539).

[2] Founded ×1178 (by Ada, wife of earl Henry).

[3] "white monks" in G.C.; but probably the true reading there is "nuns." The addition to Bower, ii, 541, says that a Benedictine nunnery was founded in South Berwick by king David. Fordun, V, 38, says that David founded a nunnery near Berwick.

[4] Similarly in G.C.; the nunnery was therefore founded before 1216. See K.B., 463. A Cistercian nunnery was founded at North Berwick by Duncan, earl of Fife, ×1154; its foundation was confirmed 1160×1172 and 1165×1172 (North Berwick, nos. 3, 4; cf. L.A., 15). The addition to Bower says erroneously that this nunnery was founded by Malcolm, earl of Fife. Cf. Book of Pluscarden, VII, 8.

G.C. and De Domibus Religiosis appear to have transposed North and South Berwick.

[5] See year 1156.

[6] Founded 1070×. See year 1093, under Turgot. It was raised to the rank of an abbacy in 1128.

Abbey of	Stirling[1] . . .	black canons.
Priory of	May, from Reading[2]	black monks.
Priory in the	island of St Columba [Inchcolm][3] . .	black canons.
Abbey of	Lindores . . .	black[4] monks of Tiron.
Priory of	Perth . . .	black nuns.[5]
Abbey of	Scone[6] . . .	black canons.
Priory of	Restennet[7] . .	black canons.
Abbey of	Coupar[8] . . .	white monks.
Abbey of	Arbroath[9] . . .	monks of Tiron.
Bishopric of	Dunkeld, St Columcille	black canons, céli-dé.
„	Brechin . . .	céli-dé.
„	Aberdeen.	
„	Moray . . .	secular canons.[10]

[1] The abbey of Cambuskenneth, on the left bank of the Forth. See L.C., no. 179. It was founded in 1147, and occupied by canons from Arrouaise (K.B., 390; Skene's Fordun, ii, 426). Among its possessions (1147 × 1150) was the parish church of Eggles (St Ringans or St Ninians), between Stirling and Bannockburn (L.C., no. 182; Cambuskenneth, nos. 109, 112, 118, 24, 25, 59). For other possessions, see Cambuskenneth, pp. xxiii-xxiv. It received a charter from pope Innocent III, dated 6th May, 1207 (Cambuskenneth, no. 26). Cf. year 1238, note.

[2] See L.C., 387-388; D.M., iv, 61-62. Cf. O.S., c. 87; above, year 1136, note

The priory was occupied by Cluniac monks. The parent house, Reading, was founded by king Henry I in 1121.

For the story of a previous monastery on May Island, see the Breviary of Aberdeen, i, 8, fos. lxii-lxiii.

[3] Founded ca. 1123; K.B., 386. Cf. year 1235, note.

[4] "grey" in G.C. This abbey was founded before 8th March 1195, and occupied by monks from Kelso (cf. Arbroath, 146). See K.B., 411. Cf. years 1195, 1256, notes.

[5] "black monks" in G.C. A monastery of Dominicans was formed at Perth in 1231. The monastery mentioned by G.C. must have existed × 1216.

[6] See years 1115, 1162, 1163 note.

[7] In MS., *Nostinot;* in G.C., *Roslinot.* Read *Rostinot.* Cf. i.a. St Andrews, 36, 39, 126, 251-254. The priory was founded × 1159. It was a cell of Jedburgh (Additions to Bower).

From Dryburgh to Restennet, the writer of De Domibus Religiosis has placed the word "St." after the houses whose patron saint he did not know; intending to have filled the name in afterwards.

[8] See year 1164.

[9] See year 1178.

[10] "secular canons" not in G.C.

Priory of	Urquhart[1] . .	black monks from Dunfermline.
Abbey of	Kinloss[2] . . .	white monks.
Bishopric of	Ross	céli-dé.
Bishopric of	Glasgow . . .	secular canons.
Abbey of	St Kinewin [Kilwinning][3] . .	monks of Tiron.
Bishopric of	Galloway.	
Abbey of	Candida Casa [Whithorn][4] . . .	white monks.
Abbey of	M.[5]	black monks.
Bishopric of	Dunblane . . .	céli-dé.
„	Caithness[6] . .	„
„	Argyle[7] . . .	„
Abbey in	the Island [Iona] .	„

[1] See L.C., no. 110. Cf. year 1157, note.
[2] See year 1150.
[3] See K.B., 407-408; L.C., 274.
[4] Cf. E.C., 159-160, 216.
[5 6 7] Not in G.C.

INDEX

Aakrefiord, Norway, 359
Abae, R., 62
Abbey St. Bathans, Berwickshire, ii. 682
Abdie, Fife, ii. 522
Abel, b. St. Andrews, ii. 552, 574, 575, 578, 579
Abercorn, W. Lothian, 468, 512
Abercrombie, Fife, ii. 526
Aberdeen, 231, 364; ii. 10, 178, 181, 183, 216, 236, 275, 276, 369, 394, 432, 443, 456, 471, 479, 500, 514, 532, 535, 545, 586, 589, 643, 651, 662, 699
Aberdeenshire, 469, 496. *See* Buchan; Mar
Aberdour, Aberdeenshire, 40; ii. 174
Aberffraw, Anglesey, 356
Aberlemno, Forfarshire, ii. 516, 522
Aberlessic, 128
Aberluthnot. *See* Marykirk
Abernethy, Perthshire, cxx, cxxi, 121, 122, 440; ii. 35, 36, 679
Abernethy, Hugh of, ii. 679
Abertay, 519
Abertay Sands, 519
Aberte, siege, 213
Abington, Lanarkshire, 476, 477
Abloyc, s. Cuneda, 12
Abodriti, of Wendland, 309
Aboyne, ii. 489, 534
Abraham, b. Dunblane, ii. 490
Abraham, patriarch, 440
abthania, 577
Accidan, 169; Acithaen, Aithican, 194; descendants of, 122, 169, 194
Achardus, prior of May, ii. 194
Achcochlam, 353
Achir (or Achircir; Aithir), s. Eochaid Antoit, cliv, clv, clvii
Achivir, cxix
Acre, ii. 327, 504, 505, 514, 563, 570, 593, 665, 666
Acre, John de. *See* Brienne
Acre, William de, sheriff of Cumberland, ii. 504, 505
Ada, dau. David e. Huntingdon, ii. 157, 437, 488, 688
Ada, dau. David e. Huntingdon, ii. 437
Ada, dau. Henry, s. David I, ii. 249, 357, 373
Ada, dau. William k. Scotland, ii. 307, 486, 519
Ada, w. Henry, s. David I. *See* Varenne, Ada de
Adalbert, archb. Bremen, ii. 7-10, 229
Adalbert (or Adelbero I), b. Metz, 443
Adalbert, missionary priest in Orkneys, ii. 8, 229
Adam, a. Alnwick, ii. 372
Adam, a. Balmerino, ii. 572, 598
Adam, a. Balmerino, ii. 598
Adam, a. Coupar, ii. 320, 343
Adam, a. Deer. *See* Smailholm
Adam, a. Dundrennan, ii. 565
Adam, a. Holme Cultram, ii. 211, 327, 454
Adam, a. Melrose. *See* Harkarres; Maxton
Adam, a. Melrose, ii. 196, 370, 394, 396; b. Caithness, ii. 435, 449-452, 479, 516
Adam, a. Newbattle, a. Melrose, ii. 597, 600
Adam, a. Rievaulx. *See* Tilletai
Adam, chaplain of Roxburgh, ii. 259
Adam, clerk of k.; b. Aberdeen, ii. 369, 370
Adam, dean. *See* Dun
Adam, e. Carrick, ii. 656
Adam, monk. *See* Lennox
Adam, prior of St. Andrews. *See* Manchan
Adam, rector of Dunbar, ii. 301
Adam, s. Donald, ii. 311
Adam, s. Duncan e. Mar, ii. 494
Adam, s. Ferdomnach, ii. 183
Adam Ovidius, a clerk, ii. 443
Adam the Yorkshireman, a monk of Melrose, ii. 543
Adamnan, s. Ronan, s. Tinne; a. Iona, xxi, xxii, l, lxxiii, 117, 157, 161, 186-189, 193, 194, 196-205, 208-210, 240, 241, 425, 430, 451, 452, 494, 527, 583, 600
Adamnan's Law, 202, 223
Adamnan's relics, 223, 227
Adda, s. Ida; k. Bernicia, 12
Adela, dau. Robert k. Franks, 597

Adela, dau. William Conqueror; w. c. Stephen of Blois, ii. 54, 324
Adelaide, countess of Aumale; sis. k. William I; m. Judith, ii. 33, 150
Adelaide of Burgundy, empress, 443
Adelfius, gs. Gabran, 90
Adeliz. *See* Alice
Aden, ii. 179
Adils, br. Hring; ruler of Wales, 412, 413, 417-422
Adisl in Uppsala, s. Ottar, 306
Admor, s. Conaire Mor, clvii
Adrian, martyr of May I., 350
Adrian II., pope (†872), 339
Adrian IV., pope, ii. 228, 243, 269, 271, 553
Aear, s. Malcolm; k. Scotland ?, cxlix
Æbbe, abbess of Coldingham, 302
Æbbe, dau. k. Æthelfrith; abbess of Coldingham, 142
Aed, 145
Aed, f. Gillecoimded, ii. 182
Aed, k. Munster, cxliv
Aed, s. Ainmire, s. Setna; k. Ireland, cxliv, cxlv, 72, 75, 79-85, 97, 100-102, 217; wife of, 82
Aed, s. Artchorp, 170
Aed, s. Boanta; k. Fortriu, k. Argyle, cxxxv, cxlvii, cxlviii, 268
Aed, s. Brenaind; k. Teffia, 26, 34
Aed, s. Conchobar; k. Connaught, 406
Aed, s. Diarmait. *See* Aed Slane
Aed, s. Duncan, s. Colgu; k. S. Leinster, 220
Aed, s. Eochaid Dry-flesh; k. Connaught, 24, 25
Aed, s. Gabran, 122
Aed, s. Gabran; k. Corpraige, 79
Aed, s. Kenneth I; k. Scotland, cxxxvii, cxlix, cliii, 356-358, 366, 368; "from Kintyre," 356
Aed, s. Loegaire, s. Niall, 18
Aed, s. Lugaid, s. Setna, 210
Aed, s. Maelmithid, s. Flannacan, 472
Aed, s. Olchu, s. Eochaid, cl
Aed, s. Tuathal, 520
Aed Alaind, 55
Aed Albanach, leader of Dublin Danes, 444
Aed Alddain, s. Fergal; k. Ireland, cxlv-cxlviii, 230, 236
Aed Dub, s. Suibne; k. Dalaraide, k. Ulster, cxliv, 70, 71, 73, 87, 91
Aed Find, s. Eochaid, s. Eochaid; k. Argyle, cxxxiii, cxxxiv, cxxxvi, cxlv, cxlvii, cxlviii, cliii-clv, clvii, 235, 236, 246-251, 269, 292; called s. Ewen, s. Muiredach, 235, 249; laws of, 291
Aed Find, s. Ewen, cxxxiv
Aed Findliath, s. Niall Caille, s. Aed Oirdnide; k. Ailech, k. Ireland, cxlvii-cxlix, 284, 285, 289, 295, 297, 302, 304, 305, 309, 351, 352, 364, 403, 404, 446
Aed Green-robed, s. Eochaid Buide, 163
Aed Letho, s. Fergna, s. Angus Mor, cli
Aed Mend, 220
Aed Oirduide, s. Niall Frossach; k. Tara, k. Ireland, cxlviii, 257, 258, 261, 262
Aed Roin, k. Ulster, cxlvi
Aed Scandail, 284
Aed Slane, s. Diarmait; k. Ireland, cxlv, 26, 34, 122, 146, 162; ii. 95
Aed Ua-Conchobair, ii. 595
Aed Uairidnech, k. Ireland, cxlv, 262
Aed Ua-Neill, k. Ireland, xxxv
Aed White, f. k. Constantine, and ? k. Donald, 398, 406, 407, 431, 441, 444, 447, 451, 470
Aedan. *See* Aidan
Ægelwine, missionary bishop, ii. 1, 24, 36, 45
Ælfflæd, dau. Ealdred, s. Uhtred, 595; ii. 36, 39, 40, 42
Ælfflæd, dau. k. Oswin, 174
Ælfgar, s. Leofric, 597; ii. 2, 14
Ælfgifu. *See* Emma
Ælfgifu, dau. Æthelred II, ii. 39, 41
Ælfgifu, m. Harold, s. Cnut, ii. 30, 39
Ælfheah, b. Winchester (984–1005), 505
Ælfric, a. Eynsham, Oxfordshire (1005–†1020 × 1025), 479
Ælfric, sheriff of Huntingdon, 595
Ælfric, s. Æthelric, 597
Ælfric, s. Yffe, 253
Ælfwine, 183, 222. *See* Alpin; Elfin
Ælfwine, s. Norman, ii. 24
Ælfwine, s. Oswiu, 190
Ælle, k. Danish Northumbria, lxxxiii, 296-299, 308, 311, 312; called s. Æthelbeorht, 298
Ælle, s. Yffe; k. Deira, 11, 142, 153, 154, 298
Æsa, dau. Kiallak, s. Biorn the Strong, 348
Æsa, dau. Ofeig Grettir, 325, 326, 385
Aetan (or Eata Glinmaur), s. Liodguald, 225
Æthelbeald, s. Eova, s. Penda; k. Mercia, 175, 242, 243 (s. Alwih (br. Penda), s. Eova, s. Pubba; F.W., i. 49, 266)
Æthelbeorht, b. Whithorn, b. Hexham, 248, 254
Æthelbeorht, descendant of Ælle; ? k. Deira, 298

Æthelbeorht, f. Sigurd Slembi-diákn; priest, ii. 140, 186, 188
Æthelbeorht, s. Ingengeat (or Ingvi); great-gf. k. Ida, 298
Æthelflæd, dau. Alfred the Great; lady of Mercia, 402, 407
Æthelfrith, s. Æthelric; k. Northumbria, 13, 14, 123, 124, 140-142, 193; called Flesaurs, 14
Æthelfrith, sons of, in exile in Scotland, 142
Æthelgar, grand-nephew of Edward Confessor, 596
Æthelhere, br. k. Anna; k. East-Angles, 174
Æthelmær, s. Æthelric, 597
Æthelmund, s. Edgar; k. England, 298
Æthelred, k. Northumbria (†796), 251
Æthelred, s. Malcolm III; a. Dunkeld, e. Fife, 584; ii. 26, 28, 56, 73
Æthelred I, s. Æthelwulf, s. Ecgbeorht; k. Wessex, 300
Æthelred II, s. Edgar, s. Edmund; k. England, k. Britain, 488, 489, 496, 503, 505, 507, 510, 515, 521, 545, 549, 597, 598; ii. 15, 29, 30, 37, 39, 41
Æthelric, f. Eadric Streona, 597
Æthelric, s. Ida; k. Bernicia, 12
Æthelstan. *See* Guthorm
Æthelstan, s. Æthelwulf, s. Ecgbeorht; k. Kent, k. (East-) Saxons, 266, 267
Æthelstan, s. Edward the Elder; k. Mercia, k. England, 396, 409-417, 419-423, 426, 429, 430, 446, 449, 455-460
Æthelthryth, dau. Anna k. East-Angles; w. k. Ecgfrith, 192
Æthelthryth, dau. Gospatric I, ii. 38, 39, 91
Æthelweald, k. Danish Northumbria, 398, 403
Æthelweald, s. k. Oswald, 174
Æthelwine. *See* Ægelwine
Æthelwulf, s. Ecgbeorht, s. Ealhmund; k. Wessex, 266, 287, 365
Æthered, e. Mercia, 355, 356, 401, 402, 407
Affrica, dau. Duncan e. Fife, ii. 233, 238, 348
Affrica, dau. Fergus. *See* Galloway
Affrica, dau. Godfrey k. Hebrides, ii. 313, 364, 467
Affrica, dau. William k. Scotland, ii. 399
Africa, 293, 294
Africa, bishops of, 1
Africans, 331
Agabard, Piers, a knight, ii. 595
Agapitus, pope, 10
Agatha, of Hungary; w. Edward, s. Edmund Ironside, ii. 27, 29
Agdir, Norway (Agdesiden), 308, 313, 314, 321, 323, 389, 555; ii. 108, 112, 115, 117, 191, 192, 635
Agenold (Agenald), a. Gorze, 443
Aghaboe, Queen's County, 50, 55
Agmund, hold, leader of Danes, 401
Agnar, s. Ragnar and Thora, 299
Agne, s. Alrek, 306
Agnes, countess of Dreux and Braisne; w. c. Robert I, ii. 514
Agnes, dau. Hugh e. Chester, ii. 487
Agnes, m. Duncan e. Fife, ii. 493
Agnoinn, s. Buain, cxvii
Aidan, f. Conall, 255
Aidan, s. Caiblene, s. Natsluaig, cli, clvi
Aidan, s. Fergna; servant of Brendan of Clonfert, 64
Aidan, s. Gabran; k. Argyle, xxxiv, cxxx, cxliv, cl, cli, cliii-clvii, 13, 74-78, 81, 82, 84-86, 88-90, 94-97, 118, 119, 122-126, 146, 151-153, 158, 160, 161, 180, 198, 203, 398; called s. Eochaid, s. Enda Gen-salach, 78; his mother, dau. Dumnagual Hen, 13; descendants of, 161, 169, 269, 273; subject to strangers, 161
Aidan, s. Lugar; b. Lindisfarne, 158, 164, 169-171
Aidan, s. Mocu-Cein; a monk, 23
Ail-Chluaide (Altclut), 73, 74, 302, etc. *See* Dumbarton
Ailech, Ireland, ii. 271; kings of, 3, 285; ii. 94, 227
Ailech I., 17, 18
Ailellen, f. Bressal, 475
Ailén ("crannog"), 51, 183, 221, 237
Ailen-Daingen, 208, 215
Ailen-mic-Craich, 221, 233. ? Cf. Creic
Ailill, a. Armagh, 26
Ailill, f. a. Cellach, 295
Ailill (or Owen), k. Connaught, cxliii
Ailill, k. Ossory, cxlvi
Ailill, s. Dungal of Eilne; k. Dalaraide, 199
Ailill, s. Dunlaing; k. Leinster, 303
Ailill, s. Iar, s. Dedad, cliii
Ailill Erand, cliv
Ailill Molt, cxliii
Ailill Mor, s. Breccan, 23
Ailred, a. Rievaulx, ii. 265
Ailsa Craig, 143
Ainfcellach, s. Ferchar Fota; k. Argyle, xxxvi, cxxxi, cxxxii, cxlvi, clvi, clvii, 203, 205, 206, 218, 233, 235, 236, 249
Ainftech, 201
Ainmire, s. Cathba, s. Muiredach, cliii

Ainmire, s. Setna, s. Fergus; k. Ireland, cxliv, 24, 25, 48, 49, 217
Ainmire Ua-Cobthaig, a monk, ii. 363
Ainnedid, s. Fergus, 24, 25
Airgialla, clii, 223. *See* Oriel
Airlie, Forfarshire, ii. 522
Airth, Stirlingshire, ii. 523, 591
Airth, William of, ii. 591
Airthir-Life, 290 (*i.e.* Kildare county, E. of Liffey)
Airthir-Maige, 78 (*i.e.* Armoy, Antrim county)
Airthrago I., 188
Airthrey, Stirlingshire, cxviii
Aithchambas, harbour in Ardnamurchan, 68
Aithche I., 65
Aki. *See also* Haki
Aki, s. Palnatoki, 506
Alan, a. Balmerino, ii. 469, 501
Alan, a. Glenluce. *See* Musarde
Alan, a. Newbattle, ii. 395, 396
Alan, b. Argyle, ii. 604
Alan, b. Caithness. *See* St. Edmund
Alan, br. Dugald, s. Somerled, ii. 625, 626, 635
Alan, s. Flaald; f. Walter Steward I, 577; ii. 251, 267
Alan, s. Waltheof, ii. 38, 91, 202
Alan Earl's-son, bailiff in Man, ii. 657
Alan of Galloway. *See* Galloway
Alatro, Godfrey de, dean of Olen, ii. 589
Alba, Albany. *See* Scotland
Albanectus, s. k. Brutus, cxv
Albano, Italy, ii. 315
Albanus, s. William, a nobleman, ii. 363
Alba-ripa, monastery, ii. 449 (*i.e.* Auberive, Haute-Marne)
Alberic, b. Ostia, papal legate, ii. 199
Albidosi, raid of the, 452
Albigenses, ii. 389, 395
Albinus, b. Brechin, ii. 434, 545, 553, 579, 663, 664
Alcuin, 251
Alda. *See* Ada, dau. David e. Huntingdon
Aldasain, in Caithness, 143
Aldham, Haddingtonshire, ii. 523
Aldin Alenn, ii. 179
Aldis, dau. Ofeig Grettir, 325
Alexander, a. Coupar [Angus], ii. 377, 432, 517
Alexander, a. Deer, ii. 442, 448
Alexander, a. Sawtrey, ii. 362
Alexander, b. Chester (Lichfield), ii. 517
Alexander, b. Lincoln, chancellor, ii. 199
Alexander, br. Leo; emperor of the East, 339
Alexander, s. Alexander III, ii. 643, 658, 659, 672, 682-685, 688
Alexander, s. Angus, s. Donald; lord of Islay, ii. 254
Alexander, s. Donald, ii. 254
Alexander, s. k. Scotland (? s. k. William); lay-brother at Foigny, ii. 470
Alexander I, s. Malcolm III; k. Scotland, cxl, cxli; ii. 26, 28, 29, 33, 56, 89, 119, 120, 137, 138, 141, 144, 147, 149, 159-168, 220, 221, 232-234, 262
Alexander II, s. k. William; k. Scotland, cxlii, 272, 581; ii. 28, 349, 354, 365, 373, 375, 376, 389-391, 395, 398-427, 431-435, 437, 441-446, 451, 452, 457, 462, 469, 471, 488-491, 494, 496-505, 511-515, 528, 533-539, 543, 545, 552-561
Alexander III, s. k. Alexander II; k. Scotland, xliv, cxlii, 272; ii. 28, 87, 168, 403, 528-530, 538, 541, 557-560, 562, 569-571, 575, 580-583, 588, 591, 604-607, 622-624, 628, 629, 647, 653-659, 661, 669, 670, 672, 673, 675-682, 685-695
Alexander II, pope, ii. 1, 7
Alexander III, pope, ii. 243, 244, 247, 250, 252, 253, 270, 279, 296, 300, 303-305, 349, 355, 370, 553
Alexander IV, pope, ii. 394, 517, 532, 575, 579, 580, 585-590, 595-601
Alexander the Fratricide, emperor at Constantinople, ii. 355
Alexander the Great, k. Macedonia, 366
Alexis, legate of pope, ii. 303, 304
Aleydis, sis. Theoderic IV, c. Cleves, ii. 250
Alf, f. Erling, ii. 603
Alf of Dales. *See* Dales-Alf
Alf of Egd, 344
Alf of Osta, 383
Alfdis the Barra-woman, dau. Konal, s. Steinmod, 319, 325, 385, 387
Alfdora, dau. Steinmod, s. Konal, 320; called Halldora, 325, 387
Alfgeir, e. in Northumbria, 412-414, 417, 418
Alfgeir, Hebridean settler in Iceland, 344
Alfheimar, Norway, 588
Alfonso X, k. Castile, ii. 580
Alfred, s. Æthelred II, ii. 29, 30
Alfred the Great, s. Æthelwulf, s. Ecgbeorht; k. Wessex, k. England, xxiv, 297, 301, 339, 341, 355-356, 365, 366, 396, 402, 412, 430; ii. 120
Alfwin, a. Holyrood, ii. 211, 230, 251

Alfwin, s. Arcil, ii. 178
Alice, a widow, ii. 456
Alice, dau. Waltheof, ii. 33, 145, 155
Alice (Adeliz), sis. Randolph e. Chester, ii. 223, 324
Alicia, dau. William of Allerdale, ii. 92
aliens, laws regarding, ii. 536, 537
Alina, countess of Dunbar, ii. 301
Alintun, Peter de, archdeacon of Teviotdale, ii. 509, 516, 530
Allabair, 87
Aller, Somerset, 396
Allerdale, Cumberland, ii. 37, 38, 91, 202
Alma, dau. k. Picts, 128
Almain, battle, 220
Almond, R. (to Forth), 164, 234, 518
Almond, R. (to Tay), 193, 291
Alnwick, ii. 51, 53, 83, 207, 211, 218, 278, 283, 284, 286, 287, 289, 293, 295, 323, 372, 375, 376, 401, 406, 407, 410, 419, 582, 584, 672
Alof, dau. Ragnar Lodbrok, 301
Alof, dau. Stefni, 506
Alof, dau. Thord Vagagdi, 314-316
Alof, dau. Thorstein the Red, 312, 379, 380, 382
Alof the Season-bettering, dau. Harold Fairhair, 374, 389
Alpia, dau. k. Arabia, 128
Alpin, f. Eochaid, 446
Alpin (or Elfin), k. Picts, 222-224, 228, 235, 237. *See* Alpin, s. Eochaid, k. Argyle
Alpin (or Elfin), s. Corp, 182, 183
Alpin (or Elfin), s. Crop, 237
Alpin (I), s. Eochaid; k. Picts, k. Argyle, cxxv, cxxxiv, cxxxvi, cxlvii, cxlviii, clv, 203, 230, 269
Alpin (II), s. Eochaid, s. Aed Find; k. Picts, k. Argyle, cxviii, cxxix, cxxxv-cxxxvii, cxlvii, cxlviii, cliii-clv, clvii, 2, 250, 266-271, 288-291
Alpin (or Elfin), s. Nechtan, 200, 201. *See* Elfin, s. Neithon
Alpin, s. Wroid (or s. Feret, or s. Feradach); k. Picts, cxxvi, cxxvii, 249, 250, 253
Alpinius, b. Dunblane, ii. 597
Alps, 88, 116
Alrek, s. Dag, 306
Alsace, 443
Altaine, 214
Althing (*al-thingi*), 340, 347, 386, 491
Altrie, ii. 176, 177
Alwin II, e. Lennox, ii. 300
Ám, 313
Ama, s. Æthelbeorht; ? k. in Northumbria, 298
Amabilis, dau. William of Allerdale, s. k. Duncan II, ii. 92
Amalgaid, k. Munster, cxliv
Amalgaid, s. Feradach, s. Fiacc, 241
Amalgaid Ua-Fergail, a. Derry, ii. 363
Ambrones, 14
Ambrose, 8
Ambrosius Aurelianus, 127
Amdarch, s. Donald, 476
America, North, liv-lv, 337, 492. *See* Vínland the Good; Greenland
Amiens, Hugh de, archb. Rouen, ii. 225
Amra, 81
Amunderness, ii. 97, 228
Amundi, f. Gyrd, ii. 5
Amundi, f. Thorkel, 552, 553
Amundi Bristte, a Norwegian, ii. 379
Amundi White, 538
Án Bow-wielder, 336
Án Red-cloak, s. Grim Shaggy-cheek, 336
Anagni, Italy, ii. 243, 244, 294
Anakol, a Hebridean, ii. 236
Anaraut, s. Rotri, s. Mermin; k. Gwynedd, k. Wales, 356, 368, 399, 404, 445; k. Aberffraw, 356
Anastasius II, emperor, 215, 216
Anastasius IV, pope, ii. 228
Ánblomaid, s. Olchu, s. Eochaid, cl
anchorites (or solitaries; hermits), 56, 115, 171, 231, 240, 242, 341, 343, 428, 472, 526; ii. 76, 174, 253, 665. *See also* papae
Ancrum, Roxburghshire, ii. 594
Andover, Hampshire, ii. 468
Andrew, a. Kinloss, ii. 671
Andrew, apostle, lxxii, 209, 266-267, 447, 448, 471
Andrew, archdeacon of Lothian, ii. 252
Andrew, archdeacon of Shetland, ii. 406
Andrew, b. Caithness, cxvii; ii. 182, 308, 355
Andrew, b. Christiania, ii. 685
Andrew, b. Moray. *See* Moray
Andrew, canon of Florence, priest of Potin, ii. 518
Andrew, claimant to deanery of Moray, ii. 532
Andrew, s. Gillemuire Clerech, ii. 652
Andrew, s. Havard, ii. 613
Andrew, s. Hrólf Kitten, br. Hánef Young, ii. 480, 483
Andrew, s. Nicholas, ii. 611, 612, 616, 617, 623, 629-632, 655, 656
Andrew Buzi (Biuzi, in Fr.), ii. 636
Andrew Deaf, s. Sigurd, ii. 186
Andrew Gums, ii. 613
Andrew of Thissisey, ii. 613
Andrew Plyttr, treasurer of king of

Norway, ii. 614, 623, 629, 639, 642, 646
Andrew Pot, Norwegian baron, ii. 614, 617, 620, 629, 630, 631
Andrew Shield-band, a Norwegian, ii. 429
Andrid, f. Bui, 377
Anfith, k. Argyle ?, cxlviii
Anforsius, s. Raymond, c. Toulouse, ii. 242
Angles (and Saxons = Angles), cxxi, 4, 14, 15, 36, 87, 88, 90, 96, 123, 127, 133, 140, 141, 148, 153-156, 160, 164, 173, 175, 178, 181, 190, 191, 193, 194, 196, 206, 209, 210, 213, 215, 216, 225, 232, 234, 242, 243, 249-251, 255, 271-273, 276, 296, 297, 331, 365; ii. 59, 76, 295. *See also* England; Northumbria; East-Angles; Mercia; Middle-Angles
Anglesey (Món), 282, 295, 355, 404, 408, 478, 479, 502, 507, 590, 591; ii. 103, 104, 111-113, 115, 117, 162
Anglo-Saxon, lxxvi
Angus (Forfarshire), cxvi, cxxi, 446, 513, 514; ii. 400, 513, 530, 534
Angus, gs. Lulach; mormaer of Moray, 521, 580; ii. 97, 173, 174, 233
Angus, k. Munster, cxliii
Angus, lord of Kintyre, ii. 617-619, 625, 649
Angus, s. Boib, s. Ronan, clvi
Angus, s. Brude; k. Picts, cxxvi
Angus, s. Colman Mor; k. Southern Ui-Neill, 146
Angus, s. Donald, s. Reginald, ii. 254
Angus (I), s. Fergus; k. Fortriu, k. Picts, cxxv, cxxvi, 214, 221-226, 228-230, 232-237, 239-241, 244, 245, 249, 253, 267
Angus (II), s. Fergus; k. Fortriu, k. Picts, cxxvii, 266-269, 277; k. Argyle, cxxxv, cxlviii
Angus, s. Fergus Ulach, cliii
Angus, s. Gillebrigte, ii. 513
Angus, s. Maelanfaid, 212
Angus, s. Muirchertach; a. Iona, 428
Angus, s. Nechtan, 145, 159
Angus, s. Olchu, s. Eochaid, cl
Angus, s. Somerled, ii. 137, 255, 327, 387
Angus (Engull), s. Sumarlidi Yeoman, ii. 255. *See* Angus, s. Somerled
Angus Bec, s. Erc, s. Eochaid, cxliii, cli
Angus Buaidnech, s. Fedlimid Ruamnach, cliv, clvii
Angus Fir, s. Fedlimid Aislingech, cliv, clvii
Angus (or Magnus) Geuerons, br. Frakokk, ii. 140
Angus Mor, s. Erc, s. Eochaid; k. Argyle, cxliii, cl-clvi, 2, 5, 289
Angus Shoemaker, f. Kolinus, ii. 652
Angus Tuirbech, of Tara, s. Eochaid Altlethan, cliv
Anjou, ii. 29, 170, 200, 210, 223, 240, 242, 260, 319
Anketil, Robert de, queen of Scotland's clerk, ii. 571
Anmcha, k. Ossory, cxlvi
Anna, s. Eni; k. East-Angles, 166, 173-175
Annandale, ii. 533, 644, 667
Anselm, a. Kinloss, ii. 211
Anselm, archb. Canterbury, ii. 119-121, 123, 124, 164, 229
Anskarius, b. Bremen, 310
Anstruther, Fife, ii. 523
Anthony, St., of Padua, ii. 468
Antichrist, xxxv
Antioch, ii. 355
Antrim, 2, 68, 177. *See* Dalriata (Irish)
Anulo, gs. Heriold, 310
Anwynd, k. Danes, 301
Apor(ic)um, stagnum, 59. *See* Lochaber
Appin of Dull, 576-577
Appin of Madderty, ii. 564
Appleby, Westmoreland, ii. 288
Applecross, 43, 183, 219, 220, 236, 258
Apulia, ii. 24, 434, 511
Apurfeirt, stone, cxxi, 122
Aquitaine, ii. 213, 241, 260, 287, 445
Arabia, 128
Ara-Cliach, Limerick county, 290
Aragon, Spain, ii. 389
Ara-tíre (Duhara), Tipperary county, 290
Arbroath, ii. 298, 353, 398-400, 441, 489, 490, 514, 522, 590, 597, 681, 686, 699
Arbuthnot, Mearns, ii. 522
Archibald, a. Dunfermline, ii. 349
Archibald, b. Caithness, ii. 451, 535
Archibald, b. Moray, chancellor, ii. 532, 580, 686
Archill, ii. 24. Cf. Ercildoun > Earlston
Arcil, f. Alfwin, ii. 178
Arctic Ocean, 57
Ardbes, Islay, clii
Ardbrackan, Meath, 283, 451
Ardcarne, Roscommon, 433, 592
Ardchattan, priory in Argyle, ii. 471
Ard-Corann, battle, 148, 149
Ardde-anesbi, battle, 219
Arderydd, battle, 74

Ard-Fothaid, 166
Ardgal, 95
Ardmaelcon (Ardmulchan), 475
Ardnamurchan, 54, 66, 68
Ardoch, Perthshire, 97
Ard-Tommain, battle, 72
Argyle (or Dalriata), xxxiv, lxxxvii, cxvi, cxviii, cxxix-cxxxvi, 2, 10, 20, 43, 72, 74, 75, 81, 83, 95, 126, 146, 148-153, 158-162, 164, 167, 168, 173, 174, 177, 179, 182, 183, 185, 193, 199, 202, 203, 206-208, 213, 218, 220, 222-224, 227-230, 233-235, 237, 247-250, 253-257, 262, 266-273, 277, 288, 289, 395, 489, 494, 525, 536, 537; ii. 137, 229, 254-257, 361, 471, 502, 529, 535, 558, 559, 561, 591, 604, 660, 662, 700
Argyle, boundaries of, cxxix, 151, 164, 218, 233
Argyle, divisions of, clii, clv
Argyle, fleet of, 229
Argyle, ks., cxii, cxxix-cxxxvi
Argyle, Ewen (Eogan) of, ii. 660
Argyle, Mary, dau. Ewen of; queen of Man, countess of Strathearn, ii. 660
Argyleshire, 233
Ari, s. Má, s. Atli the Red, 337, 382
Ari, s. Thorgeir, ii. 358
Ari the Learned (Fródi), s. Thorgils, s. Gelli, lxxi, lxxxii, xcii-xciv, 306, 337, 362, 374, 375, 379, 386, 491
Arick, 411
Arinbiorn of Firdir, kinsman of Ingiald the Faithful, 313
Arinbiorn of Firdir, s. Thori, s. Hróald, 395, 423, 428, 457, 458
Armagh, xxxi, xxxvi, xxxvii, 20, 26, 88, 281, 285, 406, 425, 433, 436, 486, 520, 526, 527, 540, 599; ii. 10, 212, 213, 244, 267, 357, 363, 382
Armenia, ii. 355
Armorica, 141. *See* Brittany
armour, 418, 536; ii. 16, 17, 111, 112, 129, 132, 135, 246, 272, 283, 294, 338, 340, 459, 476, 536, 594, 628, 630-633
Arnail, s. Maine, cliv
Arnald, s. Sæmund the Hebridean, 336
Arnbiorg, dau. Kampa-Grim and Vigdis, dau. Thorstein the Red, 383
Arnbiorn, s. Slettu-Biorn, 382
Arneid, dau. Asbiorn Skeria-blesi, 314-319
Arneidar-stadir, Austfirdir, 316, 317, 319
Arnfinn, s. Thorfinn Skull-cleaver; e. in Orkneys, 428, 465, 481-483
Arngrim Godi, 510
Arni, f. Finn, ii. 4, 13, 26, 214
Arni Loria, Norwegian king's bailiff, ii. 380
Arni Slinkr, ii. 613
Arni Sturla, a Norwegian, ii. 204
Arnkel, s. Turf-Einar, 393, 459, 461, 481
Arnleif, sis. Svartkel, 344
Arnliót, steward of Stroma, 498, 499
Arnold. *See also* Arnald
Arnold (I), a. Cîteaux; archb. Narbonne, ii. 394, 395
Arnold (II), a. Cîteaux (a. Fons Johannis), ii. 395, 396, 422
Arnold, a. Kelso; b. St. Andrews; legate, ii. 207, 244, 245, 250
Arnold, a. Melrose, ii. 195, 300, 305, 320
Arnold, a. Rievaulx, ii. 342, 351
Arnold, prior of Newbattle; a. Coupar, ii. 343
Arnor Earls'-poet, s. Thord, 543, 567, 578, 585, 587; ii. 3, 4
Arnor Hag's-nose, s. Biorn, s. Hofda-Thord, 336, 344
Arnora, dau. Gunbiorn, s. Erp, 384
Arnora, dau. Lon-Einar, 381
Arran, 160, 574; ii. 227, 622, 623, 634, 635
Arras, Nevelon de, ii. 421
Arrouaise, Pas-de-Calais, ii. 698
Art Oenfer, s. Cond Cetchathach, 23
Artabláir, s. of, 212
Artacain, gf. Fiachra, 485
Artalach, s. Sigtrygg, s. Olaf Cuaran, 487
Artaldus. *See* Harold, s. Olaf
Artan, s. Conaing, s. Aidan, cli
Artan, s. Conall, s. Comgall, cl
Artbranan, chief of Geona, 60, 61
Artchain, in Tiree. 70
Artchorp, s. Niacorp, 170
Arterid, 73
Artgal, s. Cathal; k. Connaught, 253-254
Artgus, f. a. Tuathal, 296
Arthgal, s. Dumnagual, s. Riderch; k. Strathclyde, clvii, 243, 304
Arthur, a traitor, ii. 224
Arthur, a. Deer, ii. 440
Arthur, k. Britons, lix, lxiv, 9, 92, 93, 127, 366; ii. 326
Arthur, s. Aidan, s. Gabran, 95, 96, 118, 119
Arthur, s. Bicoir, 147
Arthur, s. Conaing, s. Aidan, cli
Arthur I, s. Geoffrey, s. k. Henry II; d. Brittany, ii. 312, 326, 383, 384
Arthuret, battle, 73, 74
Arundel, Sussex, ii. 342, 416

Asaph, pupil of Kentigern, 132, 134
Asbiorn. *See also* Esbiorn
Asbiorn, s. Hord, 381
Asbiorn, s. Hrafnkel, s. Hrafn, 375
Asbiorn, s. Ketil the Foolish, 340, 347
Asbiorn, s. Ofeig Grettir, 325
Asbiorn, s. Olaf, s. Hrólf, ii. 192
Asbiorn, s. Sigurd, 533
Asbiorn Prúdi, 540
Asbiorn Skeria-blesi, e. in Hebrides, 314-318
Asbiorn Vodvi, s. Kiallak, s. Biorn the Strong, 348
Ascalt Putrall, 405
Ascelinus, a. Kinloss, ii. 279
Asgeir, 361
Asgeir, s. Erp, s. Maelduin, 384
Asgerd, dau. Biorn, s. Bryniólf, 395, 423, 457
Asgrim, ruler of Faroes, 467
Asi, f. Wether-Grim ; a chief, 382
Askatin, chancellor, ii. 613, 647-649, 655, 656
Askel, gs. Thorkel ; k. Dublin, ii. 272, 273
Askel Hnockan (or Asgeir), s. Dubthach, s. Donald, 344
Aslak, s. Dag, ii. 613
Aslak, s. Erlend of Hernar (Herlo), ii. 192, 195
Aslak, s. Kolbein Hruga, ii. 6
Aslaug (Randalín), dau. Sigurd Fafni's-bane, and w. Ragnar Lodbrok, 299, 307
Asleif, w. Olaf, s. Hrólf, ii. 192
Asleifarvík. *See* Halseyiarvík
Asleik, s. Biorn Ironside, 336
Asmund, s. Olaf ; " k. Scots," 311, 312
Asmund Beardless, s. Ofeig Grettir, 325
Ásmundarvágr, Orkney, 509, 555 ; ii. 637
Asny, dau. Vestar, s. Ketil Hængr, 325
Asreth, battle, 241
Assaroe, Donegal, 36, 283
Ass's Way, 85
Assylyn, 36
Asta, dau. Gudbrand Kula, 320 ; ii. 20, 26
Asti, ii. 670
Astrid, dau. Eric Biódaskáld ; widow of k. Tryggvi, 463, 464
Astrid, dau. Olaf k. Sweden ; w. St. Olaf, 598
Asvor, dau. Ofeig Grettir, 325
Atbret (=Welsh *edfryd*), 16
Athan, cxxi, 122
Ath-caisil, Islay, clii
Ath-Cliath. *See* Dublin
Ath-dá-ferta, 262
Athelney, Somerset, 396
Athelstaneford, Haddingtonshire, ii. 525
Ath-Feni, in Meath, 85
Athole, cxvi, 214, 236, 239, 253, 353 ; ii. 182, 193, 400, 478, 652, 685
Athole, John of, s. David ; e. Athole, ii. 685
Athole, Patrick of, s. Thomas, s. Roland ; e. Athole, ii. 478, 530, 531, 534, 664
Athran, mountain, cxviii
Atlantic Ocean, 293, 495
Atli, s. Vali the Strong, 342
Atli Porridge, s. Thidrandi, 316, 317 ; called s. Thori Cock-partridge, 316
Atli the Red, s. Ulf the Squinter, 337, 382
Aubigny, Hugh de, s. William III de Aubigny ; e. Sussex, ii. 487
Aubigny, Nigel de, ii. 52
Aubigny, Philip de, ii. 418, 447
Aubigny, William de, s. William Brito, ii. 146
Aubigny, William III de, s. William II de, s. e. William and queen Adeliza ; e. Sussex and Arundel, ii. 342, 416, 418, 487
Aubigny, William Brito de, ii. 146
Auchmachar, ii. 179
Auchnebard, battle, 522, 523
Auchterderran, Fife, ii. 525
Auchtermuchty, Fife, ii. 525
Aud the Deep-minded (or the Wealthy), dau. Ketil Flatnose, and w. Olaf the White, 304, 306, 309, 311, 312, 315, 343, 347-350, 361, 370, 371, 378-388
Audartoptir, Iceland, 381
Audfinn, s. Sigurd ; b. Bergen, ii. 695, 696
Audgisl. *See also* Adils ; Adisl ; Eowils
Audgisl, f. Brodir, 535
Audgisl (Auisle), s. of k. (Godfrey) of Scandinavians, 284, 290, 296, 303, 307, 309, 401, 406
Audgisl, s. Sigtrygg ; leader of Scandinavians, 411, 412
Audhild, dau. Steinvor, dau. Frakokk, ii. 4, 139
Audun Skokull, s. Biorn, 301
Audun Stoti, s. Vali the Strong, 342
Auerech, I., 17
Aufrica. *See* Affrica
Auguselus, br. Urianus, 127
Augustine, archb. Canterbury, 13, 79, 121, 133, 140, 141 ; ii. 593
Augustine, priest in Iona, ii. 253
Augustinian canons, ii. 22, 160, 171,

205, 206, 208, 209, 485, 500, 590, 697-699
Auiliuin, 237
Auisle. *See* Audgisl
Auldbar, Forfarshire, ii. 524
Aumale, Normandy, ii. 33, 150, 412, 418, 494, 527, 592
Aumale, William (de Fortibus) de. *See* Fortibus
Aun the Old, s. Iorund, 306 ; descendants of, 292, 306, 309
Aunites, 292
Aurland, in Sogn, 394, 395
Aurrida-river, Iceland, 381
Austfirdir, Iceland, 317, 558
Austrátt, N. Mærr, 588 ; ii. 186
Austrey, Faroes, 380
Austria, ii. 328
Autun, Saône-et-Loire, ii. 471
Auxerre, France, ii. 207
Auzur. *See also* Ozur
Auzur, s. Eyvind Fire, 383
Avang, Irish settler in Iceland, 344
Avenel, Gervase, s. Robert, ii. 308, 438
Avenel, Isabella, w. Robert de Bruce, s. Robert le Meschin ; w. Robert de Ross, ii. 306, 325
Avenel, Robert, ii. 306, 308, 309
Avenel, Roger, s. Gervase, ii. 534
Avenel, Vincent, s. Robert, ii. 309
Avenel, William, rector of Torthorwald, ii. 644
Avice, w. Richard de Morville, ii. 315, 325
Avich, Loch, Lorn, 218
Avon, R., to Forth, 233
Avranches, Hugh de, e. Chester, ii. 38, 111, 112, 166, 324
Avranches, Richard de, s. Hugh ; e. Chester, ii. 324
Axholme, Lincolnshire, ii. 281
Awe, Loch, 62, 292
Awe, R., and lake, 62
Ayr, ii. 470, 552, 678

Babona, dau. Loarn, s. Erc, 4
Babylon, ii. 539
Badenoch, ii. 99, 643, 644
Badon, battle, 178
Bæfiordr, 377
Bær, Hrutafiordr, 328
Baetan, s. Cairell ; k. Ulster, k. Ireland, cxliii, 86-88, 149 ; called k. Ireland and Scotland, 87
Baetan, s. Eochaid, s. Muiredach, clvi, 203
Baetan, s. Eochaid Find, cli
Baetan, s. Fergus Salach, clii
Baetan, s. Muirchertach, s. Erc ; k. Ireland, cxliv, 68
Baetan, s. Ninnid ; k. Ireland, cxliv, 72
Baetan Folt-buide, 24
Baethbarr, e., 284
Baethen, gs. of ; a. Iona, ii. 22
Baethgal, f. Cuilebath, 425
Baggat(te), Adam de, ii. 534
Bagimont. *See* Vitia, Boiamund de
Bagsecg, k. Danes, 301
Baithine, f. Cul[e]n, ii. 176
Baithine, s. Aidan, s. Gabran, cli
Baithine, s. Brenaind, s. Erc and Fergus ; a. Iona, lxxiii, 2, 3, 7, 39, 64, 66, 79, 98, 99, 103, 112, 119-121, 189 ; called Conin, 39
Bakewell, Peakland, 402
Bakkar, Bergen, ii. 335
Balaam, 52
Balcomie, Fife, 354
Baldred (Balthere), anchorite, 139, 242, 444
Baldred, dean of Lothian, ii. 565
Baldwin, a. Alnwick, ii. 218
Baldwin, a. May, ii. 194
Baldwin, archb. Canterbury, ii. 311, 320, 325
Baldwin I, br. Godfrey ; k. Jerusalem, ii. 124, 136, 145, 200
Baldwin IV, c. Flanders, ii. 2
Baldwin V, c. Flanders, 597 ; ii. 2
Baldwin VI, c. Flanders, ii. 154
Baldwin IX, c. Flanders ; emperor of Constantinople, ii. 362, 684
Balearic Islands, 294
Balki, f. Paul, ii. 458, 459, 474
Balki, s. Blæing, 320, 324, 328
Balki Young, s. Paul, s. Balki, ii. 474, 475
Ballaghmoone, Kildare county, 445
Ballamona, Man, ii. 297. *See* Mirescog
Balliol, Adam de, s. Henry de, ii. 545
Balliol, Alan de, s. John and Derbforgaill, ii. 507
Balliol, Alexander de, s. John and Derbforgaill, ii. 507, 685
Balliol, Bernard de, ii. 289
Balliol, Edward, cxlii
Balliol, Guy de, ii. 651, 652
Balliol, Henry de (chamberlain, 1239 ×1242–1246), ii. 503, 505, 543, 545
Balliol, Hugh de, s. John and Derbforgaill, ii. 419, 420, 507
Balliol, Ingram de, ii. 404
Balliol, John de, f. k. John, ii. 374, 488, 489, 493, 498, 537, 571, 575, 583, 584, 592, 644, 650, 664, 690
Balliol, John de, s. John and Derbforgaill ; k. Scotland, cxlii ; ii. 374, 488, 489, 507, 688, 690

ballistarii, ii. 422 ; cf. cross-bowmen, ii. 418
ballistas, and engines of war, ii. 283, 410
Balmerino, Fife, ii. 469, 489, 569, 572, 598
Balnagowan, Ross, 581
Balrymonth, Fife, 474
Baltic Sea, 492
Baltrodin, Walter de, b. Caithness, ii. 451, 535
Bamborough, 11, 14, 88 ; ii. 23, 198, 503 ; called Dun-Guaire, 88, 366. *See* Dinguayrdi
Banbury, Oxfordshire, ii. 571
Banchory-Devenick, Mearns, 42
Banff, 377 ; ii. 181
Bangor, Carnarvonshire, 140
Bangor, county Down, 52, 53, 85, 194, 219, 220, 258 ; ii. 229, 382, 427
Bania, m. Catroe, 431-434
Bann, R., Wexford, 229, 230
Bannockburn, ii. 699
baptism, cxx, cxxiii, 14, 60, 138, 283, 285, 287, 337, 344, 363, 381, 383, 388, 396, 411, 455, 456, 460, 489, 493, 505, 506, 508, 509, 511, 534, 546 ; ii. 9, 185, 213 ; etc.
Bara, Haddingtonshire, ii. 521
Barbary, kingdom, ii. 663
Bard, f. Cellach, 480
Bard, foster-f. Eystein, s. Olaf the Young ; leader of Norwegians, 304, 351, 352
Bard, s. Guthorm of Rein, ii. 334, 341
Bard, s. Heriolf the explorer, 490
Bard, s. Ottar ; leader of Norwegians, 404
Bard Black, merchant-captain, 495-497
Bard Hebridean, 344
Bard of Hestbær, ii. 614
Bards, Plain of, 522
Bares, William de, ii. 421
Barna-Karl, 338
Barnard Castle, Durham, ii. 410, 420, 498
Barra. *See* Alfdis ; Orm
Barra Isles, 320, 326, 327, 328, 341, 387, 490
Barrfind, s. Natsluaig, s. Angus Mor, cli
Barr-finnan, of Cenel-Endai, 210
Barrit', Hector de, ii. 591
Barrow, R., 286
barrows, 340, 372, 388, 422, 484
Barry, Forfarshire, ii. 524
Basinches, William de ; friar, ii. 552
Bass I., 242
Basset, Thomas, ii. 418
Bath, city, 478 ; ii. 418, 517, 596, 664
battle-tactics, 24, 371, 420, 484, 499, 537-538 ; ii. 17, 44, 129-131, 192, 215, 248-249, 272, 273, 282-283, 336-340, 359, 476, 477, 496, 568, 629-634
Baug, s. Raud, s. Kiallak, 344
Baugé, Anjou, ii. 319
Baugeid, s. Dag, s. Eilif, ii. 6
Baye, Isabella, lady of, sis. Alice de Coucy, ii. 514, 515
Bayeux, Calvados, ii. 45
Bead, gf. Maelduin, ii. 178
Bealdulf, b. Whithorn, 254
Bean (Beyn), " b. Mortlach," 433
Bean, cousin of Catroe ; monk of Iona, 433-438
Beandune, battle, 141
Beanley, Northumberland, ii. 37
Beare, Cork, 286
Beauchamp, William de, baron, ii. 419
Beaulieu, Southamptonshire, ii. 426
Beauly, Inverness-shire, ii. 471, 534
Beaumont. *See* Ermengarde
Beaumont, Henry, br. Robert I de, ii. 200
Beaumont, Isabella, dau. Robert I de, ii. 155, 200, 269
Beaumont, Isabella (or Elizabeth), dau. Robert II de ; w. Simon II de Senlis, ii. 150, 153, 155, 200, 494
Beaumont, Margaret, dau. Robert III de ; w. Saher de Quincey, ii. 493, 494
Beaumont, Richard de, s. Roscelin ; viscount, ii. 310, 311
Beaumont, Robert I de ; c. Meulan, e. Leicester, ii. 145, 148, 153, 155, 200, 494
Beaumont, Robert II de, s. Robert I ; e. Leicester, justiciar of England, ii. 153, 155, 197, 199, 200, 265, 269, 349, 494
Beaumont, Robert III de, s. Robert II ; e. Leicester, ii. 153, 154, 156, 277-279, 281, 285, 287, 320, 494
Beaumont, Roger, s. Henry de ; e. Warwick, ii. 200
Beaumont, Roger de, s. Robert III ; chancellor of k. Scotland ; b. St. Andrews, ii. 320, 349, 351-353, 356
Beaumont, Roscelin de ; viscount of Beaumont, in Maine, ii. 311
Beaumont, Waleran de, s. Robert I ; c. Meulan, ii. 155, 200
Bebbab, w. Æthelfrith, 14
Bec, gf. Cummine of Eigg, 241
Bec, ? s. Conall Cael ; gs. Duncan, ? s. Eoganan, 190, 211, 212
Bec, s. Fiachra, 152
Bec Boirche, k. Ulster, cxlvi, 147

Bec Macc-Dé, 30
Beccan. *See also* Bekan
Beccan, br. Cummine Fota; anchorite on Rum I., 171, 184
Becket, Thomas, archb. Canterbury, lxix, xciv; ii. 276-278, 284, 285, 287-291, 298, 442, 560
Bede, 196, 198, 208, 226, 231, 232, 235; relics of, ii. 137
Bede, mormaer of Buchan, ii. 174, 175
Bedford and Bedfordshire, ii. 148, 149, 200, 537, 671
bee-hive buildings, 17
Beil, Haddingtonshire, ii. 544
Beinir, s. Hialti, s. Thorkel, 384
Bekan, settler in Iceland, 345
Belach-Conglaiss, 8
Belach-feda of the weir of Clonard, battle of, 98
Belachoir, city, 44; palace, 291
Belgium, 90; ii. 88
Beli. *See also* Bile
Beli, ancestor of Coil Hen, 13
Beli, s. Elfin, s. Owen; k. Dumbarton, clvii, 193, 202, 220, 239-241, 243; called Bile Buan, k. Scotland, 220
Beli, s. Neithon, s. Guipno, clviii, 193, 200, 201. *See* Bile, f. Brude
Beli, s. Run, s. Mailcun, 140, 141, 450
Belin, 150
Belisarius, 10
Bellême, Robert de, s. Roger (1) de Montgomery; e. Shrewsbury and Arundel, ii. 126
Belvacensian order, ii. 697
Bendik, s. Ragnhild, dau. e. Paul, ii. 6
Benedict I, pope, 86
Benedict VIII, pope, 541
Benedict the Little, ii. 341
Benedictine Rule, 443
Benedictines, ii. 22, 361, 471, 479, 548, 590, 593, 697-700
Benesing, hold, leader of Danes, 401
Benevento, ii. 265
Benham, Hugh of, b. Aberdeen, ii. 586
Benholm, Kincardineshire, ii. 586
Benvie, Forfarshire, ii. 524
Beóan (or Beóaid), St., f. Mobi; b. (of Ardcarne ?), 433
Beorhtfrith, 213
Beorhtred, s. Beornhæth, 206, 213
Beorhtric, k. Wessex, 255
Beornhæth, 206
Berchan, s. Beóaid Barrfind, xxxvi
Berchan of Clonsost, 8
Berchan of Eigg, 144
Berengaria, dau. Sanchius VI, k. Navarre, ii. 326
Berg. *See* Borgar
Berg Maull, ii. 379
Bergen, Norway, ii. 115, 117, 191, 332, 334-337, 344, 379, 380, 429, 430, 455, 456, 461, 464, 473, 480, 483, 548, 549, 555, 577, 601, 606, 608-610, 614, 645-648, 680, 695
Bergliót, dau. Halfdan, s. Sigurd Sow, 588
Bergliót, dau. Ragnhild, dau. e. Paul, ii. 6, 350
Bergliót, dau. Thori the Silent, 374
Berg-Onund, s. Thorgeir Thorn-foot, 395, 423, 424
Bergsvein, b. Faroes, ii. 382
Bergthor, s. Koll (the Hebridean), 344
Bergthor Buck, ii. 248
Berkeley, Hugh de, ii. 591
Berkeley, Walter de, br. Hugh, ii. 591
Berkeley, Walter de, chamberlain, ii. 297, 298
Bermondsey, Surrey, ii. 55
Bernard, a. Cîteaux, ii. 310
Bernard, a. Clairvaux, ii. 142, 160, 184, 209, 213, 226, 357
Bernard, a. Tiron, lxxiii; ii. 142, 144
Bernard, b. St. David's, ii. 167, 205
Berneval, Dieppe, 545
Bernicia (Birnech), Bernicians, 11-14, 152, 155, 158, 175, 181, 297, 365, 451
berserks, 322
Bertrade, w. Hugh d'Avranches, ii. 324
Bertram, Roger, ii. 499
Berwick, 541; ii. 149, 221, 237, 278, 292, 295, 322, 323, 373, 376, 407-409, 425, 426, 432, 469, 479, 498, 520, 521, 525, 561, 565, 601, 677, 680, 686, 698
Berwick, North. *See* North Berwick
Berwick, Robert of, a. Dunfermline, ii. 349
Berwickshire, 164, 302
Berwyn, Mt., ii. 260
Bethlehem, 129
Bethoc, dau. Donald Bán, ii. 99, 119, 182
Bethoc, dau. Malcolm II, 572, 576, 580, 581; ii. 39
Beulan, priest, 15
Beverley, Yorkshire, ii. 571
bezants, ii. 361, 681. (A bezant was 3 penny-weights of gold=about 1½ oz. of fine silver)
Biadach, s. Kiarval the Old; k. Irish, 342, 345, 539; called Maddad, 342
Biadok, m. Eystein, s. Harold Gilli, ii. 205

Biarmaland, on White Sea, Norway, 459
Biarnaborg, ii. 556
Biarni. *See also* Biorn
Biarni, s. Heriolf (the explorer), 492
Biarni, s. Kolbein Hruga; b. Orkney, ii. 6, 314, 344, 347, 355, 380, 430, 452, 456, 544; called Biarni Skáld, ii. 6
Biartmar, e. in Ireland, 336
Biceot, s. Moneit, 225
Bicor, 147, 148
Bidun, Walter de, chancellor, ii. 259, 300
Biffie, Aberdeenshire, ii. 176, 177
Bigod, Hugh, e. Norfolk (†1177), ii. 280, 281, 285
Bigod, Roger, s. Hugh; e. Norfolk (†1221), ii. 409, 416
Bigod, Roger, s. Hugh, s. Roger; e. Norfolk; marshal (†1270), ii. 376
Bile, f. Brude, cxxv; k. Fortriu, 193; k. Dumbarton, 201. *See* Beli, s. Neithon
Bile, s. Alpin. *See* Beli, s. Elfin
Bingham, Robert de, b. Salisbury, ii. 469, 517
Binin, William de, a. Coupar, ii. 535, 593
Binnech, s. Eogan, s. Niall Nine-hostager, 220
Biólan, k. (of Norwegians) in Scotland, 363, 373
Biorg, dau. Eyvind Eastman, 337, 382
Biorgolf, e. in Shetland, 317
Biorn. Cf. Biarni
Biorn, a chief in Aurland, Sogn, 394
Biorn, a Norwegian, 529
Biorn, a slayer of e. John, ii. 484
Biorn, s. Bryniolf, s. Biorn of Aurland, 394, 395, 423
Biorn, s. Eric, s. Eymund; k. Sweden, 339
Biorn, s. Harold Fairhair; k. Vestfold, 427; ii. 26
Biorn, s. Hofda-Thord, 336
Biorn, s. Hrólf of Ám, 313, 314, 322, 328-330
Biorn, s. Hunda-Steinar and Alof, 301
Biorn, s. Ottar, s. Biorn the Eastern, 363
Biorn, s. Ulf, s. Thorgils, 597, 598
Biorn Blue-tooth, 342
Biorn British, 506, 507
Biorn Buna, s. Wether-Grim, 315, 343, 346, 347
Biorn Butter-keg, s. Hróald the Sad, 336
Biorn Cripplehand, poet, ii. 106-112
Biorn Eastern, 347-350, 359, 360, 362, 363, 378, 380, 384
Biorn Gullbrár-skáld, 586
Biorn Ironside, s. Ragnar and Aslaug, 299, 336
Biorn Strong, s. e. Kiallak, 347, 348, 360
Biorn Whale-maw, s. Kiallak, s. Biorn the Strong, 348
Biornolf, s. Grim Shaggy-cheek, 377
Biorn's-haven, Borgarholt, 363
Birgi, e., ii. 609
Birnam, David of; chamberlain of k.; b. St. Andrews, lxxxiii, 364; ii. 510-512, 516-518, 520, 521, 527, 545, 552, 562, 563, 573, 574, 580
Birnie, Elginshire, ii. 448
Birr, King's County, 37
Birsay, Orkney, ii. 2, 160, 266
bishops, pre-Columban, 45
Bishopsbridge, Roger of, archb. York, ii. 224, 253, 281, 282, 305
Bisset, John, justice of king's forest, ii. 536
Bisset, John, nephew of Walter, ii. 471, 530, 533, 534, 536
Bisset, Thomas, nephew of Walter, ii. 537
Bisset, Walter, lord of Aboyne, ii. 489, 530, 533, 534, 536-538
Bituria, ii. 342
Biur, R., 33
Blaan (or Blane), b. Kingarth, 176, 177
Blacaire, s. Godfrey; k. Dublin, 431
Black Cave, 354
Black Devon, R., 92
Black-gentiles, 280, etc. *See* Danes
Blackness, W. Lothian, 468
Blæing, s. Sóti, 320, 328
Blæjo, dau. k. Ælle, 298
Blairgowrie, Perthshire, ii. 355, 524
Blascona, ii. 8, 229
Blathaon, Cape, ii. 144
Blathmac, k. Irish, 342
Blathmac, k. Ulster, cxlvi
Blathmac, s. Aed Slane; k. Ireland, cxlvi, 26, 176
Blathmac, s. Fland, 263-265
Bláthmín, dau. Muirchertach, s. Thiálbi, ii. 115-117, 126, 136
Blathnat (or Moelblatha), stone in Iona, 98, 99
Bledach, in Tiree, 18
Blervie, Moray, 454
Blockele, William de, ii. 504
Blois, Loir-et-Cher, ii. 54, 150, 166, 361
Blois, Henry de, b. Winchester, lvi
Blois, Matilda of, sis k. Stephen, ii. 166, 324
Blois, William de. *See* William, s. k. Stephen

Blois, William of, b. Lincoln, ii. 361, 368
Blois, William of, b. Worcester, ii. 434, 501
blood-eagle, 297, 390
Bluchbard, 11
Blund, le. *See* John
Blundeville, Randolph de, s. Hugh; e. Chester, ii. 324, 366, 372, 418, 437, 452, 453, 486, 487
Blundeville, Thomas de, b. Norwich, ii. 517
Blund-Ketil, 388
Boanta, f. Aed, 268
Boanta, sons of, 201
boats, 40, 47, 51, 56, 59, 60, 65-68, 76, 81, 122, 129, 187-189, 226, 229, 251, 367, 379, 469, 471, 478-479, 491, 556; ii. 45, 102, 105, 113, 114, 133, 192, 214, 215, 272, 337-341, 464, 474, 476, 478, 497, 504, 508, 509, 610, 613, 614, 619, 626, 628, 634, 648, 653, 694
Bobbio, Italy, 94
Bodb, s. Ronan, gs. Congal, 183
Bodvar, f. Sighvat, ii. 613
Bodvar, s. Vigsterk, 345
Bodvar Bladder-pate, 343, 344
Bodvars-holt, Iceland, 342
Bohun, Henry de, s. Humphrey and Margaret, duchess of Brittany; e. Hereford, ii. 246, 419
Bohun, Humphrey de, ii. 246, 278
Boiamund, collector of Holy-land tenth. *See* Vitia
Boib, s. Ronan, s. Aidan, clvi
Bois, Andrew de, ii. 301
Bois, William de, chancellor of k., ii. 388, 400, 435, 462
Boite, s. Kenneth III?, 520, 571, 572, 579, 580, 603
Boleslav Chrobri, s. Miesko; k. Poland, 598, ii. 271
Bolingbroke, Lincolnshire, ii. 487
Bolli, s. Thorleik, s. Hauskuld, 382
Bolton, Alnwick, ii. 372
Bolton, Haddingtonshire, ii. 372, 525
Bömmelö, Hardangerfiord, 359
Bondington, William of, b. Glasgow, chancellor, ii. 251, 485, 486, 490, 491, 500, 503, 505, 510, 512, 514, 516, 517, 527, 529, 543, 552, 564, 580, 583, 584, 593, 594, 661
Boniface, a. Ferté; a. Cîteaux, ii. 536
Boniface, archb. Canterbury. *See* Savoy
Boniface, archb. Mainz, 246
Boniface, b. Rosemarkie, 19, 205
Boniface IV, pope, 145
Boniface VIII, pope, liii; ii. 684
Bonnekil, Randolph de, ii. 391
Book of Mochod, xxxi
Book of the Monks, xxxi
books, 7, 20, 113, 116-117, 131, 133, 144, 160, 186, 331, 340, 341, 343, 358, 526; ii. 67-68, 80-81, 354, 640
Boothill, Scone, 224
Bordeaux, ii. 575
Borg, Iceland, 423, 457, 458
Borgar, s. Iatvor, dau. Erlend, ii. 7
Borgarholt, Iceland, 363
Borgarlœk, Iceland, 363
Borghild, dau. Dag, s. Eilif, ii. 186
Bork Stout, s. Thorstein Codbiter; gs. Olaf Feilan, 361, 387
Borthwick, Midlothian, 137
Bothngouane, 581
Botine, Scandinavians of, 286
Botolf, ii. 359
Boulogne, 443; ii. 54, 56, 124, 125, 240, 575
Bovo, a bishop, ii. 9
Bowden, Roxburghshire, ii. 372
Bowes, Yorkshire, ii. 283
Boyeltun, ii. 372
Boyle, Roscommon, xxvi, 592
Boyle, R., 36
Boyne, R., 475
Brabançons, ii. 285, 290
Bragi, ii. 620, 625, 628
Braisne, Aisne, ii. 514
Bramsbury, Lincolnshire, 402
Bran, f. Branchu, 229, 230
Bran, f. Fothad, 471
Bran, f. Murchaid, 220
Bran, f. Rechtabrat, 284
Bran, k. Leinster, cxlvi, cxlviii
Bran, k. Leinster, cxlviii
Bran, s. Aidan, s. Gabran, cli, 118, 119; called Brian, 119
Bran, s. Angus (? II, s. Fergus), 268
Bran, s. Macc-Decuil, 23
Bran Bec, k. Leinster, k. Ireland, cxlvi
Branchu, s. Bran, 229, 230
Brand, b. Holar, ii. 358
Brand, s. Gelli, s. Thorkel, 306
Brand, s. Gneisti, 540
Brandenburg, Prussia, ii. 9
Brandub, s. Eochaid, s. Enda Gensalach; k. Leinster, cxlv, 33, 78, 102
Brandub, s. Meilge, 39
Braose, Giles de, s. William (the elder); b. Hereford, ii. 385
Braose, Margaret de, dau. William (the elder), ii. 384
Braose, Maud de. *See* Haye, Matilda de
Braose, Reginald de, s. William (the elder), ii. 384-386

Braose, Sybil, sis. William de (the elder). *See* Ferrieres
Braose, William de (the elder), s. William, ii. 383-387
Braose, William de, s. William (the elder), ii. 384-387
Braut. *See* Cincar
Braut-Onund, s. Yngvar, 306
Braytoft, Thomas of, a messenger, ii. 695
Bréauté, Falk de, ii. 417, 418
Brecc, of Fortriu, 221
Breccan, s. Fiacc, 23
Breccan, s. Saran and Babona, 4
Breccan, s. Tulchan, s. Barrfind, cli
Brechin, Forfarshire, 512; ii. 178, 182, 357, 434, 444, 500, 510, 516, 532, 545, 553, 581, 586, 589, 663, 664, 699
Brechin, William of, ii. 581, 583, 584
Brecknock, 402
Bred, k. Picts, cxxviii, cxxxv
Brega (Bray), 35, 46, 191, 195, 277. Cf. Mag-Breg
Breida-bólstadr, Iceland, 381
Breida-fiordr, 377, 498. *See* Moray Firth
Breidafiordr, Iceland, 361-363, 380, 381, 383, 385, 490, 491, 529
Breidfirdingar, 306, 381
Breifne, Connaught, 81
Bremen, xxvi, 299; ii. 7-9, 228, 229
Brenaind. *See also* Brendan
Brenaind, s. Cathba, s. Muiredach, cliii
Brenaind, s. Erc and Fergus, 3, 39
Brendan, a. Birr, 37, 38, 189
Brendan, a. Clonfert, lxxiii, 17-19, 25, 29, 54, 55, 64, 284; called Mocu-Alti, 54, 55, 64
Brendan, s. Erc. *See* Brenaind
Brendan's Seat, 19
Brendinus, gs. Gabran; k. Man, 90
Breodalach, f. Marcan, 475
Bresi, f. Ketil, 343, 344
Bressal, s. Ailellen (or s. Ailill), 475
Bres(s)al, s. Enda, s. Niall, 39
Bressal, s. Erc, s. Eochaid, cl
Bressal, s. Segine; a. Iona, 249, 257
Bressay Sound, Shetland, ii. 614
Bresti, f. Sigmund of Faroes, 486
Bretland, 506, 507. *See* Wales
Bretwalda (Breoten-wealda), 175
Brian, a. Dundrennan, ii. 565
Brian, s. Alan, ii. 469
Brian, s. Murchaid, ii. 143
Brian Boroime, s. Cendétig, s. Lorcan; k. Cashel, k. Ireland, cxlviii, cxlix, 480, 487, 488, 521, 525-527, 530, 533-538, 539-541; ii. 43, 100
Brian's Saga, 530
Briasomu, s. Olchu, s. Eochaid, cl.
Bricius, prior of Lesmahagow, b. Moray, ii. 360, 370, 405, 435, 448, 531
Bridgenorth, Shropshire, 402
Bridget, cxx, cxxi, 6, 17, 18, 23, 26, 35, 46, 47, 106, 122, 209, 425, 440; ii. 271
Bridin, s. Kolinus, s. Angus the Shoemaker, ii. 652
Brienne, John de, k. Jerusalem, ii. 453, 454, 514, 570
Brienne, John (of Acre) de, s. John de, ii. 514, 570, 588, 593
Bristol, ii. 385
Britain, lxiii, cxv, 1, 2, 9-12, 15-19, 24, 34, 37-39, 43, 44, 48, 70, 74, 92, 116, 123, 124, 126, 131, 133, 154, 157, 164, 175, 184, 197, 199, 215, 252, 255, 256, 266, 274, 276, 282, 293, 297, 300-302, 304, 305, 337, 341, 344, 398, 400, 404, 433, 479, 512, 525; ii. 134, 295
Britain, Ridge of, 56, 58-59, 61, 197, 217, 226. *See* Druimm-(n)Alban
Brith's son, a. Arick, 411
British Isles, 286, 336, 344, 381, 427, 520, 545
Brito. *See* Aubigny
Brito, monk of Iona, 46
Britons, cxviii, cxx, cxxi, 2, 7, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 36, 44, 73, 90, 92, 124, 127, 128, 131, 133, 140, 141, 147, 148, 154-156, 158, 159, 163, 167, 173, 184, 195, 213, 218, 234, 238-240, 243, 251, 252, 272, 276, 288, 292, 303, 304, 355, 366, 367, 419, 431, 445, 449, 451, 471, 475, 477, 480, 488, 517, 525, 526; ii. 527, 528
Brittany (Lesser Britain; Armorica), lix, 19, 92, 133, 141, 216; ii. 246, 274, 286, 287, 312, 412, 471
Briun, s. Eochaid Muigmedon, cl, clvi
Broadfirth, Iceland. *See* Breidafiordr
Brochmail, s. Mouric; k. Gwent, 355
brochs, 331, 394
Brocin, ii. 181
Brocmail, 140, 141
Brodir, s. Audgisl; a viking, 534-541
Brodir, s. Thorkel; k. Dublin, ii. 208
Broichan, a wizard; tutor of king Brude, Maelchon's son, 50
Brough, Westmoreland, ii. 288
Bruce, Edward, xxxv
Bruce, Isabella de, w. Eric k. Norway, ii. 683
Bruce, Robert de, s. Robert le Meschin, s. Robert 1st lord of Annandale, ii. 306, 325

Bruce, Robert de, s. William, s. Robert le Meschin, ii. 437, 488
Bruce, Robert de, s. Robert, s. William; the Competitor, ii. 437, 488, 533, 581, 583, 644, 667, 688
Bruce, Robert de, s. Robert the Competitor; e. Carrick, lord of Annandale, 533, 667, 675, 676, 688
Bruce, Robert de, s. Robert e. Carrick; k. Scotland, cxlii; ii. 488, 533, 667, 688 (born in 1274, according to Bower, X, 36)
Brude, s. Angus, s. Fergus, cxxvi, 228, 229, 233
Brude, s. Bile; k. Fortriu, k. Picts, cxxv, 181, 190-195, 200, 201
Brude, s. Derile, and ? gs. Brude, s. Bile; k. Picts, cxxv, 193-195, 202, 204, 211
Brude, s. Fergus; k. Fortriu, k. Picts, cxxvi, 245, 248
Brude, s. Foith; k. Picts, cxxiv, 166, 171
Brude, s. Maelchon; k. Picts, 4, 5, 20, 21, 43, 44, 49, 50, 53, 56, 75, 86, 89, 91, 104, 121; fortress of, 49, 50, 52
Brude, s. Maelchon; ? k. Picts, 241
Brude, s. Wthoil; k. Picts, cxxviii
Bruern, Oxfordshire, ii. 468
Brun, William, master of nuns of Berwick, ii. 565
Brun, le. *See* Lusignan, Hugh
Brunanburh, battle, 409-412, 414, 429, 442, 446
Brusi, s. Sigurd, s. Hlodve; e. Orkney, 511, 528, 542, 551, 552, 554, 557, 559-568, 577, 584, 585; ii. 3, 4
Brutus, k. Britain, cxv; ii. 527
Brynhild, dau. Budli, 299
Brynhild, dau. Grim Lodinkinni, 316
Brynhild, dau. Vemund (the Old), 316
Bryniólf, s. Biorn of Aurland, 394
Bryniólf, s. Halldor, s. Bryniólf Camel, ii. 5
Bryniólf, s. John, ii. 602, 603, 614, 617, 639, 641, 656
Bryniólf, s. Sigurd of Westness, ii. 6
Bryniólf Camel, ii. 5
Buain, s. Mais, cxvii
Buchan, Aberdeenshire, cxvi, 468; ii. 174, 180, 278, 400, 441, 583, 588, 653
Buchan, Andrew of, a. Coupar, ii. 593
Budli (or Butle), k. Denmark, 299
Bui, s. Andrid, 377
buildings, 65, 111-113, 187, 188, 331, 343; ii. 6, 14, 21, 49, 50, 61, 64, 65, 102, 103, 134, 151, 159, 160, 165, 192, 193, 220, 221, 373, 390, 601
Buitte, s. Bronach; a. Monasterboice, xxxvi, lxxiii, cxx, cxxi, 6, 7, 31, 35
Bulc. *See* Morcant
Bull, Dursey I., 286
Burgh, Hubert de, e. Kent, justiciar, ii. 375, 376, 422, 446, 581
Burgh, Magota, dau. Hubert de, and Margaret, dau. k. William, ii. 506
Burgh, Margaret, dau. Hubert de, ii. 581 (? same as Magota)
Burgundy, 443; ii. 434, 471
Burnevilla, Agnes de, ii. 667
Burnswark, Dumfriesshire, 74, 429
Burntisland, Fife, ii. 523
Burnt-Niál. *See* Niál, s. Thorgeir Gollni
Burra Firth, Shetland, ii. 162, 612
Bute, I., 176, 177, 326; ii. 471, 476, 617, 620, 621, 623, 634, 635
Byland Abbey, Yorkshire, ii. 97, 428
Byrgisherad, Orkney, ii. 266
Byrgis-vik, Iceland, 320

Caconia, ii. 665, 666
Caddonlee, Selkirkshire, ii. 278
Cadvan, counsellor of k. Morgan, 132
Cadzow, 136
Cadzow, William of, ii. 583
Cael, s. Aed, s. Artchorp, 170
Caeldub, s. Fergus Salach, clii
Caen, Calvados, ii. 32, 264
Caer-Abrocc. *See* York
Caer-Alclut, 302. *See* Dumbarton
Caiblene, s. Natsluaig, s. Angus Mor, cli
Caiblene, s. Natsluaig, s. Ronan, clvi
Caill-Folamain, Westmeath, 544
Caillnae, clii
Cailtan, br. Diuni; prior in Cill-Diuni, 62, 63
Cailtram, s. Girom; k. Picts, cxxii
Cainchomrac, a. Iona, 450
Cainle, district, 58
Cainle, mountain, 58
Cainnech, a. Aghaboe, 33, 35, 50, 54, 55; s. Aed Alaind, 55; called Mocu-Dalon, 54
Cainnech, gs. Dobarchu, ii. 177, 178
Cainnech Mor, f. Eimin, 536
Caintigern, dau. Cellach Cualann, 230, 231
Cair-eden, 468, 469
Cairell, f. Donald, 473
Cairell, f. Matain, ii. 176
Cairn of kings, Iona, 604
Cairnan, s. Brandub, s. Meilge, 39
Cairnech, s. Sarran and Babona, 4
Cairn-O-Mount, 226

Caislen-Credi, battle, 224
Caislen-glinne, battle, 283
Caithness, cxvi, cxvii, 41, 143, 190, 324, 331, 344, 361, 370-372, 378-380, 389, 391, 426, 483-485, 489, 500, 502, 509, 533, 540-542, 553, 554, 556, 567, 570, 577, 578, 585, 586; ii. 140, 162, 182, 192, 193, 196, 215, 236-238, 255, 348, 350, 355, 356, 394, 449-452, 479, 481, 482, 510, 513, 514, 516, 535, 536, 615, 648, 649, 700; called territory of Cath, cxvii
Cait(t) (or Got), s. Cruithne, cxvii (eponym of Caithness)
Calat(e)ria, 158, 233, 234
Calathros, battle, 158, 159, 170, 184-186; Cnocc-Coirpri at Etarlindu in, 233
Calder, district in Midlothian, 234
Calder, Cumberland, ii. 183, 184, 275, 388
Calder-Clere, ii. 526. *See* East Calder
Calder-Comitis, ii. 521. *See* Mid-Calder
Calixtus II, pope, ii. 164, 167, 212
Callendar, Falkirk, 234
Calman, s. Enan, 23
Calve Island, Mull, called Calf of Mull, ii. 635
Cambrai, Nord, ii. 681
Cambridge and Cambridgeshire, xc; ii. 148, 152, 154, 391, 537
Cambuskenneth, Stirling, ii. 509, 510, 589, 699
Camel, R., 9
Camelon, Stirlingshire, 9, 234
Camlann, battle, 9
Canaan (Canand), 128
Canan, s. Barrfind, s. Natsluaig, cli
cannibalism, ii. 23
Canntann, s. Fergna, s. Angus Mor, cli
Cano, s. Gartnait (or s. Gartnan, s. Aed, s. Gabran), 76, 122, 123, 198; ii. 179
Cano, s. Gartnait, ? s. Accidan, 122, 123, 179, 180, 182
Cantabrian Ocean, 293
Canterbury, xxiii, li, 442; ii. 20, 31, 32, 164, 284-289, 319, 412, 414, 446, 451, 469, 505, 517, 571, 593
Cantilupe, Matilda de, ii. 571
Cantilupo, William de, ii. 417, 418
Cantilupo, William, s. William de, ii. 418
Caplen, s. Eochaid Find, cli
Caradoc of Llancarvan, xl
Carataue, s. Gwyn; k. Gwynedd, 257
Carbury, Leinster, 23, 24
Carcall, k. Argyle ?, cxlviii
Cardiff, ii. 24
Cardigan, Wales, 356; ii. 261
Cardoness, Nicholas de, knight, ii. 449, 565, 566
Carham, Northumberland, 544, 546, 573; ii. 372, 584
Carl, s. Thurbrand, ii. 24, 40, 41
Carlingford, Louth, 525
Carlingford Bay, 283
Carlisle, 74, 132, 192, 365; ii. 23, 37, 49, 151, 165, 167, 197, 198-201, 209, 210, 219, 220, 234-236, 240, 276-278, 288, 289, 294, 310, 354, 391, 392, 407, 409, 424, 425, 450, 479, 503-505, 661
Carlus, s. k. French, 536
Carnarvon, ii. 688
Carnech. *See* Cairnech
Carn-lugdach, battle, 286
Carno, mountain, 226
Carno, R., battle, 450
Carnock, Stirlingshire, 130
Carpow, Perthshire, 122
Carribber, Linlithgow, 233
Carrick, ii. 330, 533, 581, 666
Carrick, Duncan of, s. Gilbert, s. Fergus of Galloway; e. Carrick, ii. 330, 331, 384, 667
Carrickabraghy, Donegal, ii. 415
Carrickfergus, Antrim, ii. 383-385, 387
Carriden, W. Lothian, 164, 468, 469; ii. 523
Carrington, Midlothian, ii. 523
Carthusians, ii. 298, 670
Carwhinelow, 74
Cas, s. Fraech, s. Cumscrach, 147
Cascene, s. Macc-Decuil, 23
Cashel, Tipperary, 278, 283, 284, 401, 406, 445, 521; archbishopric, ii. 212
Cassianus, John, 28, 105
Castello, Roger de, canon of Caithness, ii. 535
Castile, ii. 580
Castlekieran, Meath, 451
Catell, s. Rotri, s. Mermin; k. Cardigan, k. S. Wales, 356, 399, 407, 408, 450; k. Dinevwr, 356
Catgabail, k. Gwynedd, 16; called Catguommed, 16
Catgualart, s. Catguollaun; k. Gwynedd, 15, 450
Catgualatr, Welsh leader, ii. 260
Catguollaun, s. Catman; k. Gwynedd, 15, 90, 132, 141, 150, 154-158, 173
Cathair Mor, s. Fedlimid All-wise, 23, 39
Cathal. *See also* Catell; Catol; Ketil

Cathal, f. k. Artgal, 253
Cathal, k. Connaught, cxlvi
Cathal, s. Aed ; k. Munster, cxlv, 148
Cathal, s. Amalgaid ; k. E. Leinster, 520
Cathal, s. Conchobar ; k. Connaught, 445
Cathal, s. Morgan ; toisech, ii. 176, 177
Cathanus, b., 177
Cathasach, k. Ulster, cxlvi
Cathasach, gs. Donald Brecc, 169, 198, (s.l.) 199
Cathasach, s. Donald Brecc, 169
Cathba, s. Loarn Mor, clii
Cathba, s. Muiredach, s. Loarn Mor, clii, cliii, 208. Tribe of, *see* Cenel-Cathbad
Cathbuaid, 408
Cathmail, s. Ruadri, s. Ferchar, clvi, clvii
Cathmeis, S. Wales, ii. 163
Cathures (Glasgow), 130
Catman, s. Iacob, s. Beli, 450
Catoic, battle, 239, 240
Catol, 384, 385, 398
Catrail, 123
Catroe, St. ; prior of Wassor ; a. St. Felix and St. Clement, Metz, lxxiii, 431-443, 462
Catscaul, battle, 15, 156
Cave, Richard de, a. Kelso, ii. 368, 371
Cavers, Roxburghshire, ii. 685
Caw, k. Dumbarton, lx
Ce, s. Cruithne, cxvii (eponym of a part of Scotland)
Ceawlin, k. Wessex, 90, 97, 124
Cecilia, dau. e. Erlend, s. Thorfinn, ii. 7, 190
Cecilia, dau. k. Hakon, s. Hakon, ii. 546, 548, 549, 554
Cecilia, dau. k. Sigurd Mouth, ii. 341, 429
Cecilia, dau. William, s. k. Duncan II, ii. 91, 92
Cecilia, w. Nicholas of Cardoness, ii. 565, 566
Ceirfuill, stone beside, cxxi, 122
Celestine, a. Iona, ii. 361
Celestine I (St.), pope, 127
Celestine III, pope, ii. 229, 316, 326, 329, 343, 345, 349, 587
Celestine IV, pope, ii. 528
celibacy, 8, 26, 46, 240, 527 ; ii. 74, 209, 213, 536, 551, 574
célidé, lxxx, lxxxvi, xci, 105, 132, 447, 526 ; ii. 22, 32, 71, 73, 160, 206, 253, 443, 572, 574, 578, 580, 698-700 ; a section of the community of Iona, ii. 253 ; cf. i. a. L.B., 261 ; Y.B.L., 408-409
Cellach, b., 445
Cellach, f. Dub-da-leithe, 520
Cellach, in Moray, 452
Cellach, intruder in Iona, ii. 363
Cellach, k. Connaught, cxlvi
Cellach, k. Ireland, cxlvi
Cellach, k. Leinster, cxlvi, cxlviii
Cellach, k. Ossory, cxlvi
Cellach, prince of Scotland, 411 (? s. Constantine, s. Aed)
Cellach, s. Ailill ; a. Kildare, a. Iona, 295, 296
Cellach, s. Bard ; mormaer in Scotland, 480
Cellach, s. Cerball. *See* Kiallak, s. Kiarval
Cellach, s. Congal ; a. Iona, 259-261
Cellach, s. Donald Brecc, 169
Cellach, s. Duncan, 520
Cellach, s. Ferdalach, 475
Cellach, s. Fiachna, br. k. Scandlan, 163
Cellach, s. Findguine ; mormaer in Scotland, 480
Cellach Cualann, k. Leinster, k. Ireland (†715), 230, 231 ; descendants of, see Ui-Cellaig-Cualann
Cell-Delga in Ardgal, 95
Cell-Diuni. *See* Cill-
Cell-rig-monaid, 55, 266. *See* St. Andrews
Cell-Slebe-Cuilind, 5, 8
Cell-ua-nDaigri, battle, 406
Cend-Belachoir, palace, 291. *See* Belachoir
Cend-Curraig, 284
Cend-Delgthen, battles, 145, 146, 216, 222
Cend-eich of Cluain, 404 (possibly = Killeigh, King's county ?)
Cendétig, f. Cormac, ii. 179
Cendétig, s. Gaithin ; k. Leix, 292, 403
Cendétig, s. Lorcan, s. Cellach ; k. Thomond, 480, 521, 525, 535
Cendfaelad, f. Maelduin, 261
Cendfaelad, k. Connaught, cxlvi
Cendfaelad, k. Ireland, cxlvi, 182
Cendfaelad, k. Muskerry, 284
Cendfaelad, k. Ossory, cxliv, 81, 83
Cendfaelad, s. Maelcoba, s. Aed, 217
Cendrígmonaid, 238, 266, 267, 575. *See* St. Andrews
Cenel-Cathbad, clii, 207, 208
Cenel-Cinaeda, cliv
Cenel-Comgaill, cliv-clvi, 158, 161, 212, 269
Cenel-Conaill, 11, 24, 125, 185, 210, 214, 217, 241, 246, 283, 569; ii. 94, 393
Cenel-Conaire, cxxix

Cenel-Endai, 210
Cenel-Eochada, clii
Cenel-Eogain, 162, 210, 219, 229, 230, 241, 278, 468; ii. 94, 227, 254, 297, 364
Cenel-Feradaig, 3
Cenel-Fergusa, clii
Cenel-Fergusa, branch of Cenel-Eogain, 468
Cenel-Fergusa, of Donegal, ii. 415
Cenel-Fiachach, 290
Cenel-Gabrain, clii-clv, 67, 79, 177, 211, 214, 219, 269. *See* Aidan, s. Gabran, descendants of
Cenel-Loairn, clii-clvi, 184, 207, 208, 219, 229, 249. *See* Lorn
Cenel-Lugdach, 3, 24, 210
Cenel-Moin, 3
Cenel-Oengusa, clii-clvi
Cenel-Setnai, cli
Ceneu, s. Coil Hen, 13, 86, 104
Cennalath, k. Picts, cxxiii, 86
Ceolfrith, 212
Ceolwulf, s. Cutha; k. Northumbria, 227
Cerball, s. Conall. *See* Fergus Cerball
Cerball, s. Dunlaing (or Dungal), s. Fergal; k. Ossory (†888), 278, 279, 283, 290, 316, 328, 344, 403, 539. *See* Kiarval (the Old)
Cerball, s. Lorcan, s. Duncan; heir of Leinster (†967). ? *See* Kiarval II
Cerball, s. Muirecan; k. Leinster (†909), 399, 407
Cerc, dau. Eochaid, s. Aed, 18
Ceretic, k. Elmet, 14
Ceretic, s. Cuneda, 12, 133, 142
Ceretic Guletic, s. Cynloyp, clviii
Cernach, 215
Cerues, in diocese of Aberdeen, 364
Cetula, k., 141
Chaceporc, Peter, keeper of king's wardrobe, ii. 536
Chainedut, Ralph, ii. 419
chamberlains of k. Scotland. *See* Balliol, Henry; Berkeley, Walter; Birnam, David; Inverkeithing, Richard; Maxwell, Aymer; Maxwell, John; Meyners, Robert; Nicholas; Valognes, Philip; William, e. Mar
Champagne, ii. 124, 150
chancellors of k. Scotland. *See* Archibald, b. Moray; Beaumont, Roger; Bidun, Walter; Bois, William; Bondington, William; Comyn, William; Florence; Fraser, William; Gamelin; Ingram, b. Glasgow; John, b. Glasgow; Keldeleth, Robert; Matthew Scot; Nicholas; Peter, canon; Sigillo, Hugh de; Stirling, Thomas; William Malveisin; Wishart, William
Channelkirk, Berwickshire, ii. 521
Charlemagne, k. France, emperor of the West, liv, 251, 259, 260, 308, 310, 366
Charles II, the Bald, s. Louis I; k. France, emperor, 279
Charles IV, the Simple; s. Louis II, the Stammerer; k. France, 374
Charleton, Adam de, an attorney, ii. 679
Charté-sur-Loire, ii. 146
Chartres, Eure-et-Loir, lxix, 517
Cheam, John of, b. Glasgow, ii. 542, 596, 598, 644, 656, 661, 662
Cheek Point, Waterford, 286
Chen, le. *See* Henry; Reginald
Chenigale, ii. 441
Cheshire, 402
Chester, 246, 399, 401, 407, 478-479; ii. 111, 145, 223, 233, 234, 324, 391, 392, 487, 505, 517, 588; battle, 126, 140, 141
Chesterford (Ceasterford), 460
Chichester, ii. 418
Chillingham, Northumberland, ii. 582
Chirbury, Shropshire, 402
Chirnside, Berwickshire, ii. 521
Chiron, ii. 320
Chondrochedalvan, lake, 267
Christian, a. Mellifont, ii. 208
Christian, b. Galloway, ii. 224, 229, 311
Christiania (Oslo), ii. 248, 333, 379, 461, 473, 546-548, 601, 609, 645, 685
Christina. *See also* Kristin
Christina, dau. David e. Huntingdon, ii. 157, 374
Christina, dau. Edward, s. Edmund Ironside, ii. 25, 29, 30, 56
Christina, dau. Ferchar Maccintsacairt, ii. 458
Christopher, k. Denmark, ii. 577
Church, eastern, 105
Cian, called Gueinth Guaut, 11, 12
Cian(n)achta, 229, 283, 309
Ciannait, dau. a. Feradach, s. Cormac, 358-359
Ciaran, s. of the Wright, 17, 32, 33, 36, 38, 284
Ciarraige-Luachra, ii. 143. *See* Kerry
Cill-Diuni, 62, 63
Cillén, 222
Cilline, s. Amalgaid, s. Feradach, 241
Cilline, s. Congal, 240
Cilline Droichtech, s. Dichloch (or Dicuill); a. Iona, anchorite, 210, 240, 241

Cilline Fota, a. Iona, 221, 222
Cinan (†865), 295
Cinan, f. Grufud, ii. 144, 145
Cinan, f. Selim, 140, 141
Cinan, s. Rotri, s. Iutgual; k. Welsh (k. Gwynedd; †816), 261, 295, 450
Cinbelin, s. Dumnagual Hen, 13
Cincar Braut, s. Bran Hen, 13
Cince, s. Guaire, cliii
Cindtai, s. Coirpre Riata, cliii
Cinge, s. Luchtai, s. Parthalan, cxvii
Cinhil, s. Cluim, s. Cursalen, clviii
Cinmarc, s. Merchiaun, 13
Cinuit, s. Ceretic Guletic, clviii
Circen, land of, 241
Circhend, battle, 97, 118, 119
Circin(n) (or Circing, Cirig), s. Cruithne, cxvii (eponym of Mearns)
Cirencester, Gloucestershire, ii. 539, 571
Cistercians, ii. 158, 171, 181, 183, 184, 195, 202, 204, 206, 208, 210, 211, 228, 232, 322, 328, 364, 403, 416, 422, 423, 426, 428, 432-435, 439, 448, 511, 518, 586, 654, 664, 697-700
Cîteaux, Côte-d'Or, xlix; ii. 101, 195, 310, 394-396, 415, 422, 434, 435, 511, 527, 536, 560, 659
Civitate Antina, John de, a clerk, ii. 516
Civitella, John de, papal chaplain, ii. 579
Clach na Breatan, Glenfalloch, 218
Clackmannan, 9; ii. 500, 526
Clackmannanshire, 90, 92, 97, 213
Cladrois, Islay, clii, 158, 233
Claideom, 452
Clairvaux, Aube, xxxvi; ii. 209, 226, 314, 315, 415, 422, 434, 511, 534, 697
Cland-Ciarain, 3
Cland-Colmain, 245
Cland-Crundmail, 3
Cland-Loingsich, 3
Cland-Maelsechlaind, 245
Clappa, k. Bernicia, 12
Clara, St., ii. 572
Clare, Ireland, 351, 479
Clare, Basilia, dau. Richard (3) de, ii. 271
Clare, Gilbert de, s. Gilbert, s. Richard (1); 1st e. Pembroke, ii. 145-147, 155, 200, 269
Clare, Gilbert de, s. Richard (1); e. Cornwall, ii. 144-146, 155, 200, 223, 324
Clare, Gilbert de, s. Richard (2); 1st e. Hertford, ii. 155, 324
Clare, Gilbert de, s. Richard (4); e. Gloucester, e. Hertford, ii. 644, 667
Clare, Isabella de, dau. Gilbert de Clare, s. Richard (4); w. Robert de Bruce, the Competitor, ii. 533, 667
Clare, Isabella de, dau. Richard (3); w. William Marshal; countess of Pembroke, ii. 200, 324
Clare, Matilda, dau. Robert de, ii. 155
Clare, Richard (1) de, s. Gilbert, c. Brionne; 1st lord of Clare, ii. 119, 145, 155
Clare, Richard (2) de, s. Gilbert, s. Richard (1), ii. 146, 155, 223, 324
Clare, Richard (3) de, s. Gilbert, 1st e. Pembroke; Strongbow; e. Pembroke, li; ii. 155, 200, 269-273, 296, 324
Clare, Richard (4) de, s. Roger, s. Richard (2); e. Hertford, ii. 416
Clare, Richard (5) de, s. Gilbert, s. Richard (4); 7th e. Gloucester, 6th e. Hertford, ii. 581, 582, 584
Clare, Robert de, s. Richard (1), ii. 145-146, 155, 269
Clare, Roger de, s. Richard (2); 2nd e. Hertford, ii. 324
Clare, Walter, s. Robert de, ii. 145, 146, 155
Claricia, dau. k. David I, ii. 149
Clatti (or Claty), William of, canon of St. Andrews, ii. 653, 678
Claudian, 342
Claudius Cæsar, emperor of Rome, ii. 295, 401
Clement, b. Dunblane, ii. 490, 500, 529, 545, 546, 583, 589, 591
Clement, priest from Ireland, 251
Clement III, pope, ii. 312, 315, 316, 325, 326
Clement IV, pope, ii. 601, 651, 657
Cletty, on Boyne R., 4
Cleveland, Yorkshire, 512; ii. 13, 23
Clinoch, s. Dumnagual Hen, 13
Clinog Eitin, s. Cinbelin, 13 (possibly = Clinog of Edinburgh ?)
Clipstone, Hugh of, a. Melrose, ii. 196, 396, 405; called of Clifton, ii. 196
Clitauc, s. Catell, s. Rotri; "k. Wales," 399, 402, 408
Cloen-loch, 367
Cloitech, xxxv
Clonard, 32, 98, 599
Clondara, 36
Clonfert, 18, 25, 55, 277, 284, 569. *See* Brendan
Cloni-finchoil, in Ireland, 114
Clonmacnoise (Cluain - mic - Nois), King's county, 36, 107, 251, 277
Clonmore, of Ferrard, in Louth county, 34
Clontarf, battle, cxlix, 501, 525, 534-542; ii. 3, 136
Clop. *See* Masguic

clothing, 29, 31, 53, 69, 131, 138, 186, 492, 496; ii. 65, 68, 118, 129, 132, 264, 289, 339, 452, 497, 536, 567, 593, 594, 603, 641
Cloyne, Cork county, 404, 406
Cluain, monks of, 404 (Cloyne, Cork county ?)
Cluain-daim, battle, 283
Cluiam, in England, 512
Cluim, s. Cursalen, clviii
Cluniacensian order, ii. 251, 267, 297, 441, 699
Clunie, Stormont, 288
Cluny, ? Auchterderran, Fife, ii. 87
Cluny, Saône-et-Loire, ii. 297, 311, 699
Clwyd, R., 368, 402
Clyde, R., 132, 136, 366, 476, 477
Cnocc-Coirpri, battle, 233
Cnut. *See also* Knut
Cnut, s. Gorm the Old, 482
Cnut, s. Valdimar I, s. Cnut; k. Denmark, ii. 347, 355
Cnut (St.), s. Sven, s. Ulf; k. Denmark, 597, 598
Cnut Lavard, s. Eric, s. Sven, 598
Cnut the Powerful, s. Sven Forkbeard; k. Denmark, k. England, k. Norway, 503, 544-549, 567-570, 578, 591, 596-599; ii. 3-5, 12, 15, 24, 27, 30, 40, 41, 229
coal, 319
Cobbie Row's castle, in Viera, ii. 6
Coblaith, dau. Cano, ? s. Gartnait, 122, 198
Cobthach, s. Brenaind, s. Erc and Fergus, 39
Cocboy, battle, 165, 166
Cockburn Law, 164
Cockpen, Midlothian, ii. 521
Coemlach, s. Sarran and Babona, 4
Coenred, k. Northumbria, 218
Coeti, b. Iona, 213
Cogan, Miles de, ii. 270, 272, 273
Cogan, Richard de, br. Miles, ii. 273
Coiblein. *See* Caiblene
Coil Hen, 13, 86, 104
Coire-Brecain, 160
Coire-Salchain, 59
Coirnaliogog, 537
Coirpre, cliii
Coirpre, s. Admor, cliii, clvii
Coirpre, s. Conall, s. Comgall, cl
Coirpre Cromchend, cliii, clvii
Coirpre Lifechar, s. Cormac Ulfota, 23
Coirpre Nia-fer, 23
Coirpre Rigfota (or Riata), s. Conaire, s. Mug, cliii, 84
Coirpre the Poet, s. Ailill the Great, 23
Coirpre's Knoll, 233
Colban, mormaer of Buchan, ii. 180, 278
Coldingham, Berwickshire, 142, 302; ii. 274, 407, 432, 698
Coldstream, Berwickshire, ii. 523, 526, 697
Coledauc, s. Morcant Bulc, 13
Coleraine (Cuil-Rathin), 38, 98, 229; ii. 395, 396
Colgu, f. Duncan, 220
Colgu (Colcu), priest and lector of Clonmacnoise (†794; S.D.), 251
Colgu, s. Cellach, 146, 147
Colinton, Midlothian, ii. 526
Coll, I., 66, 502
Colla Uais, k. Ireland, 212
Collace, Perthshire, ii. 522
Collessie, Fife, ii. 524, 587
Collwyn, 257
Colman. *See also* Calman; Galman; Kalman
Colman, b. Lindisfarne, 178, 179
Colman, deacon; prior of Lambay, 35
Colman, f. Scandlan, 80 (? s. Cendfaelad)
Colman, fosterer of Machar, 40
Colman, k. Leinster, cxliv
Colman, s. Beogna; Mocu-Sailni, 109
Colman, s. Cobthach; k. Connaught, cxlv
Colman, s. Comgellan, 83, 84, 149
Colman, s. Ronan. *See* Columbanus
Colman Bec, s. Ailill, s. Comgall, 72
Colman Bec, s. Diarmait, s. Fergus Cerball, 72
Colman Cuile, s. Midgna, 40
Colman Duib-Chuilind, 8
Colman Elo (Colmanele), 109
Colman Mor, s. Aed, xxxiv
Colman Mor, s. Diarmait, s. Cerball, 34, 38, 48, 146
Colman Rimid, k. Ireland, cxlv, 146
Cologne, 299
Colonsay, I., 66
Colosus insula, 65, 66, 68
Colphin, leader of Scandinavians, 284
Colum, b. Kingarth, 177
Colum, s. Baetan, s. Eochaid, clvi, 203
Colum, s. Ninnid, s. Naxair; a. Terryglass, 39
Columba, s. Ethne and Fedlimid, s. Erc and Fergus; a. Iona, xxi, xxii, xxiii, xxxiv, xxxvi, l, lxxiii-lxxiv, lxxx, cxxi, cxxiii, cxlv, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 17, 19-71, 73, 75, 77-85, 93, 95-121, 133, 136-137, 140, 151, 156, 157, 160-162, 168, 186-189, 197, 209, 216, 258, 263, 280, 343, 344, 407, 408, 432, 434, 494, 526; ii. 81, 174, 175, 178-180, 271, 365, 557; called Cremthand, 22; bones of, 20, 116; books of, 526; ii. 81; church of, ii. 107-109; followers of,

i. 39; horse of, 110-111; relatives of, 23; relics of, 186, 187, 265, 266, 279, 280, 282, 288, 356, 408, 526, 578; Rule of, 105; successors of, 85, 171, 185, 186, 285, 305, 400, 425, 428, 430, 451, 452, 468, 471, 488, 490, 494, 520, 526, 527, 568, 582, 583, 599, 600; ii. 2, 22, 100, 253, 699
Columban, a farmer, 67
Columbanus, s. Ronan, 3, 22, 94, 105
Columba's Law, 241, 242, 249
Columbites, 34, 105, 205, 217, 223, 262
Colville, Thomas de, ii. 383, 437
Colville, William de, ii. 419
Comar-tri-n-uisce, 286
comets, 104, 184, 225, 232, 403, 505; ii. 9, 14, 15, 17, 101, 142, 258, 260, 304, 451
Comgall, a. Bangor, 8, 33, 38, 50, 52-55, 85, 98; an Irish Pict, 85; called Mocu-Aridi, 54
Comgall, f. Subthan, 219
Comgall, s. Domangart, s. Fergus Mor; k. Argyle, cxxx, cxliii, cl, cliii, clv, clvi, 10, 21, 203
Comgell, s. Aed, ii. 175
Comgell, s. Cainnech; toisech, ii, 179
Comgellaig, on Forth, 127, 128
Comines, Robert of, e. Northumbria, ii. 21-23, 37, 154
comites, 219
Compostella, Spain, ii. 457
Comrie, Strathearn, 522
Comyn, Alexander, s. Marjory and e. William of Buchan; e. Buchan, justiciar, ii. 583, 588, 591, 593, 653, 656, 682, 693
Comyn, John, e. Angus, ii. 530
Comyn, John (the Black; the Competitor), s. John (lord of Badenoch), s. Richard, s. William (e. Buchan); justiciar of Galloway, lord of Badenoch, ii. 99, 588, 591, 644
Comyn, John (the Red), s. John (the Competitor), ii. 688
Comyn, Walter, s. e. William of Buchan; e. Monteith, ii. 489, 497, 538, 583, 588, 589, 591, 593, 643
Comyn, William, b. Brechin, ii. 664
Comyn, William, chancellor, ? s. Robert of Comines, ii. 203
Comyn, William, e. Buchan; justiciar; s. Hextilda and Richard, s. William, s. John, ? s. Robert of Comines, ii. 353, 439, 446, 463, 491, 497, 527, 643
Conai Garb, s. Gartnait, s. Aidan, clvi
Conaing, 21
Conaing, f. Fland, 290
Conaing, s. Aidan, s. Gabran, cli, cliv, clv, 146, 152, 170, 172, 212, 214
Conaing, s. Duncan, ? s. Eoganan, 190, 207
Conaing Cuirri, 221
Conaire (Coem), s. Mug(-lama), cliii, clvii, 84
Conaire Mor, s. Eterscel, cxviii, cliii, clvii
Conall. *See also* Konal
Conall, a. Mag-luinge, 247, 248
Conall, k. Argyle, 252
Conall, k. Ireland, cxlvi
Conall, s. Aidan; k. Argyle, cxxxv, cxlvii, cxlviii, 255, 259
Conall, s. Barrfind, s. Natsluaig, cli
Conall, s. Comgall, s. Domangart; k. Argyle, cxxx, cxliv, cl, clv, 21, 48, 72, 75, 79, 194, 203, 269
Conall, s. Conchobar, 230
Conall, s. Donald, sons of, 67, 69
Conall, s. Fiannamail, 237
Conall, s. Natsluaig, s. Angus Mor, cli
Conall, s. Suibne, s. Colman Mor, 145, 146
Conall, s. Tadc; k. Picts, cxxvii, 253, 254, 259; called Congal, 259; k. Argyle, cxxxv
Conall Breg, s. Eochaid Buide, cli
Conall Cael, s. Duncan, ? s. Eoganan, 190, 212
Conall Cerr, s. Eochaid Buide, cliv, clv, 269
Conall Coem, s. Tadc; k. Argyle, cxlvii, cxlviii
Conall Crandomna, s. Eochaid Buide; k. Argyle, cxxxi, cxxxii, cxlv, cxlvi, cli, 168, 176, 177, 182, 190, 198, 199, 202, 203
Conall Cremthann, s. Niall Nine-hostager, 241
Conall Gulban, s. Niall Nine-hostager, 3, 11, 23, 24, 30, 185, 214, 217, 246, 368, 425, 430. *See* Cenel-Conaill
Conamail, s. Cano, ? s. Gartnait, 182, 211
Conamail, s. Failbe; a. Iona, 210, 211, 212, 215
Conamail, s. of a governor (of Hebrides ?), 486
Conan. *See also* Cinan
Conan, duke of Brittany, e. Richmond, ii. 246, 274, 326
Conan, of Eigg, 145
Conchend, dau. Midgna, 40
Conchobar, f. Aed, 406
Conchobar, f. Cathal, 445
Conchobar, f. Conall, 230
Conchobar, " k. Ireland," 550, 555
Conchobar, s. Duncan, k. Meath; heir of Tara (†864), 283

Conchobar, s. Duncan, s. Donald ; k. Ireland (†832/833), cxlviii, 263
Conchobar, s. Flannacan ; k. Offaly (†891), " k. Ireland," 346
Conchobar, s. Lochene, 229, 230
Conchobar Ua-Conchobair, k. Offaly, ii. 94, 143
Conchobar Ua-Lochlaind, s. Muirchertach ; k. Cenel-Eogain, ii. 254
Conchobar Ua - Maelsechlaind, k. Meath, ii. 42, 43, 94
Cond Cetchathach, s. Fedlimid Rechtaid, 23
Condachtach, a. Iona, 258
Condialfi (or Thialfi), f. k. Muirchertach, ii. 116. *See* Toirdelbach
Cond's Half (N. Ireland), 290, 445 ; ii. 93
Confer, clviii
Congal, f. Cilline, 240 ; f. Slebine, 246
Congal, gf. Ronan, 183
Congal, k. Ulster, cxlvi
Congal, s. Dargairt, 213
Congal, s. Eoganan, ? s. Tuathalan, 190, 207
Congal, s. Maelanfaith, 221
Congal, s. Ronan, 172
Congal Caech (or Cloen), s. Scandlan ; k. Ulster, cxlv, 85, 149, 162, 163
Congal Cendfota, k. Ulster, 183
Congal Mend, s. Eochaid Buide, 163
Congal of Kinnaweer, k. Ireland, cxlvi, 209
Congalach, k. Ireland, cxlix
Congalach, of Eigg, 144-145
Congalach, s. Maelmithid, s. Flannacan ; k. Ireland, 431, 449-451, 472
Congall, b., 40, 177
Congan, br. Caintigern, 231
Congus, 228, 232, 236
Congus, s. Consamla, clvi
Conin. *See* Baithine
Conmael Treitel, 536
Connad Cerr, s. Conall, s. Comgall ; k. Argyle, cxxx, cxliv, cxlv, clv, 148, 149, 151-154, 170, 172, 203 ; called s. Eochaid Buide, cxliv
Connad Cerr, s. Eochaid Buide, cli. Perhaps the same as the preceding. ? *See* Conall Cerr
Connaught (and Connaughtmen), cxliii-cxlvi, cxlviii, 24, 25, 36, 38, 49, 81, 98, 254, 260, 277, 279, 328, 351, 405, 445, 533, 534 ; ii. 127, 128, 213, 227, 447, 594, 595
Connemara, ii. 226, 594
Connor. *See* Conchobar
Connor, Antrim, 4, 5, 143 ; ii. 184, 279
Conrad, a. Clairvaux ; a. Citeaux ; b. Porto, ii. 403, 415, 422-423, 434, 435
Conrad, s. of k. S. Wales, 96
Conrad II, emperor, 548, 572
Conri Mocu-Cein, 23
Consamla, s. Conai Garb, clvi
consecration, 130-131, 133 ; at early age, 130 ; by dual imposition, 70 ; by human burial, 45 ; of building, by consecrated earth, 343
consecration to Thor, 362
constables of k. Scotland. *See* Galloway, Alan ; Galloway, Roland ; Morville, Hugh ; Morville, Richard ; Morville, William ; Quincey, Roger
Constance, dau. Conan, ii. 246, 312, 326
Constance, dau. Henry I, ii. 311
Constance, sis. Louis VII of France, ii. 242, 243
Constans, joint-emperor, 267
Constans II, emperor, 168, 169
Constantine, a. Newbattle, ii. 442, 499
Constantine, br. Giric ; " k. Scotland," 366, 367
Constantine, e. Fife, ii. 56
Constantine, k., 91-94
Constantine, s. Donald (or s. Dungal), cxxxvii
Constantine, s. Fergus ; k. Fortriu, k. Picts, k. Scotland, cxxvii, cxxxv, cxlvii, cxlviii, 92, 122, 253-255, 262, 269
Constantine, s. Paternus k. Cornwall, 92, 93
Constantine, s. Riderch ; k. Cumbria, 92, 135
Constantine I, emperor, 134, 135 ; ii. 70
Constantine II, emperor, 267
Constantine III, emperor, 166, 167, 169
Constantine IV, emperor, 171, 182, 198
Constantine I, s. Kenneth I ; k. Scotland, cxxxvii, cxlix, cliii, cliv, clvii, 296, 304, 351-354, 355, 357, 395 ; called k. Picts, 262, 352-354
Constantine II, s. Aed ; k. Scotland, cxxxvii-cxxxix, cxlix, 366, 395, 398, 399, 405-407, 409, 426, 429, 431, 440, 441, 444-448, 451-453, 470 ; a. of célidé of St. Andrews, 441, 447, 471, 473 ; s. of, 409, 446 (? Cellach)
Constantine III, s. Culen ; k. Scotland, cxxxviii, cxxxix, cxlix, cliii, 514, 517-519, 522, 574, 580
Constantine's Cave, 354
Constantinople, 178, 267, 339 ; ii. 215, 237, 362, 355, 380, 545, 684
Constantius II, joint-emperor, 267
Conthigirnus, 126. *See* Kentigern

Conung, 304. *See* Godfrey; Ivar; Olaf
Convallus, pupil of Kentigern, 139, 140
Conveth. *See* Laurencekirk
Copeland, I., ii. 477, 673
Copeland, Robert of, ii. 677
Copenhagen (Köbnhavn), 292; ii. 577
Coprach, ii. 177, 178
Copsi, English noble, ii. 20, 41, 42
Corann, battle, 208
Corbeil, Seine-et-Oise, ii. 385
Corbet, Christiana, w. William, s. Patrick I e. Dunbar, ii. 521, 528
Corbet, Walter, lord of Makerston, ii. 528
Corco-baiscin, Clare county, 405
Corcomroe, Clare county, 351
Corcothrí, Sligo county, xxxvi
Corfe Castle, Dorsetshire, ii. 387
Corindu, 180
Cork, 278, 286, 351, 404, 406
Corkaguiny, Clare county, 46
Cormac, a. Glendalough, 425
Cormac, a. Turriff(?), ii. 181, 183
Cormac, b. Dunkeld, ii. 178, 267
Cormac, f. a. Feradach, 358
Cormac, s. Cesidétig, ii. 179
Cormac, s. Culennan; k. Cashel, "archbishop of Irish," 445
Cormac, s. Eochaid, s. Muiredach, cliii
Cormac, s. Eochaid Find, cli
Cormac, s. Eogan, 24
Cormac, s. Maelfothartaig, 182
Cormac, s. Olchu, s. Eochaid, cl
Cormac Ua-Liathain, prior of Durrow, 34, 54, 55, 56, 57; called gs. Lethan, 54, 56
Cormac Ulfota, s. Art Oenfer, 23
Corndabliteoc, 536
Corneria. *See* Lacornere
Cornwall, 9, 92, 93, 536, 537; ii. 505, 510
Cornwall, Richard of. *See* Richard, s. k. John
Coronatus, St., ii. 243
Corosmini (Carizmians), ii. 539
Coroticus, k. Dumbarton, clviii
Corp, 182, 183
Corpraige (Carbury of Leinster), cliii, 23, 32, 79, 84
Corrbile, in Almain, 220
Corrievreckan, 160
Cortcelis, ii. 230
Cosgrach, f. Drostan, ii. 174
Cosnamaig Ua-Dubdai, ii. 227
Cossa-Nara, leader of Scandinavians, 405; called Cosse Warce, 411
Coucy, Alice de, dau. Ingram, ii. 514, 515
Coucy, Alice de, dau. Ingram, s. Ralph, ii. 514
Coucy, Alice de, dau. Robert, br. Louis IX; w. Ralph de Coucy, ii. 514
Coucy, Ingram de, s. Ingram, ii. 514
Coucy, Ingram de, s. Ralph, ii. 403, 417-418, 514, 515
Coucy, Iolanthe, dau. Ralph de, ii. 514
Coucy, Mary de, dau. Ingram, s. Ralph; w. k. Alexander II, ii. 87, 403, 511, 514, 515, 570, 571, 588, 593
Coucy, Ralph de, ii. 514
Coucy, Thomas de, ii. 421
Coucy, Thomas de, ii. 570
Coucy-le-Château, Aisne, ii. 514
councils, 178; ii. 74, 250, 300, 390, 404, 405, 431, 433, 517-518, 527, 669, 686. *See also* synods
Coupar-Angus, xlii, 1; ii. 206, 252, 268, 269, 274, 275, 277, 311, 352, 355, 370, 404, 432, 478, 489, 509, 517, 535, 593, 671, 674, 699
Courcy, John de, 47, 106; ii. 271, 296, 312, 355, 362-365, 385, 386
Courland, 418
Courtenay, Robert de, ii. 421
Coventry, ii. 530
Cowal, Argyle, cliii, 158, 161. *See* Cenel-Comgaill
Cowie, Stonehaven, ii. 674
Cowton Moor, ii. 198, 560
Cracombe, Godfrey de, ii. 385
Craignish, Argyll, 233
Craigphadrick, Inverness, 49
Craike, Yorkshire, 192
Crail, Fife, ii. 354, 523
Crail, Adam of, canon of St. Andrews, ii. 679
Cramond, Midlothian, ii. 396. ? *See* Rathinveramon
Cranston, Midlothian, ii. 525
Crawford, Hugh of, ii. 581
Crawford, John of, ii. 581
Crawford, John of, s. Reginald, sheriff of Ayr, ii. 552
Crawford-John, Lanarkshire, ii. 552
Cred, dau. Guaire, 224
Crede, castle of, 224
Credulity, Hill of, near Scone, 224, 445
Creic, Cregg, 233
Creich, Mull, 233
Crema, Guy of, anti-pope, ii. 252
Crema, John of, papal legate, ii. 169
Cremthand. *See also* Crimthan
Cremthand (or Crimthan), baptismal name of St. Columba, 22, 23
Creran, Loch, 59, 60

Cressy, Roger de, ii. 419
Crichan, f. Muiredach, 526
Crieff, Strathearn, 522
Crimthan, f. k. Fedlimid, 283
Crimthan, k. Leinster, cxlv
Crimthan, k. Munster, cxliii
Crimthan, s. Binnech, s. Eogan, 220
Crimthan, s. Cathair Mor, 39, 40
Crimthan, s. Eochaid, s. Oengus, 39
Crinan, a. Dunkeld, cl, 576, 577, 580, 581, 583, 584; ii. 39, 41; called the Thane, ii. 41
Cristinus, b. Man, ii. 229
Crodu, dau. Dallan, s. Eogan, clii
Crogreth, lake, 60
Croibderg Ua-Conchobair, ii. 383
Croisilles, Ailred de, ii. 419
Croithluithe (or Cruitlinde; Laithluaithi), s. Findfeicce, cliv, clv, clvii
Cromarty, ii. 302
Crombie, Matthew of, b. Dunkeld, ii. 564
Cronan, of Moville, 169
Cronan, s. Baithan, 69
Cronan, s. Cathba, s. Muiredach, cliii
Cronan, s. Eochaid, s. Muiredach, cliii
Cronan, s. Eochaid Find, cli
Cronan, s. Tulchan, s. Barrfind, cli
Crop, 237, 238
crosses, 35, 64, 98, 99, 110, 132, 137, 138, 140, 381; ii. 65, 84, 86, 171, 260, 313, 314, 354, 520, 661, 692
Cross Fell, Cumberland, 132
Crosslee, Midlothian, ii. 307
Cross Mounds, Iceland, 381
Crostan, hill, 42
Crowland, Lincolnshire, ii. 38, 40, 170
Croxden, Staffordshire, ii. 448
Croxton-Keyrial, Leicestershire, ii. 414
croziers, 35, 36, 131, 137, 280, 340, 408, 599; ii. 300, 318
Croziers, party, ii. 378, 379, 548
Cruggleton, Wigtonshire, ii. 185
Cruithentuath, 398
Cruithne (or Cruidne), s. Cinge; k. Picts, cxvii
Cruithnechan, s. Cellachan; tutor of Columba, 7, 29, 32
Cruithni, 128, 152, 180. *See* Dalaraide; Picts (Irish)
Crumaine, s. Caiblene, s. Natsluaig, cli
Crumene, s. Conaing, s. Aidan, cli
Crup, Ridge of, 238, 473
crusades, xlv, 295; ii. 98, 146, 213, 214, 236, 241, 312-315, 321, 364, 390, 393, 438, 439, 443, 453, 470, 499, 511, 545, 546, 551, 552, 562, 563, 572, 575, 576, 606, 651, 658, 659, 661, 663, 665, 666, 670, 681, 682, 686
Cuaile-Ciannacht, 47
Cua(i)n, Loch, in Ireland, 301, 351
Cualann, k. Leinster, cxlv
Cuanda, s. Eoganan, ? s. Tuathalan, 184, 190, 207
Cuanu's Book, xxxi, l, 19, 53, 55, 124, 151, 153, 526
Cu-bairend, s. Crimthann, s. Binnech, 220
Cubberley, ii. 675
Cubretan, s. Congus, 232, 236
Cu-cen-mathir, s. Eochaid Buide, cli
Cu-chercai, k. Ossory, cxlvi
Cu-chuarain, k. Ulster, cxlvi
Cu-dinaisc, s. Rothechtach, 194
Cuichelm, 141
Cuil-coel, battle, 124
Cuil-conaire, battle, 49, 104
Cuil-dremne, battle, 24-26, 38, 39, 46, 48, 49, 55, 97, 98
Cuilebath, s. Baethgal, 425
Cuilend, 5, 8
Cuil-Feda, battle, 38
Cuil-Rathin. *See* Coleraine
Cuiltech, s. Gabran, cl
Cuil-Uinnsenn, battle, 26
Cuil-Uisci, 23
Cuinnid, s. Daithem, s. Cas, 147
Cuiren(n)-rige, island, 229
Cuiritán (or Curetan; Curitanus, Kiritinus), b., 205, 211
Cuirthre, 176
Culcolly. *See* Kilcoy
Culen, f. Malcolm, ii. 176
Cul[e]n, s. Baithine; toisech, ii. 176
Culen, s. Etigen, 521
Culen, s. Indulf; k. Scotland, cxxxviii, cxxxix, cxlix, cliii, 472-477, 513, 514, 517, 518, 580; called Culennan, 517; called Culenring, cxxxix, 475
Culennan, f. k. Cormac, 445
Cullen, R., 470
Culross, Perthshire, 127, 129, 130; ii. 416, 422, 432, 470, 486, 541, 544, 572, 598
Cults, Fife, ii. 524
Cumberland, 583, 593, 596; ii. 23, 37, 39, 157, 202, 388, 503-505, 536. *See also* Cumbria
Cumbraes, Buteshire, ii. 623, 624, 634
Cumbria (or Cambria, and Cumberland=Cumbria), 13, 92, 127, 130-133, 136, 141, 192, 396, 431, 441, 449, 451, 460, 478, 479, 487, 504, 506, 515, 517, 518, 521, 547, 574, 577, 583, 591, 593, 595; ii. 23, 36,

37, 39, 40, 148, 165-167, 196-198, 235 ; Leeds on boundary of, i. 441
Cumine (and Cuimne), sis. St. Columba, and w. Macc-Decuil, 23
Cummine, a. Iona, xxii, l
Cummine, gs. Bec ; monk of Eigg, 241
Cummine, s. Feradach, s. Muiredach, 82
Cummine Find (or Albus, the White), s. Ernan, s. Fiachna ; a. Iona, 160, 161, 178, 180, 187; called s. Dinertach, 180 ; called s. Fiachna, s. Feradach, 180
Cummine Fota, s. Fiachna ; a. Clonfert, 171, 184
Cumscrach, 147
Cumuscach, s. Angus, 159
Cumuscach, s. Maelmochergi, 403
Cuneda, 12, 133
Cuneglasus, k., 92
Cunningham, E. Lothian, 242
Cunthar (or Cuncar), e. Angus, 513 (eponym of Kincardineshire ?) ; called Cruchne, 514
Cupar, Fife, ii. 471, 675, 684, 685
Curaw (=Curoi ?), k. Munster, cxlv
Curlieu Mountain, Roscommon county, 159
Curnan, s. Aed, s. Eochaid, 25, 26
Currie, Midlothian, ii. 660
Currie, Robert of, ii. 544
Cursalen, s. Fer, s. Confer, clviii
Curui, 263
Curzon, Robert de, papal legate, ii. 390, 442
Cutha, 90
Cutha, f. k. Ceolwulf, 227
Cuthbert, St., b. Lindisfarne, lxxiv, 16, 142, 195, 198, 365 ; ii. 1, 35, 36, 46, 59, 82, 137, 138, 203, 689 ; relics of, ii. 35, 36, 137, 138
Cuthred. *See* Godfrey, s. Donald, s. William
Cuthwine, f. Eochaid, 227
Cymryd, battle, 368
Cynegils, 141
Cynewise, w. k. Penda, 174
Cynewulf, k. Wessex, 239
Cynloyp, s. Cinhil, clviii
Cyprus, island, ii. 551, 553
Cyricus, St., 363, 364; ii. 520
Cyveiliog, Wales, ii. 260

D., a. Melrose, ii. 438
Dag, f. Aslak, ii. 613
Dag, f. Gregory, ii. 110, 111
Dag, s. Dyggve, 306
Dag, s. Eilif, ii. 5, 6, 115, 127, 186
Dag, s. Kari, ii. 186
Dag of Sudrheimar, ii. 614
Dagan of Inber-daile, 445
Dagfinn, s. Hlodve, ii. 192
Dagfinn White, of Fair Isle, 532, 533, 541
Dagfinn Yeoman, king's counsellor, ii. 428
Daig, s. Cairell ; k. Ulster, cxliv, 79, 87
Daigre, teacher of a. Diarmait, 260
Dail-Caiss, 283
Dail-osraige, 82. *See* Ossory
Daire, s. Olchu, s. Eochaid, cl
Daire Barrach, s. Cathair Mor, 23
Daire Dorn-mor, cliii, clvii
Daire-Calgaig. *See* Derry
Daire-disirt-Dochonna, 278, 283
Dairlugdach, abbess of Kildare, cxx
Dairsie, Fife, ii. 524
dairthech, 277
Daithem, s. Cas, s. Fraech, 147
Dala, 55
Dalaraide (Cruithni), 49, 78, 91, 98, 145, 148, 149, 152, 153, 203, 207, 230, 234, 237, 254, 255 ; ii. 279. *See* Picts (Irish)
Dalbeattie, Kirkcudbrightshire, 190
Dales, Caithness, 484, 499 ; Dalr, ii. 139
Dales, Iceland, 381, 385. *See* Breida-fiordr
Dales-Alf (Alf of Dales), s. Eystein Mein-fret and Thorhild, dau. Thorstein the Red, 337, 382-384
Dales-Koll, s. Wether-Grim ; a chief, 306, 379, 382, 383
Dal-Fiachach, 149, 152
Dalir, in Scotland's Firth, ii. 255
Dallan, s. Babona and Saran ; a bishop, 4
Dallan, s. Eogan, s. Niall, clii
Dallan Forgaill (or s. Forgall), xxiii, 81, 84, 85, 106
Dallan, s. Mor, 445
Dalquhongale, 40 ; ii. 174
Dalr. *See* Dales
Dalriata. *See* Argyle. Airer-Dail-riatai, 489
Dalriata, disputed territory, 79, 81-84
Dalriata (Irish), cl, 1, 78, 81-84, 152, 203, 207, 228, 237, 270
Dalton, Dumfriesshire, ii. 644
Dalveriar, ii. 255
Damascus, ii. 313
Damietta, ii. 438, 439, 442, 446, 447, 553, 563
Dammartin, Reginald de, c. Boulogne, ii. 373, 391
Damnonia, lioness of, 92. *See* Devon
Dampierre, Archibald de, s. Guy (1) de ; c. Bourbon, ii. 515
Dampierre, Guy (1) de, ii. 515 (husband of Matilda of Bourbon)

Dampierre, Guy (2) de, s. William de ; c. Flanders, ii. 684
Dampierre, Helvidis, sis. Guy (1) de, ii. 515
Dampierre, Isabella, sis. Guy (1) de, ii. 515
Dampierre, Margaret, dau. Archibald de ; w. k. Theobald I, ii. 515
Dampierre, Margaret, dau. Guy (2) de, ii. 684, 689
Dampierre, Oda, sis. Guy (1) de, ii. 515
Dampierre, Philippa, dau. Guy (2) de, ii. 684
Dampierre, William de, s. Guy (1) de, ii. 684
Dampierre-Saint-Dizier, ii. 515
Damsay, Orkney, ii. 139, 237
Danes (and Black-foreigners, Black-gentiles, Black-pagans), 255-258, 263, 264, 268, 271, 280-283, 288, 293, 296-303, 309-311, 319, 350-354, 365, 366, 369, 371, 373, 396, 400, 401, 404, 406-409, 411, 412, 431, 444, 452, 456, 460, 469, 470, 487-490, 494, 501, 506, 507, 510, 521, 536, 545, 567, 587 ; ii. 11, 15, 24, 37, 40, 95, 136, 204, 478
Daniel, b. Kingarth, 176, 183
Daniel, prior of Jedburgh, ii. 697
Danube, R., 354
Darerca (or Moninne), abbess of Cell-Slebe-Cuilind, 5, 6
Dargairt, s. Finguine, 194, 212, 213
Darí, nun, 204
Darí's Law, 204, 205
Darnhall, Cheshire, ii. 505
Daventry, Northamptonshire, ii. 152
David, b. St. Andrews. *See* Birnam
David, e. Athole. *See* Hastings
David, gs. Ceretic ; b. Menevia, 132-133
David, k. Jews, 8 ; ii. 63
David, s. Alexander III, ii. 658, 669, 672
David, s. David, s. e. Henry, ii. 506
David, s. Harold, s. Matad ; e. Orkney, ii. 139, 238, 369, 380, 397, 492
David, s. Henry, s. David I ; e. Huntingdon, ii. 28, 150, 152, 155-157, 203, 223, 251, 268, 269, 280, 289, 290, 294, 298-304, 307, 323, 324, 342, 343, 349, 365, 366, 374, 391, 400, 419, 427, 431, 432, 435, 437, 494, 506
David I, s. Lewelin ; k. Wales, ii. 517, 528
David I, s. Malcolm III ; k. Scotland, cxl, cxli, cliv, clvii, 577, 595, 597, 602 ; ii. 26, 28, 29, 33, 34, 40, 55, 56, 65, 89, 97, 118-123, 140, 141, 148-152, 157, 163-169, 174, 178, 181-189, 194-205, 208-210, 218-220, 223, 226, 234, 259, 262, 308, 324, 362, 494, 697, 698
David II (Bruce), k. Scotland, cxlii
David White. *See* Dagfinn
Dawston Burn, Liddesdale, 123
Decies, Ireland, 278, 287, 328, 351
Dedad, s. Sin, cliii
Dee, R. (Aberdeen), cxviii, 433
Dee, R. (Chester), 479
Deeping, John, a. Peterborough, xlv
Deer, Aberdeenshire, ii. 174, 175, 181, 308, 439, 442, 491, 495, 496, 572, 604, 659
Deerness, Pomona, 552, 577, 578
Degsastan, battle, 119, 123, 124, 126
Deira (and Deur), 11, 12, 14, 153, 155, 169, 298, 512
Deisi, 284. *See* Decies
Delbna-Ethra, in Meath, 92
Delcros, 65
Deleroith, f. Gartnait, 215
Delgu, battle, 78-79
Deman, k. Ulster, cxliii
Demetia. *See* Wales, South
Denis, St., b. Paris, ii. 670
Denisesburna, battle, 15, 156
Denmark, xxvi, lxx, lxxxii, 256, 298, 299, 309, 310, 312, 338, 409, 411, 429, 456, 458, 459, 463-467, 469, 488, 489, 503, 506, 507, 510, 535, 546-549, 584-589, 596-598 ; ii. 8, 24, 28, 30, 187, 188, 192, 213, 334, 341, 577, 601, 602
Denton, Robert de, a. Furness, ii. 388
Derbforgaill, cx. (The *b* in this name does not appear to be etymologically justifiable ; that it was pronounced is shown by the *v* of the Latin spellings.)
Derbforgaill, dau. Alan. *See* Galloway
Derbforgaill, granddau. of Brian Boroime, ii. 43
Derbforgaill, w. Tigernan Ua-Ruairc, ii. 270
Derby, 402
Derby Haven, Man, ii. 672. *See* Ronaldsway
Derbyshire, ii. 235
Der(e)congal. *See* Holywood
Dereham, lakes of, 512
Derg, Lough, 283
Derile, cxxv
Derile, s. of. *See* Brude ; Kenneth ; Nechtan
Derry, Londonderry, xxxvi, 10, 11, 23, 29, 33, 47, 79, 98, 101, 102, 105,

568 ; ii. 107, 363, 393, 395, 439, 595
Devenick, missionary to Caithness, 41, 42
Devon, 92, 300, 365
Devon, R., 92
Devorgilla. *See* Derbforgaill
Diana, ii. 572
Diarmait, a. Kells, a. Iona, 260, 261, 263, 265, 266
Diarmait, f. Murecan, 290
Diarmait, learned Irishman, 285
Diarmait, servant of Columba, 29, 39, 59, 96, 109-111, 114, 115, 121
Diarmait, s. Aed Slaine ; k. Ireland, cxlvi, 26, 122, 176
Diarmait, s. Cerball. *See* Diarmait, s. Fergus
Diarmait, s. Fergus Cerrbél ; k. Ireland, cxliii, cxliv, 24-26, 34, 38, 48, 70, 72, 91, 98, 102, 104, 146, 241
Diarmait, s. Maelnambó ; k. Dublin, 592 ; ii. 42, 43, 143
Diarmait, s. Murchaid (or Macc-Murchada) ; k. Leinster, xxxviii, li ; ii. 270, 271, 272
Diarmait, s. Ruadri, s. Toirdelbach Mór Ua-Conchobair, ii. 447
Diarmait Ua-Briain, s. Toirdelbach ; k. Ireland, ii. 143
Dichloch, 210
Dicuil, 341
Dicuill, s. Cilline, s. Amalgaid, 241
Dicull, s. Eochaid (? Buide) ; k. of Irish Picts, 152
Dido, b. Poitou, 91
Dieppe, 545
Dijon, Côte-d'Or, ii. 471
Dimma, s. Noah, 23
Dimman, s. Saran, s. Cormac, 24
Dinan, Brittany, 577
Dinertach, 180
Dinevwr, 356
Dinguayrdi, or Din Gueirm, 11 ; Dinguoroy, 14 ; Dun-Guaire, 88. *See* Bamborough
Dinone, a wizard, 41
Dionysius, pope, ii. 671
Dionysius Carthusian, ii. 670
Dionysius Exiguus, 18
Disert, 40
Disert-Cummine, Roscrea, 180
Disert-Dochonna, 278
Diuni, br. Cailtan, 62
Diu Sul, Anglesey, battle, 355
divine right of kings, 70, 77. Cf. Scottish church
Dobur-Artbranain, 61
Dochonna, relics of, 256, 257
Docmail, s. Cuneda, 12
Dogurd-á, Iceland, 348, 381, 385
Dogurdarnes, Iceland, 529
Dol, Brittany, 577 ; ii. 286, 287
Doldencha, lake, 267
Dolfin, s. Finntur, 593
Dolfin, s. Gospatric I, 593 ; ii. 37, 41
Dolgfinn, b. in Orkney, ii. 685
Dollar, battle, 353
Dómald, s. Visbur, 306
Domancon, s. Tulchan, s. Barrfind, cli
Domangart, lector of Turriff, ii. 178
Domangart, s. Aidan, s. Gabran, 95, 96, 118, 119
Domangart, s. Conaing, s. Aidan, cli
Domangart, s. Donald Brecc ; k. Argyle, cxxxii, cxxxvi, cliii-clv, clvii, 182, 183, 203, 205
Domangart, s. Eochaid Buide, cli
Domangart, s. Fergus Mor ; k. Argyle, cxxix, cxliii, cl, cliii-clvii, 203
Domangart, s. Gabran, cl
Domangart, s. Ness ; k. Argyle, 4, 5, 10, 125 ; s. Fergus, 5
Dómar, s. Dómald, 306
Domath, k. Picts, cxx
Domelch, 122
Dominicans, ii. 345, 367, 470-471, 520, 541, 552, 573, 594, 601, 605, 619, 622, 663, 670, 681, 686, 699
Domnall. *See* Donald
Donaghpatrick, Meath, 451
Donald. *See also* Dumnagual
Donald, a chief in Man, ii. 566, 567
Donald, f. Amdarch, 476
Donald, f. Maelpetair, ii. 178
Donald, gs. Dubbacin, ii. 177
Donald, gs. Lochland ; k. Ailech, ii. 94
Donald, husband of a Pictish royal lady, sons of. *See* Drust ; Gartnait
Donald, s. Aed ; k. Cumbria ; ? k. Strathclyde, 441, 446, 449, 478, 517
Donald, s. Aed, s. Ainmire ; k. Tara, k. Ireland, cxliv-cxlvi, 79, 80, 82, 85, 161-163, 166-168, 217
Donald, s. Alpin, s. Eochaid, s. Aed Find ; k. Scotland, 290-292, 354
Donald, s. Brian, 592
Donald, s. Cairell, 473
Donald, s. Cathal ; k. Connaught, cxlvi
Donald, s. Cathmail, s. Ruadri, clvi
Donald, s. Congalach, s. Maelmithid, 472
Donald, s. Constantine, s. Fergus ; k. Argyle, cxxxiv, cxlvii, cxlviii, 250, 253, 255
Donald, s. Constantine, s. Kenneth ; k. Scotland, 366, 367, 378, 395-397, 446, 447, 451-454

Donald, s. Duncan, s. Fland, s. Maelsechlaind ; heir of Tara, 278, 486
Donald, s. Eimin, s. Cainnech ; mormaer of Mar, 536
Donald, s. Eogan. *See* Dunguallaun
Donald, s. Erp, s. Maelduin, 384
Donald, s. Fergal ; k. Fortuatha, 535
Donald, s. Fland Ua-Maelsechlaind ; k. Tara, ii. 94
Donald, s. Gabran, cl
Donald, s. Giric, ii. 176
Donald, s. Havard, ii. 6
Donald, s. Kiarval, 344
Donald, s. Malcolm III, ii. 26, 47
Donald, s. Malcolm Macheth, ii. 232, 233
Donald, s. Muirchertach, s. Erc ; k. Ireland, cxliv, 24, 25, 48, 49, 68, 69
Donald, s. Muirchertach, s. Niall Black-knee ; k. Ireland, cxlix, 468, 471, 472, 474, 479, 485, 486, 488
Donald, s. Muirecan ; k. Leinster, cxlviii
Donald, s. Murchaid, s. Diarmait ; k. Tara, k. Ireland, 238, 240, 241, 243, 245, 258
Donald, s. Owen, s. Beli ; k. Dumbarton, 202
Donald, s. Reginald, s. Somerled, ii. 254
Donald, s. Robartach ; a. Kells, ii. 22, 100
Donald, s. Ruadri, ii. 176
Donald, s. Tadc Ua-Briain ; k. Hebrides, ii. 98-101, 143
Donald, s. Tuathalan, 178, 190
Donald, s. William, s. Duncan ; e. Mar, ii. 681
Donald, s. William (Nobleman), s. k. Duncan II, ii. 5. *See* Donald Mac-William
Donald I, s. Alpin ; k. Scotland, cxxxvii, cxlix
Donald II, s. Constantine I ; k. Scotland, cxxxvii, cxlix, cliv, clvii
Donald Bán, s. Duncan I ; k. Scotland, xxxiv, xxxv, cxl, cxli, 523, 574, 577, 594 ; ii. 39, 55, 56, 86, 89-93, 99, 100, 105, 119, 141, 149, 182
Donald Bán, s. Donald Mac-William, ii. 302, 304, 313, 389, 404
Donald Brecc, s. Eochaid Buide ; k. Argyle, cxxx, cxxxi, cxxxii, cxxxvi, cxliv, cxlv, cli, cliii-clv, clvii, 142, 145, 146, 154, 156, 158, 159, 161-164, 166-168, 170, 177, 182, 184, 194, 198, 203, 205, 223
Donald Cloen, s. Lorcan ; k. Leinster, 487
Donald Dond, s. Conall Crandomna ; k. Argyle, cxxxi, cxxxii, cxlv, cxlvi, 199, 202, 203
Donald Dond, s. Eochaid Buide, cli
Donald Mac-William, gs. k. Duncan II, ii. 5, 304, 313, 389, 404, 471
Donald Ua-Brolchain, prior of Iona, ii. 253, 361
Donald Ua-Conchobair, s. k. Kerry, ii. 143
Donald's son, k. Tirconnell, ii. 537 (=O'Donnell)
Doncaster, ii. 151, 167, 197, 251, 362, 503
Donegal, 115, 229 ; ii. 415
Donnan, a. of Eigg, 142-144
Donnchad, Dunchath. *See* Duncan
Donncorci, k. Dalriata, 255
Doorward, Alan, ii. 478, 559, 571, 575-576, 580-581, 583, 584, 589, 590, 591, 593, 653, 661, 674 ; e. Athole, ii. 478 ; justiciar, ii. 674
Dorbene Fota, s. Altaine ; a. Iona, xxi, 117, 214, 216
Dorchester, 595
Dornoch Firth, 372
Dorrad, 540
Dorset, ii. 504
Douai, Belgium, ii. 88
Douglas, William de, ii. 583
Dover, 541 ; ii. 409, 411, 412, 413, 422, 644, 669
Down, 91 ; ii. 133, 184, 196, 208. *See* Dalaraide
Down(patrick), xxxv, 20, 47, 105, 106, 526 ; ii. 133, 364
Drafdrit, slave, 335
Drapu-hlíd, Iceland, 363
Dreux, Eure-et-Loir, ii. 412, 514, 686
Dreux, John II de, br. Yolande, ii. 686
Dreux, Peter Mauclerc de, s. Robert II, c. Dreux ; d. Brittany, ii. 412
Dreux, Robert de. *See* Robert III
Dreux, Yolande (or Joleta) de, dau. Robert IV, c. Dreux ; w. k. Alexander III ; w. Arthur II, duke of Brittany, ii. 686, 689, 691, 693, 694
Driffeld, ii. 510
Drogheda, Louth, ii. 212, 213, 503
Droichtech, 240
Drong, 149
Droplaug, dau. Thorgrim of Gil, 317 ; called dau. e. Biorgolf, 317
Drostan, a., 40 ; ii. 174
Drostan, f. Finguine, 225
Drostan, f. k. Talorcan, 253

Drostan, f. Talorc(an), 214, 232, 236
Drostan, s. Cosgrach ; disciple of Columba, ii. 174-181
Drostan, s. Fynewennis and Conrad, 96
druids, 58
Druids' Fence, 24
Druimm, battle, 262
Druimm-cathmail, battle, 237
Druimm-ceta, 79-83, 85
Druimm-ceta, council, 79, 82-83
Druimm-Derg-Blathuug, battle, 226
Druimm-loch-muide, battle of, 1
Druimm-Monach, 36
Druimm-nAlban, cxviii, cxxix, 56, 58, 61, 197, 217, 226, 262
Druimm-nErenn, cxviii
Druimm-Ráthe, 170
Druimm-tomme (Drumhome), 115
Drumcliff, Clare county, 36
Drumcliff, Sligo county, 24
Drust, br. Gartnait, s. Donald ; k. Picts, cxxv
Drust, k. Britons, 7
Drust, k. Picts, k. Scotland, cxxv, 221, 222, 224, 226-228
Drust, s. Constantine ; k. Picts, cxxvii, cxxxv
Drust, s. Donald ; k. Picts, 181, 184, 185
Drust, s. Erp ; k. Picts, cxix, cxxi
Drust, s. Girom ; k. Picts, cxxii, cxxiii
Drust, s. Munait ; k. Picts, cxxiii
Drust, s. Talorcan ; k. Picts, cxxvii, 253
Drust, s. Voret, 227
Drust, s. Wrad, ? s. Bargoit ; k. Picts, cxxviii, 227, 272
Drust, s. Wdrost ; k. Picts, cxxii
Drust Gurthinmoch, k. Picts, cxxi, cxxii, 122
Drusticc, dau. k. Drust of Britons, 7, 8
Drust-Talorc, cxxvii-cxxviii
Dryburgh, Berwickshire, ii. 211, 218, 249, 363, 371, 517, 521, 565, 697
Duach, f. Ninnid, 24, 25
Duach, s. Barr-finnan, 210
Duach Land, cliv
Duach Tenga-umai, k. Connaught, cxliii
Dub, s. Malcolm I ; k. Scotland, cxxxviii, cxxxix, cxlix, 472-474, 476, 478, 514, 515, 521, 522, 580
Duban. *See also* Dufan
Duban, f. a. Dubthach, 430
Duban, f. k. Duncan of Argyle, 177. *See* Duncan, s. Duban
Dubbacin, grandfather of Donald, ii. 177
Dubcend, s. Ivar of Limerick, 480
Dubdabairend, 406
Dub-da-leithe, s. Cellach ; a. Armagh, a. Kells, xxxi, 488, 494, 519, 520, 599
Dubdond, ruler of Athole, 473
Dubduin, gs. Stephen ; a. Kells, 468
Dubican. *See* Dubucan
Dublin (or Ath-Cliath), li, 35, 277-281, 284, 302, 303, 308, 311, 323, 328, 331, 339, 351, 352, 369, 394, 395, 399, 403, 406, 408, 409, 411, 412, 429, 431, 444, 451, 460, 472, 486-488, 490, 494, 503, 506-508, 521, 525, 528, 534-537, 551, 590-592 ; ii. 1, 3, 42, 43, 45, 94, 95, 126-128, 143, 204, 207, 208, 212, 213, 225, 230, 231, 238, 254, 269-273, 387, 427, 503
Dublin-shire, 308, 324
Dubni, s. Malcolm, ii. 178
Dub-recles, in Derry, 98, 105 ; ii. 253
Dubscuile, s. Kenneth ; a. Kells, 471
Dubside, lector of Iona, ii. 253
Dubslait, gs. Tren ; k. Dalaraide, 48
Dubthach. *See also* Dufthak
Dubthach, slave, 335
Dubthach, s. Donald, s. Kiarval, 344
Dubthach, s. Duban ; a. Iona, a. Raphoe, 430
Dubthach, s. Erc, s. Eochaid, cl
Dubthach the Scot, confessor, ii. 10
Dubthalorc, k. Picts within the Mounth, 253. Cf. Talorcan, s. Angus
Dubucan (Dubican), f. Maelbrigte, 475
Dubucan, s. Indrechtach ; mormaer of Angus, 446
Dubuci, ii. 179
Dudabrach, f. Thana, 267
Dudley, ii. 153
duels, 371, 414, 486, 501, 513, 523 ; ii. 224
Dufan, settler in Iceland, 345
Dufeyrar, Scotland, ii. 194
Duffus, Elginshire, ii. 531
Dufnal, k., 478. *See* Donald, s. Eogan
Dufthak, settler in Iceland, 345
Dugald, lord of Macherummel, ii. 545
Dugald, ? papal legate, ii. 209
Dugald, s. Niall, ii. 508
Dugald, s. Olaf Cuaran, 535
Dugald, s. Ruadri ; k. Hebrides, ii. 548, 549, 554, 577, 594, 611, 616, 617, 625, 635, 649, 660
Dugald (and Dungal), s. Somerled, s. Gillabrigte ; k. Hebrides, ii. 137, 231, 255, 465, 595

Dugald, s. Sumarlidi Yeoman, ii. 255. *See* Dugald, s. Somerled
Dugald Screech, s. Dugald (or Dungal), s. Somerled ; k. Hebrides, ii. 465, 475, 476
Duhara, Tipperary, 290
Duiú, R., 12 (? Dovey, Montgomeryshire)
Dulane, Meath, 451
Dull, Athole, 576, 577 ; ii. 652, 653
Dumaz-bakki, 539
Dumbarton (and Altclut, Ail-Chluaide), lx, cxxix, clviii, 73, 74, 128, 176, 193, 201, 202, 241, 249, 301-303
Dumbartonshire, 218, 239
Dumfries, ii. 479, 653
Dumfriesshire, 411
Duminfert, s. Eandulf, 175
Dumn(a)gual, f. Owen, 550
Dumnagual (" Donald "), k. Strathclyde, 445
Dumn(a)gual, s. Riderch, s. Eugein, clvii, 243
Dumn(a)gual, s. Teudebur, s. Beli, clvii, 243
Dumn(a)gual Hen, s. Cinuit, clviii, 13
Dumnagual Moilmut, s. Garbaniaun, 13
Dumnguollaun. *See* Dunguallaun
Dun, Adam de, dean of Moray (irregularly appointed), ii. 532
Dunadd, Argyll, 163, 191, 208, 230, 233, 575
Dunaut, s. Cuneda, 12
Dunaut, s. Pappo ; k. Britons, 104
Dunaverty, Kintyre, 213-214, 230, 519
Dun-Baetain, 88
Dun-baitte, siege, 190
Dunbar, Haddingtonshire, 288, 536 ; ii. 37, 301, 306, 373, 407, 409, 551, 552, 583
Dunbarney, Perthshire, 223
Dunbeath, Caithness, 190
Dunblane, Perthshire, 177, 288, 403 ; ii. 443, 451, 462, 490, 509, 529, 545, 589, 596, 597, 700
Dunbolg, battles, cxlv, 121, 302
Duncan, a. Dunkeld, 471, 473, 577
Duncan (I), e. Fife, ii. 182, 224, 698
Duncan (II), e. Fife, ii. 233, 362, 493
Duncan (V), e. Fife, xliii
Duncan, f. Cellach, 520
Duncan, f. Morgan, ii. 181
Duncan, gs. Bead, ? s. Ited, ii. 179
Duncan, gs. Erulb, 535
Duncan, gs. Maenach ; a. Iona, ii. 119
Duncan, ? k. Argyle, cxlv, cxlvi
Duncan, s. Brian ; k. Ireland, 592
Duncan, s. Cendfaelad, s. Maelcoba ; a. Iona, 211, 215-217
Duncan, s. Colgu, 220
Duncan, s. Conaing, 172, 177
Duncan, s. Conaing, s. Aidan, cli, (Perhaps same as the preceding.)
Duncan, s. Conall, s. Comgall, 78-79
Duncan, s. Donald ; k. Ireland, cxlviii, 247-250, 253, 256
Duncan, s. Donald Cloen, s. Lorcan ; k. Leinster, 487
Duncan, s. Duban ; k. Argyle, cxxxi, cxxxii, cxlv, cxlvi, 177, 190, 202 ; called Dungal, 177, 202
Duncan, s. Dubdabairend ; k. Cashel, 406
Duncan, s. Dugald, s. Somerled ; k. in Hebrides, ii. 465, 475, 476, 548, 549
Duncan, s. Eoganan, ? s. Gabran, 145
Duncan, s. Eoganan, ? s. Tuathalan, 177, 190, 203, 207, 211, 212
Duncan, s. Fiachna ; k. Ulster, cxlv
Duncan, s. Fland, s. Maelsechlaind ; k. Meath, k. Ireland, 399, 425, 428, 430, 431, 444
Duncan, s. Gilbert. *See* Carrick
Duncan, s. Gillecrist ; e. Angus, ii. 494, 513
Duncan, s. Morgan ; e. Mar, ii. 493, 494
Duncan, s. Morgand ; mormaer in Scotland, 480
Duncan, s. Murchaid, s. Bran, 220
Duncan, s. Murchaid Ua-Maelnambó, ii. 143
Duncan, s. Sithec, ii. 180
Duncan I, s. Crinan ; k. Scotland, cxl, cxlix, cl, cliv, clvii, 521, 547, 572, 576-582, 584, 593, 595-597, 600-603 ; ii. 39, 147
Duncan II, s. Malcolm III ; k. Scotland, cxl, cxli, cl ; ii. 4, 25, 33, 38, 39, 47, 49, 50, 55, 89-92, 99, 100, 105, 234
Duncan Bec, k. Kintyre, 219
Duncan Dond, cxlv. *See* Donald Dond
Duncan Ua-Eochada, k. Ulster, ii. 48, 94
Duncan Ua-Robocain, a. Kells and Raphoe, 494
Duncansby, Caithness, 495, 498, 499; ii. 193, 194 ; in Scotland, i. 495
Dun-Cethirn, 85 ; battle, 85
Dun-corcaige, 278
Dun-cremthainn, battle, 169
Duncrub, Perthshire, 238, 473
Dundaff, Stirling, 200
Dun-deauae-dibsi, siege, 200
Dundee, 594 ; ii. 141, 479, 536, 587, 663, 664

Dundee, Hervey of, canon of St. Andrews, b.-elect of Caithness, ii. 536
Dundrennan, Kirkcudbrightshire, xliv; ii. 201, 204, 265, 316, 449, 492, 500, 514, 515, 534, 565
Dundurn, Strathearn, 364, 367, 368, 397; siege, 191
Dunfermline, cxviii, cxli; ii. 25, 53, 56, 65, 73, 77, 86-88, 141, 149, 167, 196, 211, 220, 224, 233, 262, 299, 349, 462, 493, 509, 510, 518, 563, 570, 572, 661, 669, 671, 684, 687, 692, 698-700
Dungal (or Dunlaing), f. Cerball; k. Ossory, 278, 403
Dungal (or Donald), f. Giric, cxxxvii, 357, 358
Dungal, k. Argyle, cxxxi. *See* Duncan, s. Duban
Dungal, k. Cashel, 284
Dungal, "k. Scotland"; of Duncansby, 495-496
Dungal (or Donald), s. Eochaid, s. Aed Find; k. Argyle, cxxxv, 250, 268, 269; called s. Selbach, 251, 252
Dungal (or Dunlaing), s. Fergal; k. Ossory, 328
Dungal, s. Godfrey, s. Harold, 502
Dungal, s. Kenneth (? II), 496, 520, 580
Dungal, s. Selbach; k. Argyle, cxxxiv, cxxxvi, cxlvii, cxlviii, 203, 206, 208, 220, 222, 223, 227-230, 232, 233, 235, 251, 252
Dungal of Eilne, s. Scandal, 199
Dungal's-peak, Caithness, 499
Dungal, s. Somerled. *See* Dugald
Dungavel, Lanarkshire, 237
Dungivel, Lanarkshire, 237
Dun-Guaire, 366. *See* Bamborough
Dunguallaun (or Dufnal), s. Owen; k. Strathclyde, 478-480; called Donald, s. Eogan, 479, 480, ? 517
Dungyle, Kirkcudbrightshire, 237
Dunipace, Stirlingshire, ii. 509
Dunkeld, Strathtay, 105, 122, 262, 279, 280, 288, 296, 305, 399, 444, 471, 473, 569, 576, 577, 581, 583, 584; ii. 22, 56, 73, 90, 178, 182, 267, 431, 449, 462, 463, 490, 491, 500, 531, 563, 564, 572, 574, 578, 589, 597, 605, 653, 668, 699
Dunlaing, k. Leinster, cxlviii
Dunlaing, k. Leinster, cxlviii
Dun-leithfind, 232
Dun-Letheit, 87, 88
Dun-locho, battle, 185
Dún-maele-tuile, 278, 283
Dun-mBaithe (or Dunbuithe), 190
Dun-medoin, Scandinavians of, 284
Dun-monaid, 163, 575
Dunmore, John of, ii. 583, 591, 651
Du(n)myat, Perthshire, 90, 97
Dun-na-n-Airbed, 85
Dunnichen, Forfarshire, cxx, 16, 192-195, 198
Dunnideer, Stephen of, b.-elect of Glasgow, ii. 677
Dunning, Perthshire, 473
Dunnottar, Mearns, 170, 190, 201, 393, 396, 398, 426, 454; ii. 674
Dunolly, Oban, 193, 205, 207, 215, 232
Dunrod, Renfrewshire, ii. 245
Duns, Berwickshire, 164
Duns, William of, sacrist of Melrose, ii. 543
Dunscath, castle, ii. 301
Dunseverick, Antrim, 303
Dunshaughlin, Meath, 279
Dunsinnan, Perthshire, 513, 514, 594
Dunskeath, Nigg, ii. 301-302
Dunskey, Wigtonshire, 76
Dunstan, archb. Canterbury, 478, 494, 517; ii. 63
Durham, ii. 22, 35, 36, 38, 39, 45, 46, 49, 50, 59, 89, 137, 138, 159, 165, 203, 391, 392, 408, 420, 463, 504, 527, 552, 564, 598, 677, 689, 698
Durness, Sutherland, ii. 612, 636
Durrow, Queen's County, 23, 26, 34, 56, 147, 245
Durrow, Book of, 113
Dursey, I., Beare, 286
Duston, William of, ii. 410
Duthac, St., ii. 10
Dutigirn, 11
Dyfed. *See* Wales, South
Dyggve, s. Dómar, 306
Dyniarnes, Norway, ii. 485
Dysart, Fife, ii. 525

Ead, k. Pictland, 398. ? Cf. Aed the White
Eadbeorht, k. Northumbria, 234
Eadbeorht, s. Aetan, s. Liodguald, 225
Eadburh, dau. Offa, s. Thingfrith, 255
Eadfrith, s. Edwin, s. Ælle, 154, 155
Eadgils, 401
Eadlbald. *See* Æthelbeald
Eadlit, s. Penda, 175
Eadmer, b. St. Andrews, ii. 163, 164, 166
Eadred, s. Edward the Elder; k. England, 450, 453, 459-461
Eadred, tenant of Allerdale, ii. 37
Eadred Lulisc, a. in Carlisle, 365
Eadric, s. Ida, 225. (? Ealric)

Eadric Streona, s. Æthelric; e. Mercia, 597; ii. 27, 30
Eadric Wild, s. Ælfric, s. Æthelric, 597
Eadulf, earl, 248
Eadulf, k. North-Saxons, 401, 403. ? Cf. Æthelweald, k. Danish Northumbria; or ?? cf. Othulf, hold
Eadulf, s. Uhtred, s. Waltheof; e. Northumbria, 583; ii. 41
Eadulf Cudel, s. Waltheof; e. Northumbria, 544; ii. 40, 41
Eadulf Rus, s. Uhtred, s. Gospatric, ii. 41, 46
Eadulf Yvelcild, e. Bernicia, 512
Eadwig. *See* Edmund, s. Edmund Ironside
Ealdfrith, s. Oswiu; k. Northumbria, 15, 192, 194, 195, 197, 209, 210; called Fland Fína, 194, 210
Ealdgyth, dau. e. Uhtred, ii. 37, 39, 41, 46
Ealdhun, b. Lindisfarne, ii. 39, 41
Ealdred, archb. York, ii. 1, 14, 22
Ealdred, s. Uhtred, s. Waltheof; e. Northumbria, 583, 595; ii. 36-41, 46
Ealdwine, prior of Durham, ii. 38, 47
Ealhfrith, s. Oswiu, 174
Eamer, 175
Eanbald, archb. York, 254
Eandulf, s. Oswulf, 175
Eanflæd, dau. Edwin, 14; w. Oswiu, 15
Eanfrith, a. Newbattle, ii. 301
Eanfrith, s. Æthelfrith; k. Bernicia, cxxiv, 155, 156, 158, 165, 193. *See* Talorcan, s. Eanfrith
Eanfrith, s. Æthelric; br. k. Æthelfrith, 123
Earl's-ness, 419; ii. 193
Earlston, Berwickshire, ii. 523
Earn, Loch, 191
Earn, R., 122, 274, 367, 440, 522, 524. *See* Strathearn
earth-houses (caves), 111, 290, 331, 335, 351; ii. 481, 482
earthquakes, cxliii
Eassie, ii. 526
East-Angles, East Anglia, 166, 173-175, 296-298, 301
East-Calder, 234; ii. 521, 526
Easter cycles, 18, 25, 178, 225
Eastmen, 280, 314. *See* Scandinavians
East-Neuk, Fife, 354
Eastorhild, ii. 164
East-Saxons, 297
Eata Glinmaur, 225
Ebric, s. k. French, 536
Eccles, Berwickshire, ii. 232, 373, 486, 509, 698
Ecclesgreig, Mearns, 364; ii. 520, 522
Ecclesmachan, W. Lothian, ii. 525
Ecgbeorht, b., 205, 215, 216, 225, 226; s. Eadbeorht, s. Aetan, 225; br. Eadbeorht, Searle, ii. 307
Ecgbeorht, k. Danish Bernicia, 297, 366
Ecgbeorht, s. Ealhmund; k. Wessex, 266; ii. 120
Ecgfrida, dau. Ealdhun, ii. 39, 41
Ecgfrith, a Londoner, 441
Ecgfrith, s. Offa, s. Duminfert, 175
Ecgfrith, s. Oswiu; k. Northumbria, 16, 174, 184, 192-195, 198, 210
Ecgric, k. East-Angles, 174
Ecg(w)ulf, s. Eadric, s. Ida, 225; s. Ealdhelm, s. Occa, s. Ida, Searle, ii. 303
Echdonn, b. Armagh, ii. 357
Echmarcach, s. Ronald, gs. Ivar; k. Dublin, 590-592; ii. 42; k. Rinns, i. 592; f. Reginald, ii. 305
Echoid, follower of Columba, 39
eclipses of the moon, 182, 200, 221-222, 230-232, 241, 244, 245, 247, 259, 295, 356, 403; ii. 265, 367, 389, 415
eclipses of the sun, 1, 94, 104, 147-148, 178, 179, 199, 239, 241, 245, 260, 292, 295, 310, 356, 364, 396, 403, 473, 474, 568; ii. 183, 184, 203, 299, 309, 326, 452, 608, 615, 616, 675
Edderton, Ross, ii. 301
Eddisbury, Cheshire, 402
Eden, fortress, 468, 469
Eden, R., Fife, 469; ii. 408, 493
Ederdover, castle, ii. 301
Edgar, br. k. Edmund, 298
Edgar, s. Edmund Elder; k. Mercia and Northumbria, k. England, 274, 478-480, 488, ? 512, 549; ii. 63; k. Britain, i. 478
Edgar, s. Gospatric I, ii. 38
Edgar, s. Malcolm III; k. Scotland, cxl, cxli; ii. 26-29, 73, 83-85, 89, 90, 99, 100, 105, 113, 120, 138, 141, 162, 166, 234, 262, 698
Edgar Ætheling, s. Edward, s. Edmund Ironside, ii. 20, 23-25, 28-30, 99, 120
Edinburgh (and Maidens' Castle), 164, 165, 426, 469, 544, 575; ii. 83, 86, 141, 171, 194, 224, 237, 245, 292, 295, 297, 303, 304, 372, 383, 432, 470, 498, 515, 520, 521, 525, 529, 575, 581, 677, 682, 690, 697
Edin's Hall, Berwickshire, 164
Edith, dau. Ælfgar, s. Leofric; w. Grufud, s. Lewelin; w. k. Harold, s. Godwine, 597

Edith, dau. Æthelred, 597
Edith (or Gytha), dau. Godwine ; w. Edward Confessor, 597
Edith, dau. Malcolm III. *See* Matilda, dau. Malcolm III
Edith, St., sis. Edward the Martyr, ii. 56
Edmund, archb. Canterbury, ii. 468, 486, 517, 526, 544
Edmund, k. East-Angles, 297-300, 315, 338, 339, 346
Edmund, s. Edmund Ironside, ii. 27, 29, 30
Edmund, s. Malcolm III, ii. 26-29, 55, 92
Edmund Elder, s. Edward the Elder ; k. England, 396, 429-431, 442, 449, 451, 458-461, 465, 466, 513
Edmund Hunchback, s. k. Henry III of England ; k. Sicily, ii. 576, 585, 657
Edmund Ironside, s. Æthelred II ; k. England, 549, 597 ; ii. 15, 25, 27, 29, 30, 62, 63
Edna, dau. k. Kiarval II, 484
Edrom, John of, a. Melrose, ii. 196, 659, 660
Edward, b. Aberdeen, ii. 275
Edward, s. Edmund Ironside, ii. 25, 27-30, 64
Edward, s. Gospatric I, ii. 38
Edward, s. Malcolm III, cl ; ii. 26-30, 50-54, 83-86
Edward, s. Siward, 596-597
Edward I, k. England, xlviii, liii ; ii. 29, 35, 48, 516, 569, 571, 580, 644, 649-652, 658, 659, 665-667, 669, 670, 675, 676-679, 681, 682, 684, 686, 694
Edward II, k. England, ii. 684, 688, 694 ; called Edward of Carnarvon, ii. 688
Edward Confessor, s. Æthelred II ; k. England, 505, 583, 588, 593, 595-598 ; ii. 1, 2, 14, 15, 17, 24, 25, 28-30, 32, 35, 41, 45, 62, 63, 120, 146, 489
Edward Elder, s. Alfred ; k. Wessex, k. England, 297, 339, 386, 396, 400, 402, 409, 410, 412, 446, 453
Edward Martyr, s. Edgar ; k. England, 464, 549 ; ii. 56
Edwin, s. Ælfgar, s. Leofric, 598 ; ii. 14, 20, 21, 24, 36, 41
Edwin, s. Ælle ; k. Northumbria, 14, 15, 142, 148, 150, 153-156, 164, 175
Eggles, Stirlingshire, ii. 699
Egil, s. Skallagrim, 382, 395, 410, 413, 418-424, 428, 457, 458
Egil Vendil-kraka, s. Aun the Old, 306
Egilsay, Orkney, ii. 162
Eginus, geometer, 437
Egremont, Cumberland, ii. 92
Egypt, 128, 437 ; ii. 438, 563
Eid, Norway, ii. 360
Eiddyn, 164
Eider, R., 298, 310
Eidsvágr, Norway, ii. 611
Eigg, I., 65, 142-145, 221, 222, 241
Eil, Loch, 164
Eilbertus, patron of Wassor, 443
Eilif, f. Dag, ii. 5, 6, 115, 127, 186
Eilif, s. Helgi Bióla, 510
Eilif, s. Ketil One-handed, 320, 325, 387
Eilif of Naustdalr, ii. 614, 632, 638
Eilif Orn, 336
Eilif Prúdi, s. Kiallak, s. Biorn the Strong, 348
Eilifs-dalr-river, Iceland, 344
Eilne, 199
Eimin, s. Cainnech, 536
Einar, s. Ketil, 381
Einar, s. Olvi Barnakarl, 319, 325
Einar, s. Ronald of Mærr. *See* Turf-Einar
Einar, s. Skúli, ii. 205, 216, 217
Einar, s. Thorgeir Klaufi ; gs. Turf-Einar, 393
Einar Butterback, archb. Nidaróss, ii. 599, 601, 604
Einar Buttered-bread, gs. Thorfinn Skull-cleaver, 483
Einar Hard-jaw, gs. Thorfinn Skull-cleaver, 483
Einar Skalaglam, s. Helgi, s. Ottar ; and gs. k. Biólan, 363
Einar Vorsa-Krákr, ii. 6
Einar Wry-mouth, s. Sigurd, s. Hlodve ; e. Orkney, 511, 528, 542, 543, 550-560, 564, 585
Einar's-skerry, Selarsund, 363
Eindridi, f. Kari, ii. 614
Eindridi, s. Isaac and Cecilia, dau. Erlend, ii. 7
Eindridi, s. Thorliót and Steinvor Stout, ii. 139
Eindridi the Young, ii. 214
Eiriksfiordr, Greenland, 490
Eitin. *See* Clinog
Ekkiall, Ekkialsbakki, 370, 372. *See* Oykell
Ela, dau. William c. Ponthieu, ii. 265
Elachnave, 17
Elbobdus, b., 14
Eleanor of Castile, w. k. Edward I, ii. 580, 695
Eleanor of Poitou, w. k. Henry II, ii. 213, 241, 329, 362
Eleanor of Provence, w. k. Henry III, ii. 496, 502, 505, 511, 512, 582, 585, 645, 658

Elena insula, 51, 65. Cf. Islay
Elend, subjugation of, 185
Eleutherius, pope, 131
Elfin, s. Eugein, s. Beli, clviii, 243
Elfin, s. Neithon, 201. *See* Alpin, s. Nechtan
Elfr, R. (Gautelv), Norway, ii. 609
Elgesætr, Norway, ii. 18
Elgin, 576, 581; ii. 233, 448, 456, 471, 527
Elgonach, s. Garb, s. Ferballach, 220
Elias, a. Rievaulx, ii. 388, 420
Elifer Cascordmaur, s. Gurgust Letlum, 86
Elifer, ss. of, 73, 86
Elizabeth. *See* Isabella; Ellisif
Ellam, Berwickshire, ii. 525
Ellatig, s. Coirpre Crom-chend, clvii
Ellesmere, castle, ii. 452
Ellisif (Elizabeth), dau. Iarisleif; w. Harold Hardrádi, ii. 13, 19
Ellon, Aberdeenshire, ii. 181
Ellwick Bay, Shapinshay, ii. 615
Elmet, 14
Elvodugus, lxiii
Elwy, R., Denbighshire, 132
Ely, Cambridgeshire, 192; ii. 24, 36, 469, 694
Emain-Macha (Navan-fort, Armagh), 86, 88, 89
Emchat, 51
Emly, Tipperary, 88, 286, 351; ii. 43
Emma, dau. Herleve; w. Richard le Goz, ii. 111, 166, 324
Emma (or Ælfgifu), dau. Richard I, duke of Normandy; w. Æthelred II; w. Cnut, 545, 546, 548, 549, 598, 599; ii. 15, 28, 30, 147
Empire, Eastern, 549
Enan, sons of, 23
Enan, of Eigg, 144
Enan, s. Ernin, s. Cael; of Druimm-Ráthe, 170
Enda, s. Erc, s. Eochaid, cl
Enda, s. Niall, 39
Englacius, a. (of Ecclesgreig ?), 364
England, kings of, cxiii
English (Saxons, etc.), *passim*. *See* Angles; West-Saxons
English Channel (British Sea), 251
English church, 365
English kings' claims to superiority over kings of Scotland, xlviii, liii, 409, 417, 426, 429, 449, 450, 457, 478, 479, 515, 544-549; ii. 21, 24, 30, 32, 34-36, 46-49, 89, 99, 141, 144, 148, 151-157, 166, 167, 170, 196-203, 233-235, 240, 242-244, 251, 263-265, 276-295, 310, 315, 319, 322-323, 328-330, 352, 365-367, 372-377, 390-392, 395, 398, 401, 411-412, 415, 416, 424-426, 431, 433, 435, 436, 440-441, 443-445, 479, 491, 499, 501-505, 511, 530, 536-538, 562, 569-571, 580-584, 586, 588-593, 658, 661, 670, 675-676, 694
Ennel, Lough, 277
Enniaun Girt, s. Cuneda, 12
Eochagan, k. Argyle ?, cxlviii
Eochaid. *See also* Echoid; Echu
Eochaid, a. Lismore, 160
Eochaid, k. Argyle, cxxxiii, cxxxiv, cxlvii, cxlviii
Eochaid, k. Munster, cxliii
Eochaid, s. Aed, s. Loegaire, 18
Eochaid, s. Aed Find, s. Eochaid; k. Argyle, cxxxii, cxxxiii, cxxxv, cxxxvi, cxlv, cxlviii, cliii-clv, clvii, 250, 251, 268, 269; called the Poisonous, 250, 268
Eochaid, s. Alpin, 446
Eochaid, s. Colla, s. Ercus, xxiii
Eochaid, s. Conla; k. Ulster, cxliii
Eochaid, s. Cuthwine, 227
Eochaid, s. Domangart, s. Donald Brecc; k. Argyle, cxxxi, cxxxii, cxxxvi, cxlv, cxlvi, cliii-clv, clvii, 151, 202-205, 222, 223, 249, 269
Eochaid, s. Donald, s. Muirchertach; k. Ireland, cxliv, 68
Eochaid, s. Enda, Gen-salach, 78
Eochaid, s. Eochaid, s. Domangart; k. Dalaraide, k. Argyle, cxxxi, cxxxvi, cxlvi, cliii-clv, clvii, 203, 222, 223, 227, 230, 236, 237, 248, 249, 250
Eochaid, s. Indulf, s. Constantine, 475
Eochaid, s. Loarn Mor, clii
Eochaid, s. Loingsech, s. Comgall, clvi
Eochaid, s. Muiredach, s. Loarn Mor, clii, clvi, 203
Eochaid, s. Nechtan, s. Ferchar, clvi
Eochaid, s. Oengus, s. Crimthan, 39
Eochaid, s. Olchu, s. Eochaid, cl
Eochaid, s. Run, s. Arthgal; k. Strathclyde, k. Scotland, cxxxvii, cxlix, 363, 364, 366
Eochaid Aingcess, k. Britons, 163
Eochaid Antoit, s. Fiachu Tathmael, cliv, clv, clvii
Eochaid Buide, s. Aidan, s. Gabran; k. Argyle, cxxx, cxliv, cxlv, cli, cliii-clv, clvii, 95, 96, 125, 151, 152, 153, 154, 162, 163, 168, 203, 273; his wife, dau. Eochaid Aingcess, 163
Eochaid Crookednosed, s. Domangart, s. Donald Brecc; k. Argyle, 182, 205
Eochaid Dry-flesh (Tirmcharna), k. Connaught, 24, 25

Eochaid Find, s. Aidan, s. Gabran, cli, clv, 95, 96, 118, 119
Eochaid Hebdre, s. Comgall, 21
Eochaid Iarlaithe, k. Dalaraide, 152
Eochaid Laib, k. Dalaraide, 49, 145
Eochaid Muigmedon, cl, clvi
Eochaid Muin-remor, s. Muiredach Tirech, cl, cli, cliv, clvi, clvii, 3, 23
Eochaid Riata, clvii
Eochaid Tirmcharna, k. Connaught, cxliii
Eocho, s. Fergna, s. Angus Mor, cli
Eogan. *See also* Ewen; Owen
Eogan, a. Ardstraw, 30
Eogan, a. Eigg, 221, 222
Eogan (Iogen), br. St. Columba, 23
Eogan, s. Ailill, s. Iar, cliii, clvii
Eogan, s. Eochaid Laib, 49, 145
Eogan, s. Fergus Salach, clii
Eogan, s. Findan. *See* Ewen, s. Ferchar Fota
Eogan, s. Gabran, cl
Eogan, s. Niall Nine-hostager, clii, 3, 82, 220
Eogan Bec, s. Fedlimid, s. Erc and Fergus, 3
Eogan Garb, s. Fergus Salach, clii
Eogan of Argyle. *See* Argyle
Eoganacht of Cashel, 278, 283; *i.e.* the southern descendants of Eogan, s. Niall Nine-hostager. *See under* Cenel-Eogain
Eogan(an) (I), s. Angus (II), s. Fergus; k. Picts, k. Argyle, cxxxv, cxlvii, cxlviii, 266, 268, 277
Eogan(an) (II), k. Argyle, cxxxv, cxlvii, cxlviii, 235
Eogan(an), s. Gabran, 77, 78, 118, 145
Eogan(an), s. Tuathalan, 176, 177, 184, 190, 203, 212
Eola, f. Thorkel, ii. 96
Eolbeck, s. Moydan, 224. ? Cf. Biceot, s. Moneit
Eova, s. k. Penda, 175
Eova, s. Pubba; k. Mercia, 166, 175
Eowils, k. Danes, 296, 300, 401
Erc, dau. Eochaid. *See* Cerc
Erc, dau. Loarn Mor, 2-4, 24, 49; sons of, 3, 4, 49
Erc, s. Eochaid Muin-remor, cxlii, cxliii, cl, cli, cliii-clvii, 2, 3, 78, 203, 289, 603
Erc Mocu-druide, 65, 66
Eremon, k. Argyle ?, cxlviii
Eric, archb. Trondhjem, ii. 344
Eric, k. Denmark, k. Northmen in France, 310
Eric, k. Hordaland, 321
Eric, s. Agnar; k. Vestfold, 306
Eric, s. Dugald, s. Ruadri, ii. 613, 648, 649
Eric, s. Eric, s. Cnut, s. Eric; k. Sweden, ii. 548
Eric, s. Eric Biódaskáld; in Russia, 463
Eric, s. Eymund; k. Sweden, 339
Eric, s. Hakon Claw, ii. 188
Eric, s. Hakon the Mighty; e., k. Norway; e. Northumbria, 502-504, 510, 541, 544, 569, 598
Eric, s. Magnus the Good; k. Norway, ii. 679, 680, 683, 688, 694, 695
Eric, s. Ragnar and Thora; k. Northmen, 295, 299; s. Lodbrok, 299
Eric, s. Sven, s. Ulf; k. Denmark, 598; ii. 135
Eric, s. Tofi, ii. 379
Eric Biódaskáld, 463
Eric Blood-axe, s. Harold Fairhair; k. Norway, xcii-xciv, 323, 395, 423, 424, 426-428, 441, 451, 455-463, 465, 466, 469, 481-483, 520, 560; k. (or e.) Northumbria, 441, 455-462
Eric Bósi, ii. 648, 649
Eric Eimuni, s. Eric, s. Sven; k. Denmark, ii. 5, 191
Eric Holy, s. Edward; k. Sweden, ii. 379, 601
Eric of Ofrostadir, 509
Eric Red, 381, 485, 490-492
Eric Skifa, ii. 614
Eric Skota, s. Gaut, ii. 613
Eric Snare, 329
Eric Stakblællr (or Stagbrellr), s. Audhild, dau. Steinvor, ii. 4, 237, 238, 350, 480
Eric Very-wise, 457
Eric Victorious, s. Biorn, s. Eric; k. Sweden, 488, 489, 597, 598
Eric Wise, s. Hakon the Norwegian; k. Denmark, ii. 5
Eric Young, s. Sigurd Worm-in-eye; k. Denmark, 299, 310
Erip (or Wirp), f. Nechtan Morbet, cxix, cxxi
Erlend, s. Harold, s. Hakon; e. Orkney, ii. 139, 191, 193, 214, 227, 236, 237
Erlend, s. Thorfinn, s. Sigurd; e. Orkney, ii. 4, 5-7, 11-13, 17, 26, 103, 106, 110, 115, 117, 127, 131, 138, 162, 190
Erlend, s. Turf-Einar, 393, 459, 461, 481
Erlend of Gerdi, ii. 214
Erlend of Hernar, ii. 192, 195
Erlend Píkr, ii. 379
Erlend Red, ii. 614, 617, 629, 639
Erlend Skolbeinn, ii. 614
Erling, of Stroma, 537, 540

Erling, s. Alf, ii. 603, 614, 629, 639, 641, 646
Erling, s. Eric Blood-axe, 461
Erling, s. Erlend, s. Thorfinn, ii. 4, 7, 105, 107, 117, 118, 127, 131
Erling, s. Ingibiorg, dau. Bendik; archdeacon, ii. 6
Erling, s. Ivar, ii. 611, 612, 614, 616
Erling of Biarkey, a baron, ii. 639
Erling Purse, 314
Erling Skakki, s. Kyrpinga-Orm, s. Svein, s. Svein, s. Erlend, ii. 195, 213-215, 237, 331
Ermengarde, dau. Alexander II, ii. 559
Ermengarde, dau. Richard de Beaumont; w. William, k. Scotland, ii. 310, 311, 425, 469, 488, 489
Ernaine, an elder, prior of Tory I., 36
Ernan, a. Clondara, 36
Ernan, uncle of Columba, 24, 39, 63, 64; prior of Hinba, 63
Ernene Mocu-firroide, 115
Ernin, s. Cael, s. Aed, 170
Ernisius, a. Rufford, ii. 360
Ernoc (Mo), s. Macc-Decuil, 23
Ernoul, c. Guines, ii. 514
Erp, 381
Erp, s. Maelduin; freedman of Aud, 337, 383, 384
Erplingar, 384
Erriboll, Loch, ii. 636, 637
Errol, Perthshire, ii. 524
Erstein, Alsace, 443
Ertha, m. Blaan, 177
Erwegende. *See* Urbgen
Erydon, 74
Esbiorn. *See also* Asbiorn
Esbiorn, br. Sven, ii. 24
Eskdale, ii. 308
Eskil, archb. Lund; papal legate, ii. 296
Eskimos, 491
Essex, 505. *See also* East-Saxons
Essie, Strathbogie, 603, 604
Ess-ruad. *See* Assaroe
Esthonia, Esthonians, 464
Estrith. *See also* Astrid
Estrith, dau. Sven Forkbeard, 598
Et(a)in, siege, 163-165. Cf. Edinburgh; Eitin
Etarlindu, 233, 234
Etchen, b. Clonfad, 29, 46
Etdanin, ii. 177
Ete, dau. Gillemichel, ii. 178
Etern, s. Cuneda, 12
Eterscel, s. Eogan, cliii, clvii
Ethen, w. e. Ferteth, ii. 274
Etheneburc, 469
Ethica insula, regio, or terra, 65, 70. *See* Tiree
Ethne, ? dau. Cerball, s. Lorcan. *See* Edna, dau. k. Kiarval
Ethne, dau. Dimma, s. Noah; and m. Columba, 22-24, 31, 32; called Olmar, 32; queen of Corpraige, 23
Ethne, dau. Kenneth, ? s. Feradach, 249
Etigen (? Echtigern), f. Culen, 521
Etine, s. Coirpre the Poet, 23
Etive, Loch, 60
Etthil, dau. Cinan, s. Rotri, 450
Ettrick, forest, ii. 499
Eudes. *See* Odo
Eugein. *See also* Owen
Eugein, s. Beli, s. Neithon, clviii
Eugein, s. Dumnagual, s. Teudebur, clvii
Eugenius, s. Domangart. *See* Eochaid
Eugenius IV, gs. Donald Brecc; k. Argyle, 205, 206. *See* Eochaid, s. Domangart
Eugenius V, s. Ferchar Fota; k. Argyle, 205, 206, 250. *See* Ewen, s. Ferchar Fota
Eugenius VI, s. Findan; k. Argyle, clvii, 205, 206, 235, 236, 249. *See* Ewen, s. Ferchar Fota
Eugenius VII, s. Muiredach; k. Argyle, 249, 250. *See* Ewen, s. Muiredach
Eugenius III, pope, ii. 199, 206, 207, 212, 228, 553
Eumania. *See* Man
Eumonia, 507. *See* Man
Europe, 148, 197, 354, 425, 526, 572
Eustace, canon of St. Andrews, ii. 431, 436
Eustace, s. John, ii. 235
Eustace, s. Stephen and Matilda, ii. 124, 153, 242
Eustace III, c. Boulogne; gs. Eustace I, ii. 54, 56, 124
Eustace Monk, ii. 391, 418, 419, 421
Eva. *See* Eova
Eva, dau. Diarmait; w. Richard Strongbow, ii. 324
Eva, dau. Gartnait, ii. 180
Eva, w. Robert de Meyners, ii. 586
Everard, a. Clairvaux, ii. 511
Everard, a. Holme Cultram, ii. 210, 211, 327
Evesham, Worcestershire, ii. 649, 651
Evesham, Silvester of, b. Worcester, ii. 418
Ewen. *See also* Eogan; Eoganan
Ewen, s. Angus; k. Picts, cxxviii, 268. *See* Eoganan (I)
Ewen, s. Ferchar Fota (or Eogan, s. Findan); k. Argyle, cxxxii, cxxxiv, 205, 206, 218, 230, 235, 236, 249

Ewen, s. Muiredach; k. Scots, cxxxiii, cxxxiv, 203, 235, 236, 249, 250
Ewen, s. Urbgen, 127, 128
exactores, 128
excommunications and interdicts, 37, 69, 261, 262; ii. 73, 250, 303, 329, 360, 370, 371, 374, 383, 397, 411, 414, 415, 418, 423-425, 431-433, 435, 436, 446, 448, 451, 511, 518, 532, 565, 566, 585, 589, 590, 651, 655, 673, 681
Exeter, 507; ii. 503
Exeter, Jordan de, sheriff of Connaught, ii. 594
Exna-Thori, 338
Eyarsund, Iceland, 381
Eyfari, Hebridean ship's commander, ii. 617
Eyfirdingar, 350
Eyia-fiordr, Iceland, 350, 375, 382; ii. 358
Eyiolf, s. Æsa, dau. Kiallak, 348
Eyiolf, s. Snorri, ii. 358
Eyiolf, s. Thord Yeller, 306
Eyiolf Forni, poet, ii. 359
Eyiolf Wealthy, skipper, ii. 595
Eynesbury, Huntingdonshire, ii. 146, 147
Eyrar, Iceland, 329, 503, 532 (now Eyrarbakki)
Eyrr, Iceland, 344
Eystein, e., f. Svanhild, 393
Eystein, s. Adisl, 306
Eystein, s. Halfdan Whiteleg; k. Raumariki, 306, 307
Eystein, s. Harold Gilli, k. in Norway, ii. 204, 205, 214-217, 236, 248
Eystein, s. Hrani, s. Hildi Parak, 340
Eystein, s. Hroi, ii. 379
Eystein, s. Magnus Bareleg, k. Norway, ii. 110, 131, 133, 135, 161
Eystein, s. Olaf the Young, 304, 307, 350, 351
Eystein Glumra, s. Ivar, s. Halfdan the Old, 307, 373, 378, 392
Eystein Korpr, ii. 336, 341
Eystein Orri, s. Thorberg, s. Arni, ii. 17
Eysteinsdalr, Scotland, ii. 350
Eyvind, s. Finn, 466
Eyvind Aurochs-horn, 550, 555, 556, 564
Eyvind Eastman, s. Biorn, s. Hrólf of Ám, 311-314, 322, 325, 326, 328, 329, 337, 344, 347, 350, 382
Eyvind Elbow, s. Finn, ii. 115, 127, 129, 130-132
Eyvind Fire, 383
Eyvind Mein-fret, s. Alf of Osta, 383
Eyvind Orkneyman, 344
Eyvind Skreyia, s. Ozur Toti, 410
Faelan, k. Leinster, cxlv
Faelan, k. Leinster, cxlvi
Faelan, k. Ossory, cxlvi
Faelan (Foylanus), St.; br. St. Fursae, 90, 231 (death-day, 31st October)
Faelan, St.; of Strathearn, 231 (death-day, 20th June)
Faelan, St.; s. Caintigern, 231 (death-day, 9th January)
Faelan Sen-chostal, 185
Faelchu, k. Ossory, cxlv
Faelchu, s. Airmedach; k. Meath, 162
Faelchu, s. Dorbene; a. Iona, 216, 217, 220, 221
Failbe, or Fedlimid, a. Iona, 220, 243, 246
Failbe, k. Munster, cxlv
Failbe, s. Eochaid (Buide), cli, 152, 153
Failbe, s. Guaire; a. Applecross, 236
Failbe, s. Pipan; a. Iona, 157, 183, 185, 186, 200
Fair Isle, 532, 541
Fál (Ireland), 3
Falaise, ii. 290, 405, 441; treaty of, *see* Valognes
Falkirk, 9, 234; ii. 46, 259, 522; Carse of, i. 234
Falkland, Fife, ii. 524
Faragh, Meath county, 278
Farg, R., 122
Farne I., 16
Farnham, Nicholas de, b. Durham; king's physician, ii. 504, 527, 552
Faroe Islands, 324, 332, 338, 341, 379, 380, 382, 467, 486, 511, 540, 566; ii. 227, 266, 382. *See* Asgrim; Naddodd; Sigmund
Fasseburne, stream, ii. 307
Fathecht, s. Jafeth, cxvii
Faunes, Warin de, attorney, ii. 679
Faxi, a. Hebridean, explorer, 338
Fearn, Ross, ii. 218
Fécamp, Seine-Inférieure, ii. 63
Fechno, s. Rodan, 39
Fedelmid. *See* Fedlimid
Fedlim Folt-choem, dau. Briun, cl, clvi
Fedlimid, a. Iona, 220, 243, 246
Fedlimid, k. Munster, cxliii
Fedlimid, k. Munster, cxliv
Fedlimid, s. Crimthan; k. Munster, 283
Fedlimid, s. Eochaid Find, cli
Fedlimid, s. Erc and Fergus; and f. Columba, 3, 22, 23, 31, 49
Fedlimid, s. Tigernach; k. Munster, 94
Fedlimid Aislingech, s. Angus Buaidnech, cliv, clvii
Fedlimid All-wise, 23
Fedlimid Lamdoit, cliii

Fedlimid Rechtaid, 23
Fedlimid Ruamnach, s. Sen-Chormac, cliv, clvii
Felix, b. Moray, ii. 247
Fell, Iceland, 348
Felldar-hólmr, Iceland, 363
Felton, Northumberland, ii. 405
Femin, battle, 37, 89, 91
Fer, s. Confer, clviii
Feradach, dweller in Islay, 61
Feradach, s. Ailill Erand, cliv
Feradach, s. Cormac ; a. Iona, 305, 358-359
Feradach, s. Eochaid, s. Muiredach, clii
Feradach, s. Eochaid Find, cli
Feradach, s. Erc and Muiredach, 3, 4
Feradach, s. Fergus, s. Nechtan, clvi, 203
Feradach, s. Fiacc, s. Cerball, 241
Feradach, s. Maelbriccin, ii. 179
Feradach, s. Muiredach, s. Eogan, 82
Feradach, s. Ninnid, s. Erc and Fergus, 163, 180
Feradach, s. Segine ; a Rathlin, 256
Feradach, s. Selbach, 233
Feradach, s. Tuathalan, 198, 199
Feradach Find, s. Duach ; k. Ossory, 89, 91
Feradach Macc-Rosa, k. Connaught, cxliii
Ferant (Ferdinand), s. c. Baldwin IX ; c. Flanders, ii. 391
Ferb (and Verb), 122, 145
Ferballach, s. Cu-bairend, s. Crimthann, 220
Ferchar, a pre-Columban Christian in N. Scotland, 41
Ferchar, s. Conaing, s. Aidan, cli
Ferchar, s. Connad Cerr ; k. Argyle, cxxx, cxxxi, cxlv, clv, 154, 159, 167, 168, 170, 172, 201, 203
Ferchar, s. Duncan, cxlv
Ferchar, s. Eochaid Buide, 154, 168
Ferchar, s. Fingin, s. Eochaid, clvi
Ferchar, s. Muiredach, s. Baetan, clvi
Ferchar Fota, s. Feradach, s. Fergus ; k. Argyle, cxxxi, cxxxii, cxlv, cxlvi, cxlviii, clvi, clvii, 161, 168, 184, 199, 202, 203, 205, 206, 218, 230, 235
Ferchar Fota, s. Ferchar, 168
Ferchar Maccintsacairt, e. Ross, ii. 233, 404, 458, 496
Ferdalach, f. Cellach, 475
Fer-da-leithe, 8
Ferdomnach, a. Kells, 85, 527, 600
Ferdomnach, scribe, xxxvii
Fereth. *See also* Feroth ; Guret ; Guriat ; Voret ; Wrad ; Wroid
Fereth, s. Tuathalan, 171, 190
Fergal, k. Connaught, cxlvi
Fergal, k. Ireland, cxlviii, 217, 220, 230, 247, 249
Fergal, s. Maelduin ; k. Ireland, cxlvi
Fergna, k. Ulster, cxliii
Fergna, smith, 34, 115
Fergna, s. Angus Mor, cli
Fergna, s. Caiblene, 89
Fergna, s. Fergus Salach, clii
Fergna, s. the Poet ; a. Iona, 147
Fergus. *See also* Gurgust
Fergus, buried by Kentigern, 130
Fergus, f. Angus, 233, 235, 237, 239, 244, 245. *See* Angus, s. Fergus ; Brude, s. Fergus
Fergus, f. Angus II, 266, 269
Fergus, f. Constantine, 92, 262
Fergus, f. Gilbert, ii. 667
Fergus, f. Godfrey k. Oriel and Hebrides, 267, 284
Fergus of Galloway. *See* Galloway
Fergus, s. Aed Find ; k. Argyle, cxxxiii, cxxxiv, cxlvii, cxlviii
Fergus, s. Brude, cxxvi
Fergus, s. Eochaid, ? s. Eochaid ; k. Argyle, 250, 269 ; called s. Aed Find, 250
Fergus (and Forgus), s. Muirchertach, s. Erc ; k. Ireland, cxliv, 24, 25, 48, 49
Fergus, s. Nechtan, s. Colum, clvi, 203
Fergus Bec, s. Erc, s. Eochaid, cxliii, cl, cli
Fergus Cendfota, s. Conall Gulban, 3, 7, 22, 23, 217 ; wife of, *see* Erc
Fergus Cerball (or Cerr-bél), s. Conall Cremthann, cxliii, 73, 146
Fergus Goll, s. Eochaid Buide, cliv, clv
Fergus Mor, s. Erc, s. Eochaid ; k. Argyle, cxviii, cxxix, cxliii, cl, cli, cliii-clvii, 1, 2, 5, 78, 203, 208, 274, 289
Fergus Salach, s. Loarn Mor, clii
Fergusiana, sis. k. Angus II, 269
Fergussan, s. Maelcon, 208
Feriacus, k. Monchestree, 231
Fernelith. *See* Forflissa
Fernindravit, ii. 590
Fernmail, s. Mouric ; k. Gwent, 355
Ferns, Wexford county, 148, 525 ; ii. 272
Feroth, s. Finguine, ? s. Drostan, 225-226
Ferrerius, historian, ii. 440
Ferrieres, William de, 4th e. Derby ; s. William and Sybil, dau. William de Braose, ii. 372, 384, 418, 487
Ferté, Saône-et-Loire, ii. 536
Ferteth, e. Strathearn, ii. 244, 264, 274, 437
Ferus, Scottish knight, ii. 632

Fethanleag, battle, 90
Fetkill. *See* Leslie
Fettercairn, Mearns, 512-514
Fetteresso, Mearns, 453 ; ii. 526, 674
Fiacc, s. Cerball, s. Conall Cremthann, 241
Fiacc, s. Daire Barrach, 23
Fiachna. *See also* Fechno
Fiachna, br. k. Scandlan, 163
Fiachna, ? k. Argyle, cxlviii
Fiachna, s. Baetan ; k. Ulster, cxlv
Fiachna, s. Deman ; k. Dal-fiatach, k. Ulster, k. Ireland, cxliv, cxlv, 124, 148, 149, 152
Fiachna, s. Eremon ; k. Argyle ?, cxlviii
Fiachna, s. Feradach, 162, 171, 180
Fiachna Lurgan, s. Baetan, s. Cairell ; k. Dalaraide, or k. Ulster, and k. Ireland, 87, 88, 124, 147-149, 152 ; called k. Scotland, 149
Fiachra, s. Erc, s. Eochaid, cl
Fiachra Ua-hArtacain, prior of Iona, 485
Fiachu, s. Fergna, s. Angus Mor, cli
Fiachu Fer-Mara, s. Angus Tuirbech, cliv
Fiachu Sroptene, s. Coirpre Lifechar, 23
Fiachu Tathmael (or Fiachra Cathmail), cliii-clv, clvii
Fiannamail, s. Ossene, s. Duncan ; k. Dalaraide, k. Dalriata, 190, 203, 206-208, 237
Fib, s. Cruithne, cxvii (eponym of Fife)
Fidach, s. Cruithne, cxvii (eponym of a part of Scotland)
Fid-eoin, battle, 151-153
Fife, lxxxii, cxvi, 128, 234, 353, 354, 469, 547, 578 ; ii. 182, 224, 400, 493, 524, 525, 698 ; men of, cliv, clv
Filey, Yorkshire, ii. 217
Finan, monk, 85
Finan, s. Rimid ; b. Lindisfarne, 142, 176
Finan Lobur, an elder, prior of Swords, 35
Find, f. Murchaid, 536
Find, s. Maelmorda, s. Muirecan, ? s. Diarmait ; heir of Leinster, 474
Findabair, 136
Findachta, k. Leinster, cxlviii
Findachta Fledach, k. Ireland, cxlvi, 183-185, 190, 191, 195
Findan, cxxxii, 205, 206, 236, 249
Findan, s. Eugenius, s. Domangart, clvii
Findan, s. Ua-Siblen, ii. 230
Findchaem, w. k. Angus, s. Fergus, 266. Cf. 253
Findchan, peasant in Delcros, 65
Findchan, priest, a. Artchain in Tiree, 70, 71
Findfeicce, s. Achir, clv, clvii
Findglend, battle, 218
Findguala, dau. Conchobar, 513. *See* Finella
Findguala, dau. Mac-Lochlaind, s. Muirchertach ; w. Godfrey, k. Man, ii. 297, 467
Findguine. *See also* Finguine
Findguine, f. Cellach, 480
Findlaech, s. Ruadri ; mormaer of Moray, cxl, cl, 499, 500-502, 515, 551, 574, 576, 579-581, 600, 602
Findlugan, monk of Hinba, 69
Fine, a. Ner, 186
Finella, dau. Cunthar (or Cuncar), 513-515
Finella Burn and Den, Mearns, 515
Finella Hill, Mearns, 515
Fingal, s. Godfrey, s. Sigtrygg ; k. Man, ii. 22, 45
Fingen, a miser, 67
Fingin, b. Iona, anchorite, 472
Fingin, s. Eochaid, s. Loingsech, clvi
Finglen, Braes of Lorn, 218
Finguine, f. Dargairt, 194
Finguine, s. Angus, s. Fergus, 266
Finguine, s. Deleroith, 213
Finguine, s. Drostan, 225, 226
Finn, R., in Donegal, 115
Finn, s. Arni, 585, 587-590 ; ii. 4, 5, 13, 26, 190, 214
Finn, s. Gaut, ii. 614, 656
Finn, s. Skopti, ii. 115
Finnian, a. Clonard († ca. 549), 32, 55, 599
Finnian of Druimm-Find (according to O'Donnell's Life of Columba), 25
Finnian of Moville, b. († ca. 579), 7, 8, 29, 32, 38
Finnmark, Norway, 459, 461 ; ii. 595, 611
Finntur, f. Dolfin, 593
Fintan (or Finten), s. Aed, 40, 61, 62 ; a. Kailli-auinde, 62 ; called Munnu, 40
Fintinus, s. Lippanus, 120
Fiolner, s. Frey, 306
Fiord's River, Iceland, 340
Fir-bolg, 160
Firdir, Iceland, ii. 358 (Vestfirdir)
Firdir, Norway (Firdafylki), 313, 428 ; ii. 187, 634
Fir-ibe, clv
Firth of Forth. *See* Forth
Fitz-Alan. *See* Steward, Walter, s. Alan
Fitz-Duncan. *See* William, s. Duncan

Fitz-Gerald. *See* Maurice; Raymond
Fitz-Gerald, Maurice, justiciar of Ireland, ii. 503
Fitz-John. *See* Eustace, s. John
Fitz-Nigel, Richard, xxxiii
Fitz-Peter, G., ii. 353
Fitz-Randolph. *See* Thomas, s. Randolph
Fitz-Richard. *See* Clare, Roger; Roger, s. Richard
Fitz-Robert. *See* Clare, Walter
Fitz-Roger. *See* Robert, s. Roger
Fitz-Stephen. *See* Eustace; Robert; William
Fitz-Walter. *See* Hubert; Robert; Theobald
Fitz-William. *See* Donald; Roland
Fiuit, 411
Five Ports, ii. 416
Flaithbertach, k. Cashel, 401
Flaithbertach, s. Loingsech; k. Ireland, cxlvi, 222, 223, 228-230
Flaithbertach, s. Muirchertach; a. Dunkeld, 305
Flaithbertach Ua-Brolchain, a.-elect of Iona, ii. 253-254
Fland, dau. k. Dungal of Ossory, 403
Fland, k. Ossory, cxlvi
Fland, s. Conaing, 290
Fland, s. Macc-Luige; a. Cork, 425
Fland, s. Maelduin; a. Iona, 368, 436
Fland, s. Maelsechlaind, s. Maelruanaid; k. Tara, k. Ireland, cxlix, 364, 368, 399, 400, 403, 404, 405, 406, 408, 445, 446
Fland Fína, 15; Lamnguin, 15
Fland Ua-Gormain. *See* Florence Ua-Gormain
Fland Ua-Maelsechlaind, f. Donald, ii. 94
Flandabra, a. Iona, 568
Flanders, Flemingland, Flemings, 410, 504, 548, 597; ii. 2, 14, 18, 46, 125, 154, 212, 240, 260, 278, 287, 289, 327, 362, 397, 537
Flesaurs. *See* Æthelfrith
Fleury, Loiret, 443 (St. Benoît-sur-Loire)
Fliótsdalr, Iceland, 316
Flokadalr, Iceland, 344
Floki, slave, 345
Floki, s. Vilgerd, 338, 339
Floki's Bay, Shetland, 338
Florence, Tuscany, ii. 518, 681, 682
Florence, s. Florence III; chancellor; b.-elect of Glasgow, ii. 249, 357, 370
Florence III, s. Theoderic VI, s. Florence II; c. Holland, ii. 233, 249, 357, 373
Florence V, s. William II, s. Florence IV, s. William I; c. Holland, ii. 250
Florence Ua-Cerballain, b. Tyrone, ii. 363
Florence Ua-Gormain, lector of Armagh, ii. 267
Floruvágar, battle, ii. 335, 337-341, 344, 347, 351
Flosi, s. Thord, s. Ozur, (or Burning-Flosi) 530-534, 537, 541, 542
Fochertach (Fothereach), f. Catroe, 431-434
Fogartach, gs. Cernach; k. Ireland, cxlvi, 215, 216
Fogo, Berwickshire, ii. 521, 523, 573
Fogolt, sheriff of Man, ii. 259
Foigny, Aisne, ii. 470
Foirtgirn, peasant on mountain of Cainle, 58
Foith, cxxiv
Fonia, w. Reginald, s. Somerled, ii. 254
Fons Johannis, ii. 395 (*i.e.* St.-Jean, Sens)
Fontevrault, Maine-et-Loire, ii. 320
Forach. *See* Faragh
Forannan, a. Wassor, 443
Forboros, battle, 237
Forcellach, s. of, ii. 253
Fordoun, Mearns, lvii, cxxi, 515; ii. 525
Foreigners. *See* Scandinavians
Forfar, ii. 206, 471, 522, 591
Forfar, John of, prior of St. Andrews, ii. 206
Forfarshire, cxxi. *See* Angus
Forflissa (or Fernelith), dau. Henry, s. Malcolm, ii. 531
Forgan, Fife, 353
Forgo, s. Feradach, cliv
Forgus. *See* Fergus
Fornindraut, ii. 590
Fornindraut, William of, ii. 590
Forres, Elginshire, 396, 397, 473, 474
Fors, Caithness, ii. 238
Fors, Wensleydale, Yorkshire, ii. 428
Forteviot, Perthshire, cxxviii, 266, 270, 288, 289, 291; ii. 521
Forth, R. (Scottish Sea, etc.), xli, cxviii, 16, 90, 127-131, 145, 193, 213, 272, 274, 289, 512; ii. 72, 77, 194, 255, 295, 510, 518, 682, 698; names of, cxviii
Forthin, fords of, 512
Fortibus, William (2) de, s. William (1) (†1195) and Hawise, dau. William le Gros (†1179), c. Aumale (s. Stephen, s. Odo); lord of Holderness, "e. Aumale," ii. 418, 494, 527
Fortibus, William (3) de, s. William (2); lord of Holderness, "e.

Aumale" (†1260), ii. 494, 527, 537, 581, 592
Fortrend, s. Cruithne, cxvii (eponym of Fortriu)
Fortrenna, fleet from, 230
Fortriu, cxvii, 78, 179, 193, 200, 221, 222, 230, 233, 245, 246, 253, 262, 266, 268, 292, 296, 367, 399, 407, 474 (*i.e.* southern Strathmore, between the Teith and the Almond. *See* Strathearn, and cf. i.a. Dunblane, Duncrub, Dundurn, Forteviot.)
Fortriu, Plain of, 474. ? *See* Strathearn
Fortuatha, Wicklow, Leinster, 535
Fortunate Is., 18, 19
Fosses-la-ville, Belgium, 90
Fothad, b. St. Andrews, ii. 49
Fothad, s. Bran; b. Hebrides, 471, 472; called Fothach, 472
Fother-dún, 398
Fotheringhay, Northamptonshire, ii. 251
Fothreff, cxvi
Fotla (and Foltlaig, etc.), s. Cruithne, cxvii (eponym of Athole)
Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire. ii. 158, 229, 331, 382, 388
Fowlis, Perthshire, ii. 520, 522
Foyle, Lough, 47, 284
Fraech, s. Cumscrach, 147
Fraech, s. Fidach, 136
Fraechan, s. Teniusan, 24
Fræna, e., leader of Danes, 301
Frakokk, dau. Moddan, ii. 4, 139, 140, 191-194
France (and Gaul; Valland; Franks; French), xxvi, xlv, lii, lix, 19, 90, 105, 116, 197, 251, 286, 293-295, 298, 299, 301, 309-311, 324, 366, 369, 373, 374, 419, 459, 504, 536, 545, 597; ii. 15, 54, 88, 170, 190, 214, 242, 263, 286, 287, 289, 390, 409, 412, 417, 420, 421, 502, 504, 530, 548, 551, 562, 563, 570, 663
Francis, St., of Assisi, ii. 572
Franciscans, ii. 367, 479, 525, 531, 535-536, 617, 619, 622, 645, 658, 670, 671
Fraser, William, b. St. Andrews, chancellor, ii. 678, 679, 686, 696
Frederick, b. Iceland, 339, 493
Frederick I, Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, ii. 321
Frederick II, emperor of Germany, ii. 434, 453, 499, 511, 527, 534, 565; k. Sicily, ii. 657
Freg, Islay, clii
Frekeyiarsund, Norway, ii. 609
Freskin. *See* Moray
Freswick (Thrasvík), Caithness, 499, 533, 541; ii. 236
Frey, s. Niord, 306
Friars. *See* Dominicans; Franciscans
Friars of Penitence of Jesus, ii. 686
Frida, dau. Kolbein Hruga, ii. 6
Frideswida, St., ii. 154
Frid-Froda, a place, 306
Fridgerd, dau. Fridgerd, dau. Kiarval, 336
Fridgerd, dau. Kiarval, 336, 344
Friesland, Frisia, Frisians, 297, 310, 354, 458, 459, 504, 556
Frisian shore (the Firth of Forth), 130
Frithweald, b. Whithorn, 246
Frithweald, k. Bernicia, 13
Frodi, foster-s. Eric Blood-axe, 395
Frodi, s. Harold Fairhair, 393-395
Frodi, the King (or the Valiant), 309, 313, 347
Fugl, s. Liótolf, ii. 236, 259
Fuindenam, s. Loarn Mor, clii
Fulda, Hesse-Nassau, xxvi, lxxviii
Fulk, a. Coupar, ii. 252, 268
Fulk, English earl, ii. 388
Furness, Lancashire, ii. 97, 184, 228, 381, 382, 388, 427, 466, 673
Fursae (Furseus), St., s. Caintigern, 90, 231, 443; called s. Gelgehes, 90
Fyne, Loch, 227
Fynewennis, dau. Griffin, s. Aidan, 96

Gabran, s. Domangart, s. Fergus Mor; k. Argyle, cxxx, cxliii, cl-clvii, 21, 67, 75, 79, 203; his wife, Ingenach, 78; his wife, a dau. Dumnagual Hen, 13; sons of, 79. *See* Cenel-Gabrain
Gael, Ralph of. *See* Montfort
Gaelic, lxxv, lxxxvi. *See* Irish language
Gaels, 286; ii. 363; etc. *See* Irish; Scots of Argyle
Gaels of Pictland, 239, 272, 282, 291, 366, 397, 398, 454, 516, 519, 524, 574, 575, 582; ii. 58, 91, 261
Gaethlaige, 537
Gai Plain, battle, 15, 16, 175
Gaidel Glass, cxviii
Gair-maicc-Moga, 46
Gairsay, Orkney, ii. 194, 238
Gaithin, f. Cendétig, 292
Galam Cennaleph, k. Picts, cxxiii, 86
Galan, s. Natsluaig, s. Angus Mor, cli
Galan Erilich, k. Picts, cxxii
Galbraith, William, ii. 581
Galey, 411
Gallan, s. Fachtna, 146, 147

Gall-gaidil, 143, 177, 285-287, 290, 328; ii. 383
Galloway, 6, 8, 93, 135, 143, 152, 177, 192, 193, 270, 272, 286, 289, 404, 405, 411, 452, 585; ii. 45, 157, 196, 204, 225-227, 244, 245, 247, 289, 290, 309, 330, 383, 386, 392, 415, 420, 465, 466, 492, 494, 496-498, 591, 593, 700
Galloway, Ada, sis. Alan of, ii. 489
Galloway, Affrica, dau. Fergus of, ii. 137, 226, 467
Galloway, Alan of, s. Roland, s. Uhtred; king's constable, ii. 157, 347, 352, 373, 374, 383, 392, 420, 437, 459, 464, 465, 467, 468, 474-478, 488, 489, 492, 494, 497, 498, 565, 575
Galloway, Christiana, dau. Alan of, ii. 374, 494, 506, 507, 527, 537
Galloway, Derbforgaill, dau. Alan of, ii. 374, 437, 488, 489, 493, 498, 506, 507, 537, 575, 664, 688
Galloway, Duncan of, s. Gilbert, ii. 330. *See* Carrick
Galloway, Fergus of, ii. 137, 204, 226, 245, 247, 290, 467
Galloway, Helen, dau. Alan of, ii. 493, 494
Galloway, Patrick, s. Thomas of. *See* Athole
Galloway, Roland of, s. Uhtred; justiciar, ii. 309, 310, 347, 352, 420, 464, 467, 492
Galloway, Thomas of, illeg. s. Alan, s. Roland, ii. 467, 492, 496-498, 690
Galloway, Thomas of, s. Roland, s. Uhtred; e. Athole, ii. 352, 420, 440, 465, 478, 492
Galloway, Thomas, s. Uhtred, ? s. Fergus of, ii. 393, 395, 396, 447
Galloway, Uhtred, s. Fergus of, ii. 290, 352, 467
Galman, settler in Iceland, 345
Galma(n)hó, York, 594
Galythly, Henry, s. k. William of Scotland, ii. 399
Gamaliel, b. Man, ii. 95, 228
Gamelin, b. St. Andrews, chancellor of Scotland, ii. 490, 579, 580, 583-589, 591, 593, 597, 606, 643, 644, 656, 662
Gamli, s. Eric Blood-axe, 461, 465, 466
Gant. *See* Ghent
Garb, s. Ferballach, s. Cu-bairend, 220
Garbaniaun, s. Coil Hen, 13
Gard, s. Svavar the Swede, 338; called Garthar, 339
Gardariki, 546, 566, 569; ii. 13
Garnerius, friar, ii. 681
Gartnait, s. Accidan, 168, 169, 179-181, 194, 198
Gartnait (Gartnan), s. Aed, s. Gabran, 122
Gartnait, s. Aidan, s. Gabran, cli, clvi
Gartnait, s. Cainnech; e. Buchan, ii. 175, 176, 178-180, 493
Gartnait, s. Deleroith, 215
Gartnait, s. Domelch; k. Picts, cxxiv, 121, 122
Gartnait, s. Donald; k. Picts, cxxiv, 122, 178, 181
Gartnait, s. Ferath, cxxv, cxxvii
Gartnait, s. Foith; k. Picts, xlviii, cxxiv, 159, 166
Gartnait, s. Girom; k. Picts, cxxii, cxxiii
Garvald, Haddingtonshire, ii. 521
Garvelloch Is., 17
Garvey (?), k. Munster, cxliv
Gascony, ii. 260, 418, 445, 580
Gask, Strathearn, ii. 493
Gateshead, Durham, ii. 46
Gaucher, a. Longpont, a. Cîteaux, ii. 435
Gaul R., Trondhjem, xciv
Gaut, f. Eric Skota, ii. 613
Gaut, noble of Melr, ii. 656
Gaut, s. John, ii. 603
Gaut-elfr, ii. 612. *See* Elfr
Gautland, ii. 379. *See* Gothland
Gautrek. *See also* Godfrey; Godrek
Gautrek, f. k. Hrólf, 311
Gautrek, s. Gorm the Old; k. Denmark, 310
Gautrek, s. k. Hrólf of Ireland, 312
Gebeachan, k. Islands, 411
Geddington, Northamptonshire, ii. 315
Geira, w. Olaf Tryggir's son, 504
Geirhild, dau. Floki, s. Vilgerd, 338
Geirhild's Water, Shetland, 338 (> Girlsta, Tingwall)
Geirland's River, Iceland, 340
Geirmund, s. Sæmund the Hebridean, 336
Geirmund Hell-skin, s. Hior; k. in Hordaland, 321, 324, 325, 330, 336
Geirmund's-stead, 336
Geirrod, slave, 335
Gelderland, ii. 514, 684
Gelgehes, dau. Adelfius, gs. Gabran, 90. Cf. Caintigern
Gelli, s. Thorkel, s. Eyiólf, 306, 337
Gemman, teacher of Columba, 29, 32
genealogical tables. *See* tables
genii loci, 395
Gentine Min, s. Caiblene, s. Natsluaig, cli
Geoffrey, a. Crowland, ii. 170

Geoffrey, a. Culross, ii. 544, 572
Geoffrey, a. Dryburgh, a. Alnwick, ii. 363, 371
Geoffrey, a. Dundrennan, ii. 449
Geoffrey (I), a. Dunfermline, ii. 224
Geoffrey (II), a. Dunfermline, nephew of Geoffrey I, a. Dunfermline, ii. 224, 299
Geoffrey (III), a. Dunfermline, ii. 509, 518
Geoffrey, a. Kelso, ii. 360
Geoffrey, f. John, sheriff of York, ii. 499
Geoffrey, s. Henry II; archb. York, ii. 280-283, 291, 318, 319, 382
Geoffrey, s. Henry II; c. Anjou, c. Brittany, ii. 29, 281, 287, 288, 310, 312, 326
Geoffrey, s. Peter, justiciar, ii. 385
Geoffrey V (Plantagenet), s. Fulk V; c. Anjou; f. k. Henry II, ii. 29, 56, 123, 170, 209, 210, 213, 240, 281
Geoffrey de Liberatione, b. Dunkeld, ii. 490, 500, 510, 553, 563
Geoffrey en Gulevent, ii. 51
Geoffrey of Monmouth, 9
Geoffrey the Fat, lxxiii
Geona, 60, 61
Gerard, archb. York, ii. 229
Gerard, b. Hereford, ii. 120
Germany, cxx, 282; ii. 328, 499, 502, 585, 588
Gernons, Randolph de, s. Randolph Meschin; e. Chester, ii. 153, 157, 223, 323, 324, 487
Ghent, Alice, dau. Gilbert (2) of, ii. 153, 154
Ghent, Emma, dau. Gilbert (1) of, ii. 154
Ghent (Gant), Gilbert (1) of, f. Walter, ii. 154
Ghent, Gilbert (2) of, s. Walter, s. Gilbert (1); e. Lincoln, ii. 153, 154, 223
Ghent, Gilbert of, s. Robert, s. Walter; "e. Lincoln," ii. 419
Ghent, Ralph, s. Gilbert (2) of, ii. 154
Ghent, Walter of, s. Gilbert (1), ii. 154
Giaflaug, dau. e. Kiallak, 347, 348, 359, 360, 363
Giants'-skerries. *See* Thursa-sker
Gibbon (or Gilbert), f. Magnus; e. Orkney, ii. 513, 587, 669
Gibraltar, 293, 294; ii. 214
Giffard, Hugh, ii. 581, 583, 584
Giffard, Richard, cousin of k. Alexander III, ii. 563
Giffard, Walter, ii. 678
Giffard, William, ii. 353
Gigha, ii. 617, 619, 620, 622, 634
Gil, Jökelsdalr, 317
Gilbert. *See also* Gillebrigte
Gilbert, a. Alnwick, ii. 371
Gilbert, a. Arbroath, ii. 441
Gilbert, a. Coupar, ii. 517, 534
Gilbert, a. Holme Cultram, ii. 211, 505, 506
Gilbert, archdeacon in Shetland, ii. 599. *See* Gilbert, b. Hamar
Gilbert, b. Aberdeen. *See* Stirling
Gilbert, "b. Brechin," ii. 553
Gilbert, b. Caithness. *See* Moray
Gilbert, b. Dunkeld, ii. 500, 502, 564
Gilbert, b. Galloway, or b. Whithorn, ii. 196, 489, 495, 497, 574
Gilbert, b. Hamar, ii. 599, 607, 623, 640, 649
Gilbert, e. Angus. *See* Umfraville
Gilbert, e. Gloucester. *See* Clare
Gilbert, f. Gilbert; "e. Orkney," ii. 513
Gilbert, f. Magnus; e. Orkney. *See* Gibbon
Gilbert, f. Richard (1) de Clare; c. Brionne, ii. 155
Gilbert, prior of St. Andrews, ii. 206
Gilbert, s. Fergus, ii. 667
Gilbert, s. Godfrey, s. Richard I of Normandy; c. Brionne, ii. 155
Gilbertine order, ii. 251
Gildas, 9, 13, 14, 17, 72, 73, 92
Gilla-. *See also* Gille-
Gilla-Adamnain, f. Somerled, ii. 254. *See* Gillabrigte
Gilla-aldan, b. Whithorn, ii. 97
Gilla-Andriais, 599
Gillabrigte, b. Limerick; papal legate, ii. 184
Gillabrigte, f. Somerled, ii. 254, 255
Gillabrigte, s. Somerled, s. Gillabrigte, ii. 254, 255
Gilla-chlerig, ? f. Morgan, ii. 494
Gillaciarain, s. Gluniaraind, 535
Gillacoimgin, s. Kenneth III, 520, 580
Gillacomgain, s. Maelbrigte, s. Ruadri; mormaer of Moray, clvi, 521, 551, 571, 574, 580, 603, 604
Gillacrist, gs. Lorcan; k. Caill-Folamain, 544
Gillacrist Ua-Mældoraid, a. Kells, ii. 2, 22
Gilladuib, s. of; anchorite, ii. 253
Gillamaccliac, archb. Armagh, ii. 213, 254
Gilla-Odrain, steward, ii. 255
Gilla-Patraic Ua-Fergaile, k. Fortuatha, ii. 43
Gille-andriais, s. Mátni, ii. 183
Gillebrigte (Gilbert), e. Angus, ii. 182, 278

Gillecalline, priest, ii. 179
Gillecoimded, s. Aed, ii. 182
Gillecolanus, s. Somerled, s. Gillabrigte, ii. 255
Gillecoluim, ii. 310
Gillecoluim, s. Muiredach, ii. 178
Gillecrist, a. Hebridean, ii. 455
Gillecrist, e. Mar, ii. 493, 494, 513
Gillecrist, e. Mar, ii. 681. (Perhaps the same as the preceding)
Gillecrist, s. Cormac, ii. 178
Gillecrist, s. Finguine, ii. 179
Gillecrist, s. Muirchertach, ii. 512
Gillemichel, s. Duf; e. Fife, ii. 56, 182, 224
Gillepatric, ii. 310
Gillepetair, s. Duncan, ii. 181
Gilli, e. in Hebrides, 497, 503, 532, 533, 537, 541
Gilli, s. Biadach, s. Kiarfal the Old, 539
Gilli, s. Iathgud, s. Gilli; a slave, 539
Gillissu, Gillissa. *See* Gylis; Wedale
Gilmerius Scotus, br. Eochaid, s. Aed Find, 251
Gilrod, rebel in Galloway, ii. 496-498
Giric, f. Donald, ii. 176
Giric, s. Dungal (or s. Donald); k. Scotland, xlviii, cxxxvii, cxxxix, cxlix, 357, 358, 363-366, 368, 397; foster-f. k. Eochaid, s. Run, 364
Giric (or Grim), s. Kenneth III, cxxxix, 522, 523, 574, 576; called Grim, 522, 514, 518
Girom, cxxii
Gisela, dau. Henry II, duke of Bavaria, ii. 27
Gisl, s. Illugi, ii. 107, 109, 110, 112, 116
Gisla, dau. Charles the Simple, 374
Gísli, s. Súr, 362
Gisli, s. Thord, s. Skati, 384
Giudi, 16. Cf. Muir-nGiudan
Gizki, S. Mærr, ii. 115, 614
Gizur, s. Thorvald, ii. 595
Gizur Glad, s. Kiallak, s. Biorn the Strong, 348
Gizur White, 503
Glammis, Forfarshire, 573, 575, 576; ii. 522
Glamorgan, 256
Glannauc, island of, 150
Glanville, Gilbert de, b. Rochester, ii. 377
Glanville, Randolph de, justiciar, ii. 281, 289
Glasgow, lxxiv, 130, 131, 134-136, 139; ii. 9, 23, 164, 165, 169, 183, 196, 207, 240, 249, 256, 257, 280, 304, 331, 435, 436, 462, 470, 485, 486, 489, 490, 498, 503, 509, 514, 518, 531, 541, 542, 592, 594, 596, 598, 661, 676-678, 681, 700
Glasgow, bishopric, 131, 134, 135
Glasnevin, Dublin, xxxvi, 33
Glasserton, Wigtonshire, 6
Glastonbury, 297
Glendalough, Wicklow county, 425
Glendevon, Perthshire, 92
Glend-Mairison, battle, 159, 163, 164
Glenduckie, Fife, 231
Glenelly, Tyrone, 285
Glenesk, 40; ii. 174
Glenfalloch, 218
Glenluce, Wigtonshire, ii. 328, 454, 489, 495, 497, 534, 536
Gliomal, k. Irish, 384
Gloucester, ii. 45, 201
Glum, s. Geiri, 459, 462, 483
Glum, s. Thorkel, s. Svartkel, 344
Glun-iairn (or Gluniaraind), s. Olaf Cuaran; k. Scandinavians in Ireland, ? k. Dublin, 408, 487, 535
Gluniaraind, leader of Scandinavians of Dublin, 408
Glymdrápa, 392
Gnúp-veria-hreppr, Iceland, 329
Góafiordr, near Durness, ii. 636, 637
Gobriat, R., 211
Godechilde, countess of Leicester. *See* Toeni
Godfrey, archb. York, ii. 592
Godfrey, b. Orkney, ii. 455, 544
Godfrey, d. Basse-Lorraine, k. Jerusalem, ii. 124
Godfrey, f. Godfrey Conung, 304, 307. ? *See* Godfrey, s. Halfdan Whiteleg
Godfrey, f. k. Olaf, 411, 428; f. Blacaire, 431; f. Ronald, 431
Godfrey, gs. Ivar; k. Norwegians (of Dublin ?), 407, 429
Godfrey, hold, leader of Danes, 401
Godfrey (Gautrek), k. Denmark († 810), 308-310. *See* Godfrey Conung
Godfrey, k. Northmen in France († 891), 311
Godfrey, k. Scandinavians, 299; called s. Lodbrok, 299. *See* Godfrey, s. Ronald
Godfrey, leader of Danes, 401
Godfrey, s. Biorn; k. Vestfold, ii. 26
Godfrey (Cuthred), s. Donald, s. William (Nobleman), ii. 5
Godfrey, s. Eric Blood-axe, 461, 463, 482, 520
Godfrey, s. Fergus; k. Oriel, 267; k. Hebrides, 284, 306
Godfrey, s. Halfdan Whiteleg; k. Heidmark, 306, 307
Godfrey, s. Harold; k. Hebrides, k. Man, 479, 494, 499, 500, 502, 521

Godfrey, s. Heriold the Dane; leader of Northmen, 310
Godfrey, s. Mac-William, ii. 389-391
Godfrey, s. Magnus; k. Man, ii. 672
Godfrey, s. Olaf, s. Godfrey Crovan; k. Hebrides, k. Man, ii. 137, 191, 225, 226, 228-231, 239, 246, 248, 258, 259, 273, 297, 313, 350, 355, 381, 454, 467, 512; called s. Ingibiorg, dau. e. Hakon, ii. 350
Godfrey, s. Olaf, s. Godfrey, s. Olaf, s. Godfrey Crovan, ii. 508
Godfrey, s. Olaf, s. Harold Fairhair; k. in Norway, 463
Godfrey, s. Olaf, s. Ronald; k. Dublin, ii. 44, 48
Godfrey, s. Reginald, s. Godfrey, ii. 455, 458, 459, 467. ? *See* Godfrey Dond
Godfrey, s. Ronald, s. Halfdan (the Black); k. Scandinavians, 282, 283, 302-305, 307, 311, 323
Godfrey, s. Sigtrygg; k. Dublin, 451, 460
Godfrey, s. Sigtrygg; k. Scandinavians in Northumbria, 409
Godfrey, s. Sigtrygg, s. Olaf; k. Man, ii. 18, 22, 45
Godfrey Conung, s. Godfrey; and f. Halfdan (the Black), 304, 307, 308. ? *See* Godfrey the Noble
Godfrey Crovan, s. Harold Black; k. Man, ii. 18, 22, 43-45, 48, 74, 95, 96, 98, 134, 467, 540
Godfrey Dond (and the Black), s. Reginald, s. Godfrey; k. Hebrides, ii. 471, 472, 478, 554. ? *See* Godfrey, s. Reginald
Godfrey Liómi, 389
Godfrey Mac-Mares, bailiff in Man, ii. 657
Godfrey Meranach, k. Dublin, ii. 93-95. *See* Godfrey Crovan
Godfrey the Noble, s. Halfdan the Old; k. Vestfold, etc., 307, 308. ? *See* Godfrey Conung
Godrek, e. in Northumbria, 412-414
Godwine, s. Wulfnoth, s. Æthelmær, 594-598; ii. 11, 12, 14, 24, 25, 30, 42
Gogar, Midlothian, ii. 526
Going-Hrólf, s. Ronald of Mærr, 294, 363, 373, 374, 376; ii. 15; called s. Ketil, 374
Going-Hrólf, s. Sturlaug. *See* Hrólf
Gold-Harold, s. Cnut, s. Gorm, 482
Goldwine, a missionary, ii. 31
Gonguskard R., Iceland, 336
Gordon, Berwickshire, ii. 521
Gorm the Old, k. Denmark, 310, 339, 462, 464, 465, 507
Gormflaith, dau. Kiarval, 344
Gormflaith, w. Olaf Cuaran, 503, 533, 534, 537
Gortán, Columba born at, 7, 31
Gorze, Lorraine; daughter-house of Metz, 443
Gospatric, a chief in Man, ii. 512
Gospatric, sheriff, ii. 38, 169
Gospatric, s. Uhtred, s. Waltheof, ii. 41
Gospatric, s. William, s. Duncan II, ii. 92
Gospatric I, s. Maldred; e. Northumbria, 583, 591, 595; ii. 23, 24, 32, 36-41, 42, 46, 170, 264
Gospatric II, s. Gospatric I, ii. 37, 41
Gospatric III, s. Gospatric II, ii. 37, 264
Gospel of Columba, 526
Gospel of the Angel, 20, 526
Gotescalc, prince of Slavonia, ii. 9
Gothland, Sweden, 313, 314, 467; ii. 5, 379
Goths, 10, 311, 313; ii. 8
Gotuskeggiar, 380
Gournay, Gerald of, ii. 52
Gournay, Gundreda, dau. Gerald of, ii. 52
Govan, 93
Gowran, Kilkenny county, 302
Gowrie, cxvi
Goz, le. *See* Richard
Grafdalr, Norway, ii. 337
Graggabai, e., 406, 407. *See* Oswulf Cracabam
Graham, David de, ii. 301
Graham, David de, ii. 583
Grampians, 574; ii. 522
Grani, s. Olaf Feilan, 387
Grantully, Perthshire, ii. 531, 532
Gray, Walter (de), archb. York, ii. 382, 417, 418, 425, 427, 441, 467, 468, 491, 495, 499, 503, 538, 584, 585
Greece, ii. 11, 190, 663
Greek, 28
Greeks, 366
Greenan-Ely. *See* Ailech
Greenfield, William of, archb. York, lxxviii
Greenland, N. America, lvii, 485, 490-492, 520; ii. 8, 228, 229
Greenlaw, Berwickshire, ii. 521
Greenlaw, Ralph of, a. Dunfermline, ii. 518
Greenlaw, William of, s. Roland, s. William; rector of [Kirkcaldy and] Rossie, ii. 462, 545
Gregory, a. Holme Cultram, ii. 211, 327

Gregory, archdeacon of St. Andrews, ii. 679
Gregory, b. Brechin, ii. 434, 444, 510, 663
Gregory, b. Dunkeld, ii. 182, 267
Gregory, b. Rosemarkie (Ross), ii. 247, 343
Gregory, k. Scotland, 366, 396. *See* Giric, s. Dungal
Gregory, s. Andrew, s. Philip k. Croziers, ii. 548
Gregory, s. Dag, s. Eilif, ii. 6
Gregory I, pope, 13, 42, 94, 97-100, 104, 119, 125, 126, 133, 145 ; ii. 73
Gregory VII, pope, ii. 32, 46, 73, 74
Gregory VIII (the Ragged), pope, ii. 312, 553
Gregory IX, pope, ii. 394, 440, 441, 462, 468, 471, 479, 490, 500-503, 510-518, 528, 529, 544, 565, 651
Gregory X, pope, ii. 394, 535, 564, 662, 669, 670, 686
Gregory Kikr, of Shetland, ii. 456
Grelod, dau. e. Biartmar, 336
Grelod, dau. e. Duncan of Caithness, and Gro, dau. Thorstein the Red, 379, 380, 481
Grendone, John de, burgess of Durham, ii. 677
Grenland, Norway, 308 ; ii. 26, 106
Grentemesnil, Hugh de, ii. 154
Grentemesnil, Ivo, s. Hugh de, ii. 154
Grentemesnil, Petronilla, dau. Ivo de, ii. 154, 320, 494
Grettis-geil, Iceland, 329, 385
Grey, Hugh, ii. 677
Grey, Thomas, ii. 677
Grey Abbey, Down, ii. 364, 454, 505
Grey-Friars. *See* Franciscans
Greystoke, Thomas de, b.-elect of Carlisle, ii. 584
Griffin. *See also* Grufud
Griffin, s. Aidan, s. Gabran, 90, 96
Grillan, follower of Columba, 39
Grim, br. Vethorm, s. Vemund the Old, 317-319
Grim, f. Margad, ii. 194
Grim, s. Brynhild, dau. Vemund the Old, 314-317
Grim, s. Droplaug, 317
Grim, s. Hialli, ii. 358, 359
Grim, s. Kenneth III. *See* Giric
Grim, s. Kolbiorn Snipper, 313, 329, 330
Grim, s. Niál, 495-500, 502-503
Grim Lodinkinni, 316
Grim Shaggy-cheek, 336, 377
Grimolf, nephew of Alf of Egd, 344
Grimsby, Lincolnshire, 458 ; ii. 172, 191
Grimsnes, Iceland, 315
Griótgard, s. Moddan of Duncansby, 495-498
Grisine, 535
Gro, dau. Dales-Koll, 382
Gro, dau. Thorstein the Red, 312, 379, 380, 382
Grossballhausen, lxxxvii
Grosseteste, Robert, b. Lincoln, ii. 496, 576
Grufud. *See also* Griffin
Grufud, s. Cinan ; k. in Wales, ii. 144, 145. Cf. the confused account in Hanes Gruffudd Ap Cynan (ed. A. Jones ; 1910), 152, of a Welsh campaign, 1100 × 1101
Grufud (or Griffin), s. Lewelin ; k. N. Wales, 591, 598 ; ii. 1
Grundi Herd, ii. 379
Gruoch, dau. Boite, 521, 571, 572, 580, 581, 603, 604
Guaire, f. Cred, 224
Guaire, f. Failbe, 236
Guaire, s. Cindtai, cliii
Guaire, s. Fergna, s. Angus Mor, cli
Guaire, s. Olchu, s. Eochaid, cl
Guaire Aidne, k. Connaught, cxlvi
Guallauc, s. Laenauc, 13
Gualo (or Guala Bicchieri), presbyter cardinal, S. Martini ; papal legate, ii. 414-416, 418, 420, 423-426, 432-435
Guanhumara, w. k. Arthur, 92, 127
Gudbiorg, sis. Onund Wooden-leg, 320
Gudbrand, f. Asta, ii. 26
Gudbrand, s. John, ii. 614
Gudbrand Kula, s. Gudbiorg, 320
Gudbrandsdalene, Norway, 559
Gudleik Sneis, ii. 614
Gudmund, s. Stegita ; leader of Scandinavians, 505
Gudmund Good, s. Ari, s. Thorgeir ; b. Holar, ii. 358-360
Gudmund Skáld, ii. 358, 359
Gudny, dau. Helga, dau. Thordis, 336
Gudrid, dau. Snæulf, 467
Gudrid, dau. Thorbiorn, s. Vifil, 381
Gudrun, dau. Frakokk, ii. 139
Gudrun, dau. Ingirid, dau. Sigurd Sow, ii. 20
Gudrun, dau. Thorvald, s. Thorgeir, ii. 188
Gudrun, sis. e. Olaf of Caithness, 486
Gueinth Guaut, 12
Guendoleu, s. Keidiau, 74
Guibertus, a. Nogent-sous-Coucy, ii. 36
Guidgar, 154
Guido. *See* Guy
Guilglis. *See* Wilgils
Guines, Pas-de-Calais, ii. 514

Guipno, s. Dumngual Hen, clviii
Guisbrough, Yorkshire, ii. 209, 485, 553
Guisbrough, Robert of, a. Jedburgh, ii. 553
Gulath, mountain, 131
Gula-thing, 386
Gulathingslog (Gulacia), 330; ii. 519
Gulcher. *See* Gaucher
Gullane, E. Lothian, ii. 522
Gulli (or Gilli), f. Guthorm and Thorstein, ii. 613
Gunbiorn, s. Erp, s. Maelduin, 384
Gunderic, noble of Northumbria, 441
Gunhild, dau. Cnut, 548, 599; ii. 30
Gunhild, dau. Miesko; w. Sven Forkbeard, 598; ii. 27
Gunhild, dau. Wyrtgeorn, and niece of Cnut, 570
Gunhild, w. Sven Forkbeard, 598
Gunnar, f. Thored, 472
Gunnar, s. Hlíf, 388
Gunnar, s. Lambi, 503, 533
Gunnar of Hlidarendi, s. Hámund, s. Gunnar, s. Baug, 344
Gunnhild, dau. Erlend, s. Thorfinn, ii. 4, 7, 117, 190, 191
Gunnhild, dau. Harold, s. Matad, ii. 238
Gunnhild, dau. Sigurd Sow; w. Ketil Calf, 588, 590
Gunnhild, w. Eric Blood-axe; queen of Norway, xciii, 383, 384, 395, 410, 426-428, 441, 455-459, 461-466, 469, 481-483, 520; sis. k. Harold, s. Gorm, of Denmark, 456, 462; called dau. Ozur Toti, 410, 456, 461
Gunni, f. Snækoll, ii. 480
Gunni, s. Olaf, ii. 236
Gunnlaug Serpent's-Tongue, 503, 504, 529
Gurci, s. Elifer, 86
Guret, k. Dumbarton, 176
Gurgust Letlum, s. Ceneu, s. Coil Hen, 13, 86
Guriat, s. Rotri, s. Mermin, 355
Gurle, Hugh, ii. 583
Gurle, William, br. Hugh Gurle, ii. 583
Guthorm, archb. Norway, ii. 430, 431
Guthorm, br. Vethorm, s. Vemund the Old; ruler of Hebrides, 315-318
Guthorm, Hebridean ship's commander, ii. 617
Guthorm (Æthelstan), k. Danes, 301, 396
Guthorm, k. Scandinavians, 461
Guthorm, s. Eric Blood-axe, 461, 466
Guthorm, s. Gulli, ii. 613
Guthorm, s. Gunnhild, dau. Sigurd Sow, 588-590; ii. 12
Guthorm, s. Sigurd Hart, 323
Guthorm, s. Sigurd Lord, s. Sverri; k. Norway, ii. 334
Guthorm, s. Sigurd the Mighty; e. Orkney, 371, 372, 376, 392
Guthorm, s. Skúli of Rein, ii. 334, 341
Guthorm Bakka-kólfr, ii. 635
Guthorm Sindri, 463
Guthred, s. Harthacnut; k. York, 366
Guurth Berneich, or Gurd Birnech, 11. *See* Bernicia
Guy (Guido), a. Lindores, ii. 432
Guy, a. Newbattle, ii. 600, 663
Guy of Amiens, l
Gwent (=Monmouthshire), 226, 355, 409
Gwyddyl Ffichti, 239, 282
Gwyn, s. Collwyn, 257
Gwynedd (Guenedota). *See* Wales, North
Gyda the English, dau. Olaf Cuaran, 487, 506, 507
Gylis, s. Angus the Shoemaker, ii. 652
Gyrd, s. Amundi, foster-br. Ingi, ii. 5
Gyric, mass-priest, 363
Gyrid, dau. Dag, s. Eilif, ii. 6, 331
Gytha, dau. Harold, s. Godwine, 598
Gytha, dau. Osgod Clapa, ii. 30
Gytha, dau. Thorgils Sprakaleggr; w. Godwine, 594, 597, 598; ii. 12; called sis. Sven (s. Ulf, s. Thorgils), ii. 12
Gytha, dau. Wyrtgeorn, 598
Gytha, sis. Cnut, 569, 598

Hadaland, 308. (Hadeland, Norway)
Hadd, s. Thorgeir Thorn-foot, 395
Hadd the Hard, 321
Haddington, and Haddingtonshire, 242, 406; ii. 303, 325, 372, 392, 407, 409, 479, 521, 530, 531, 597, 658, 698
Haddington, Alexander of, canon of St. Andrews, ii. 678
Haddington, John of, porter of Culross, ii. 572; prior of St. Andrews, ii. 206, 652, 678
Hæll, Iceland, 329, 385
Hæng. *See* Ketil Hængr
Hafgerdinga-drápa, 490
Hafrafell, Iceland, 337
Hafrsfiordr, Rogaland, 320-323, 328-330, 332, 334, 336, 339, 348, 427
Hailes, Colinton, ii. 462, 526
Haki and Hekia, couriers, 492
Háklang, ? k. Dublin, 323
Hakon, b. Oslo, ii. 601, 645

Hakon, leader of Scandinavians, 278
Hakon, leader of Scandinavians, 405
Hakon, s. Eric, s. e. Hakon, 569-571, 598
Hakon, s. Hakon, s. Sverri; k. Norway, lvi, lxii; ii. 429, 431, 455, 456, 460, 461, 464, 465, 472, 473, 478, 480, 482-485, 512, 519, 533, 539, 540, 546-548, 554-556, 567-569, 573, 576-578, 599-602, 604, 606-643, 645-648
Hakon, s. Harold, s. Matad, ii. 238, 348, 380, 381
Hakon, s. Ivar, and gs. e. Hakon; e. Uplands, 588, 589; ii. 5, 139, 190
Hakon, s. Magnus the Good; k. Norway, ii. 683
Hakon, s. Paul, s. Thorfinn, ii. 5, 103, 104, 107, 118, 136, 138-140, 161, 162, 190, 229, 350
Hakon, s. Sigurd, s. Harold Gilli; k. Norway, ii. 248, 249
Hakon, s. Sverri, s. Sigurd Mouth, ii. 429
Hakon Child, s. Sigrid, ii. 6
Hakon Churl, s. Sigurd Earl's-stepfather, ii. 7
Hakon Claw, s. Havard, s. Gunni, ii. 6, 188
Hakon Galinn, s. Bard, s. Guthorm, ii. 334, 369, 397, 483, 603
Hakon Good, s. Harold Fairhair; foster-son of k. Æthelstan; k. Norway, xcii-xciv, 384, 386, 424, 426-428, 455-459, 462-464, 466
Hakon Mighty (the Earl, or the Bad), s. Bergliót, dau. Thori the Silent; e. Hladir, k. Norway, xcii-xciv, 374, 383, 458, 463, 481-483, 485, 486, 488, 495, 497-500, 502, 506-508, 510, 511, 520; ii. 5, 214; s. Sigurd (e. Hladir), 481
Hakon Norwegian, gs. Hakon, s. Ivar, ii. 5
Hakon of Steinn, ii. 631, 633
Hakon Old, in Sweden, 463
Hakon Pík, s. Sigurd of Westness, ii. 6
Hakon Young, s. Hakon, s. Hakon, ii. 519, 577
Hákonarflokkr, ii. 647
Halfdan, br. Sigfrith; k. Danes, 297-299, 309, 311
Halfdan, k. Danes (†911), 300, 401
Halfdan, s. Ronald, s. Halfdan (the Black); k. Danes, 293, 300, 301, 309, 350-352, 365, 366; called s. Ragnar, 300. *See* Halfdan, br. Sigfrith
Halfdan, s. Sigurd, s. Harold Fairhair, ii. 26
Halfdan, s. Sigurd Sow, 588; ii. 26
Halfdan Black, s. Godfrey the Noble; k. Agdir, etc., 281, 292-294, 304, 307, 308, 321, 337; called Halfdan, s. Godfrey Conung, 304, 307, 309; saga of, ii. 640
Halfdan Longleg, s. Harold Fairhair, 333, 343, 348, 378, 389, 390-393
Halfdan Old, s. Eystein, s. Halfdan Whiteleg, 307, 373
Halfdan Whiteleg, s. Olaf Tree-hewer; k. Uplanders, of Norway, 306, 307
Halfdan Ylfing, 298
Halkirk, Caithness, ii. 450, 516
Hall, s. Thorarin; (†1090) of Haukadalr, 493
Hall, s. Thori Godless, 344
Hall of Mio-dœl, 344
Hall of Side, ii. 7
Hallad, s. Ronald of Mærr; e. Orkney, 372-374, 376
Halland, Sweden, ii. 106
Hallarstein, 504
Hallbera, dau. Hrollaug, s. Ronald of Mærr, 375
Halldis, dau. Erp, s. Maelduin, 337, 383, 384
Halldor, slave, 335
Halldor, s. Bryniólf, s. Halldor, ii. 5, 6; of Vettalond, ii. 6
Halldor, s. Bryniólf Camel, ii. 5
Halldor, s. Gudmund, 540
Halldor, s. Thorgeir, s. Hofda-Thord, 336
Halldor the Red, 344
Halldora. *See* Alfdora
Hallfrid, dau. Thorbiorn of Vatn, 382
Hallfrod, ii. 115
Hallfrod Troublesome-poet (Vandrædaskáld), s. Ottar, 503, 504, 526-527
Hallgeir, br. Hildi, 345
Hallgerd, dau. Thorolf Viligisl, 344
Hallgerd Snuinbrók, dau. Hauskuld, s. Dales-Koll, 382
Halli, f. Thorgeir, ii. 188
Hallkel, s. John, s. Hallkel, ii. 331-333, 336, 337, 340, 341
Hallkel, yeoman, of Firdir, ii. 634
Hallkel Húkr, s. John Smiorbalti, ii. 171, 173
Hallstein, s. Thorolf Moster's-beard; baron-priest, 361, 362, 383
Hallsteins-nes, Iceland, 361
Hallvard, f. Má, 387
Hallvard Austfirdingr, 558
Hallvard Bratti, ii. 340
Hallvard Buniardr, ii. 634
Hallvard Red, ii. 611, 612, 616
Hallvard Súgandi, 320, 324, 328

Halogaland, Norway, 341, 461; ii. 20, 111, 112
Halseyiarvík, Scotland, ii. 616
Halsington, ii. 545
Haltwhistle, Northumberland, ii. 597
Hamar, Norway, ii. 430, 573, 599, 623
Hamburg, xxi; ii. 9
Hamelin, s. Geoffrey of Anjou, ii. 200
Hamez, Richard de, ii. 264
Hamo, s. William, s. Robert, s. Henry I, ii. 240
Hamondus, s. Iole; b. Man, ii. 95-97
Hampshire, 505
Hamund Hell-skin, s. k. Hior, 330
Hánef Young, s. Hrólf Kitten; bailiff in Orkneys, ii. 480-485
Harby, Nottinghamshire, ii. 695
Harcourt, Oliver de, ii. 419
Harcourt, William de, ii. 410, 420
Hardangerfiord, Norway, 359
Hárek, 537, 541
Harek, s. Guthorm; a war-king, 461
Harkarres, Adam of; a. Newbattle, a. Melrose, ii. 196, 395, 413, 414, 432, 438, 448, 486, 497, 543
Harold, b. Argyle, ii. 529
Harold, e., leader of Danes, 301
Harold, f. Ivar, 592
Harold, f. Mac(h)t (Magnus) and Godfrey, 478, 479, 494, 521; "k. Hebrides," 494
Harold, of N. Ronaldshay, 529
Harold, s. Cnut; k. in Scotland, k. England, 548, 549; ii. 15, 28, 30
Harold, s. Godfrey Crovan, ii. 98, 225, 226
Harold, s. Godfrey Dond; k. Man, ii. 554, 557, 558, 566-569, 587
Harold, s. Godwine; k. England, lxxiv, 595, 598; ii. 11, 12, 14-18, 42, 47
Harold, s. Hakon, s. Paul; e. Orkney, ii. 139, 140, 187, 189
Harold, s. Hakon Claw, ii. 188
Harold, s. John, s. Harold, s. Matad, ii. 455, 460
Harold, s. Matad and Margaret; e. Orkney, ii. 139, 182, 191, 193-195, 215-217, 233, 236-238, 331-333, 344-348, 350, 355, 356, 368, 369, 380
Harold, s. Olaf, s. Godfrey, s. Olaf; k. Hebrides, ii. 507, 508, 512, 533, 542, 546-551, 554, 558, 566, 578
Harold, s. Olaf, s. Godfrey Crovan, ii. 137
Harold, s. Olaf Cuaran, 487, 521
Harold, s. Sven, s. Ulf, 598; ii. 24
Harold, s. Thorkel, 598
Harold, s. Valdemar; k. Holmgardr, 598
Harold Black, f. Godfrey Crovan, ii. 18, 43
Harold Blue-tooth, s. Gorm the Old; k. Denmark, 456, 462, 464, 465, 488, 489, 506, 507
Harold Fairhair, s. Halfdan the Black and Ragnhild, dau. Sigurd Hart; k. Norway, xcii-xciv, xcvi, 307-309, 314, 316, 317, 320-325, 328, 329, 331-339, 342, 343, 346, 348, 349, 359, 360, 370, 372, 373, 376, 378, 380, 386, 388-394, 396, 410, 424, 426-428, 455, 459, 463, 492, 560, 587; ii. 26
Harold Gilli, s. Sigurd Crusader; k. Norway, ii. 118, 171-173, 187, 190, 191, 204, 205, 214, 248, 333, 430
Harold Grenski, s. Godfrey, s. Biorn; k. Grenland, k. Norwegians, 546; ii. 26
Harold Grey-cloak, s. Eric Blood-axe, and foster-son of Arinbiorn and of k. Harold Blue-tooth; k. Norway, 383, 428, 458, 461, 462, 465-467, 482
Harold Hardrádi, s. Sigurd Sow; k. Norway, 542, 566, 568, 578, 586-590; ii. 1-7, 10-14, 16-20, 26, 102, 104, 132
Harold Hilditaunn, k. Denmark, 298
Harold Iron-skull, 486
Harold Klak (or Kloku; Herioldus), k. Jutland, k. Denmark, 310
Harold Smooth-spoken, s. Hakon, ii. 139, 227
Harold Young, s. Eric Stakblællr, ii. 4, 238, 350, 351
Harray, Orkney, ii. 266
Harris, 341
Harthacnut, f. Guthred, 366
Harthacnut, s. Cnut; k. Denmark, k. England, 548, 549, 583-585, 595, 596; ii. 15, 28, 30, 41
Hartlepool, Durham, ii. 216, 672
Hassendean, Roxburghshire, ii. 330
Hasting, 373
Hastings, Sussex, ii. 15
Hastings, A(l)da de, dau. David, e. Huntingdon, ii. 157. *See* Ada, dau. David
Hastings, David de, e. Athole, ii. 531, 663, 685
Hastings, Henry de, ii. 437, 488
Hastings, Henry de, s. Henry and Ada, ii. 437, 488
Hatfield, battle, 155
Hattarskot, Scotland, ii. 475
Hatton, Abernethy, Perthshire, 122
Haugsnes, Iceland, 362
Hauk, s. Erlend; lawman, lv, lxiii, lxxi, 343

Hauk Há-brók, 359
Haurdadalr, Iceland, 381
Haurda-dale-river, Iceland, 381
Hauskuld, s. Dales-koll, 306, 382, 383
Havard, b. Bergen, ii. 430
Havard, br.-in-law of Sigurd Hlodve's son, 499
Havard, s. Gunni, ii. 6, 350
Havard, s. Thorfinn Skull-cleaver; e. in Orkneys, 481-483; called the Season-Prosperous, 483
Havard Halt, s. Hakon Claw, ii. 188
Havering, Essex, ii. 462
Hawick, Roxburghshire, ii. 396
Hawisia. *See also* Quincey; Senlis
Hawisia, dau. Hugh le Meschin, e. Chester, ii. 453, 487, 488, 493, 494
Hawkfleet, 458
Hay, Gilbert de, ii. 583, 584, 593
Hay, William de, ii. 351
Hay, William de, *pincerna* of k. Scotland, ii. 275
Haye, Matilda de, w. William de Braose (the elder), ii. 384-387
Hayles, Gloucestershire, ii. 654
Heaghey, I., Coleraine, 229
Heardred, a. Calder, ii. 275
Hebrideans. *See* Alfdis; Alfgeir; Anakol; Arnald; Arneid; Asbiorn Skeria-blesi; Bard; Eyfari; Faxi; Gillecrist; Guthorm; Holdbodi; Kalman; Kampa-grim; Koll; Kylan; Lawmen; Orm; Riupa; Sæmund; Sigurd; Snæulf; Thiostolf; Thorlaug; Uspak; Vestmar; Vigbiod
Hebrides (Islands; Sudreyiar; Insegall), lv, cxviii, cxxix, 69, 190, 257, 272, 280, 284, 286, 293, 305, 306, 309, 311, 312, 314-316, 318, 320, 324-326, 328-333, 338-350, 353, 360, 361, 373, 378, 384, 393, 394, 411, 429, 444, 459, 467, 471, 478. 479, 485, 486, 490, 492, 494, 495, 497, 498, 500, 502-504, 509, 520, 521, 527-529, 535, 537, 541, 570, 574, 577, 584-586, 589; ii. 1, 3, 42, 44, 104-108, 112-118, 127, 143, 171, 173, 191-194, 204, 214, 228, 236-238, 246, 313, 314, 350, 358-361, 364, 378-382, 447, 455, 464, 465, 467, 471-475, 478, 501, 507, 512, 533, 539, 540, 546, 548, 550-557, 567, 573, 594, 605, 611, 614, 622, 625, 626, 649, 653-655, 657, 673, 674; called Orchades, i. 330; bishops of, i. 343
Hedon, Nicholas de; archdeacon of Moray, dean of Moray, ii. 532
Hefare, f. John, b. Hebrides, ii. 428, 547
Heidmark (Hedemarken, Norway), 306, 308
Heiligenkreuz-bei-Baden, Austria, ii. 171
Helen, dau. Eric Stakblællr, ii. 238
Helen, dau. Harold, s. Matad, ii. 238, 348
Helen, dau. Lewelin, k. Wales, ii. 470, 494, 506, 528
Helena, St., m. emperor Constantine I, ii. 70
Helga, dau. Án Bow-wielder, 336
Helga, dau. Burnt-Niál, 503
Helga, dau. Moddan, ii. 139, 191
Helga, dau. Olaf Feilan, 387, 388
Helga, dau. Orn, 335
Helga, dau. Thordis, dau. Biorn, 336
Helga, dau. Thrond the Voyager, 329
Helga, dau. Ulf the Bad, 529
Helga, sis. Ondott Crow, 314
Helgafell, Iceland, 529
Helgi, f. Ivar, ii. 613
Helgi, s. Asbiorn, s. Hrafnkel, 375
Helgi, s. Biorn Buna, 315, 346
Helgi, s. Droplaug, 317
Helgi, s. Harold of N. Ronaldshay, 529
Helgi, s. Ivar, of Loflo, ii. 613
Helgi, s. Melkorka and Hauskuld, s. Dales-Koll, 382
Helgi, s. Niál, 495-500, 502-503, 532
Helgi, s. Olaf, s. Godfrey, 306, 307, 309
Helgi, s. Ottar, s. Biorn the Eastern, 363
Helgi Bióla, s. Ketil Flatnose, 343, 344, 347-350, 361, 380, 510
Helgi Bringr, ii. 333
Helgi Hrogn, s. Kiallak, s. Biorn the Strong, 348
Helgi Lean, s. Eyvind the Eastman, 311-313, 316, 325, 330, 337, 342, 343, 347, 350, 379, 382
Helised, s. Teudubr; k. Brecheniauc, 355
Helmsdale, Sutherland, ii. 193
Helsingialand (now Helsingland), Sweden, 324
Hemeid, k. Dyfed, 355
Hemming, s. Olaf; nephew (or grandson) of Gautrek; k. Denmark, 310
Henry, a. Arbroath, ii. 353, 509, 686
Henry, a. Clairvaux; b. Albano, ii. 315
Henry, a. Deer, ii. 572, 604
Henry, a. Holme Cultram, ii. 211, 585, 659
Henry, a. Holyrood, b. Whithorn, ii. 575, 584

Henry, a. Jedburgh, ii. 516
Henry, a. Kelso, ii. 369, 405, 434
Henry, a. Kelso. *See* Lambden
Henry, a. Newminster, ii. 438
Henry, a. Rievaulx, ii. 413
Henry, archb. Dublin, ii. 414
Henry, archb. York. *See* Murdac
Henry, archdeacon of Dunkeld, ii. 565
Henry, b. Orkney. *See* Hervi
Henry, b. Orkney, b. Lund, ii. 229
Henry, b. Stavanger, ii. 430
Henry, b. Winchester, ii. 223
Henry, br. Louis VII; b. Beauvais, ii. 242
Henry, " k. England," 495-496
Henry, lord of Inchture, ii. 443
Henry, monk of Coldingham, 142
Henry, prior of St. Andrews. *See* Norham
Henry, s. Conrad II, 548
Henry, s. David, s. e. Henry of Huntingdon, ii. 506
Henry, s. David I; e. Huntingdon, e. Northumbria, cxli, clvii; ii. 28, 33, 42, 149, 150, 151, 155, 157, 167, 184, 185, 197, 199-202, 218-221, 234, 308, 326, 494, 506
Henry, s. Harold, s. Matad, ii. 238, 348, 369
Henry, s. Henry, s. Theobald IV; c. Champagne; k. Jerusalem, ii. 347, 348
Henry, s. k. Henry II; k. England, ii. 29, 277, 278, 281, 284, 287, 288, 291, 306; called Henry III, ii. 29
Henry, s. Malcolm, s. Matad, ii. 478
Henry II, c. Luxembourg, ii. 684
Henry II, duke of Bavaria, ii. 27
Henry II, " emperor," k. Germany, 510; ii. 27
Henry III, emperor, 579, 599
Henry IV, emperor, ii. 46
Henry V, emperor, ii. 29, 120, 123, 164
Henry VI, emperor, ii. 328, 329, 347, 348
Henry I, k. England, ii. 29, 42, 52-54, 56, 119-121, 134, 141, 144-150, 154, 165, 166, 185, 197, 233, 234, 241, 269, 324, 699
Henry II, k. England, xxxiii, xliv, lv, lx; ii. 29, 56, 152-156, 201, 209, 210, 213, 222-225, 230-236, 240-246, 250-254, 259-264, 268-278, 284-294, 304, 305, 309, 310, 314, 315, 319-322
Henry III, k. England, ii. 28, 29, 156, 281, 365, 375, 386, 391, 403, 414, 417, 418, 421-423, 426, 427, 431, 435, 439-446, 454, 462, 465, 469, 471, 478, 479, 487-489, 496, 499, 501-512, 528-538, 567, 569, 575, 576, 580-591, 596, 604, 644, 661, 675
Henry I, k. French, ii. 155, 200
Henry de Burgo, prior of Lanercost, xlii
Henry le Chen, b. Aberdeen, ii. 586
Henry Lupellus, s. Margaret, dau. Edgar Ætheling, ii. 28
Henry of Wells, a clerk, ii. 443
Henry Scot, ii. 611, 648
Hen-Thori, 510
Heracleonas, emperor, 165
Heraclius, emperor, 141, 142, 150, 168
Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, ii. 308, 309
Herbauges, Poitou, 310
Herbert, a. Deer, ii. 454
Herbert, a. Kelso (a. Selkirk), b. Glasgow, lxxiv; ii. 163, 207, 240, 245, 252, 253, 256, 309
Herbert, a. Kinloss, ii. 442, 569
Herbert Poor, b. Salisbury, ii. 377
Herbiorg. *See also* Herborga
Herbiorg, dau. Paul, s. Thorfinn, ii. 6
Herbiorg, dau. Sigrid; w. Kolbein Hruga, ii. 6
Herborga, dau. Harold, s. Matad, ii. 238
Herdluver, Norway, ii. 429, 611
Hereford, 243; ii. 384, 385, 418, 592
Herefordshire, 405
Heresindis (and Hersendis), w. Eilbertus, 443
Herethaland, 255
Hereweard, ii. 24, 36
Hereyiar, Norway, ii. 609
Herfinn, 541
Hergils Hnapprass, 337
Hering, s. Hussa, 13
Heriold the Dane, gs. Heriold, 310
Heriolf, explorer, 338, 490, 492
Heriolf, s. Bard, s. Heriolf the Settler, 490
Heriolf, s. Eyvind Fire, 383
Heriot, Midlothian, ii. 525
Herleve, mother of k. William I and countess Adelaide, ii. 324
Hermann. *See* Salza
Hernar, Norway, ii. 485 (Hennöerne, Nordhordland)
Herstein, s. Thorkel, s. Blund-Ketil, 388
Hertfordshire, ii. 24, 671
Hervey, b.-elect of Caithness. *See* Dundee
Hervi, b. Orkney, ii. 551, 623, 640, 647, 665

Heth, ii. 232
Heth, district, 18, 53. *See* Tiree.
Hexham, ii. 23
Hextilda, dau. Bethoc and Uhtred, s. Waltheof of Tynedale, ii. 182
Hialti, s. Thorkel, s. Donald, 384
Hiardar-holt, Lax-river-dale, 383
Hiarrandi Hvida, ii. 334
Higuel, s. Edwin ; k. S. Wales, 591
Higuel, s. Ris ; k. Gleguising, 355
Higuel, s. Rotri ; k. Man, 262
Higuel Da (Howel the Good), s. Catell, s. Rotri ; k. Wales, 402, 404, 409, 426, 450, 478, 479
Hilarius, pope, cxliii
Hildebrand. *See* Gregory VII
Hildi, br. Hallgeir, 345
Hildi, s. Eystein, s. Hrani, 340
Hildi Parak, 340
Hildi's-Barrow, Kirkiubær, 340
Hildulf, 475. *See* Indulf
Hilef, R., cxviii
Hilton, Berwickshire, ii. 523
Hinba, I., 51, 54, 63-65, 69, 77, 112, 115
Hior, k. Hordaland, 330, 336
Hiordung, s. Ragnar ; k. Scandinavians, 299
Hiorleif (or Leif), settler in Iceland, 335, 339, 344, 347
Hiorunga-vágr, Norway ; battle, 507
Hirsel, Berwickshire, ii. 526
Hladir, Norway, 497 (*i.e.* Lade, near Trondhjem)
Hlíf, dau. Hrólf, s. Ingiald, 313, 314
Hlíf, dau. Turf-Einar, 393
Hlíf, m. Gunnar, 388
Hlíf Horse-gelder, 342
Hlodve, s. Thorfinn Skull-cleaver and Grelod, dau. Gro ; e. in Orkneys, 379, 481-484, 497, 500, 530
Hoddam, Dumfriesshire, 134, 135
Hodierna, dau. David I, ii. 149
Hof, 336, 347
Hofda-strand, Iceland, 336
Hofda-Thord. *See* Thord, s. Biorn
Hofdi, in Eyiafiordr, 382
Höfn, Caithness, 484
Hofstadir, Iceland, 362
Hofud-eyiar, ii. 248
Hogni the White, 337
Holar, Iceland, ii. 161, 358, 683
Holdbodi, s. Hundi; a chief in Hebrides, ii. 192-194
Holden, Simon de, ii. 677
Holderness, Yorkshire, ii. 14
Holland, xxvi ; ii. 233, 249, 298, 418
Holm, Bergen, ii. 484 (Bergenhus)
Holm island, Man, ii. 673
Holme Cultram, Cumberland, ii. 210, 211, 327, 405, 408, 497, 505, 659
Holmfast, s. Vethorm, s. Vemund the Old, 314-316
Holmgardr, 464, 598
Holy Island. *See* Iona ; Lindisfarne
Holy Isle, Lamlash, ii. 622, 634
Holyrood, xli, xlii ; ii. 171, 219, 224, 230, 245, 259, 269, 275, 304, 416, 490, 491, 509, 515, 531, 575
Holywood, Dumfriesshire, ii. 218, 468, 495, 644
Honorius I, pope, 150
Honorius II, pope, ii. 169, 229
Honorius III, pope, lxiv ; ii. 412, 416, 424-427, 431, 433-436, 440, 441, 443, 445, 448, 449, 451, 455, 456, 462, 467, 468, 553, 565
Honorius IV, pope, ii. 679, 682, 686
Hord, f. Asbiorn, 379, 381
Horda-Kari, 386
Hordaknut. *See also* Harthacnut
Hordaknut, s. Sigurd Worm-in-Eye, 298
Hordaland, Norway, 255, 320, 321, 324, 336, 339, 359 ; ii. 112, 187, 214
Horn, Iceland, 338, 342
Hornafiordr, Iceland, 531, 532
Horndean, Berwickshire, ii. 523
Hornklofi, 333
Horo, archdeacon of Lothian, ii. 251
Hoskuld. *See also* Hauskuld
Hoskuld, s. Odd, ii. 613, 648
Hospital of St. John, ii. 309, 453, 539, 681
Hospital of St. Mary of the Teutons, ii. 438, 453, 539
Hounam, Roxburghshire, ii. 463
Hounam, William of, s. John, s. Orm, ii. 463
Hoveden, Roger of, ii. 343
Howel. *See* Higuel
Howth, Hill of, Dublin county, 164
Hoy I., Orkney, 555 ; ii. 637
Hrafn, a slayer of e. John, ii. 482, 484
Hrafn, s. Ketil Hængr ; law-speaker, 386
Hrafn, s. Sveinbiorn, ii. 358-360, 452
Hrafn, trader of Limerick, 337
Hrafn Red, 537-539, 541
Hrafnkel, s. Hrafn, 375
Hrafnkel, s. Thori, s. Hrafnkel, 375
Hrafnkel's-dale, Iceland, 375
Hrafnkels-stadir, Iceland, 375
Hrafnsmál, ii. 611-615, 618-622, 624-628, 632, 633
Hrani, f. Ulf, ii. 110, 111, 115, 127, 131
Hrani, s. Hildi Parak, 340
Hrapp, f. Sumarlidi, 384
Hrapp, s. Biorn Buna, 315, 343, 346

Hraunsfiordr, Iceland, 342, 361, 363
Hreidar Messenger, ii. 378-380
Hring, br. Adils; ruler in Wales, 412, 413, 417-420, 422
Hring, k. Denmark, 312
Hringar, ii. 619
Hringa-ríki, Norway, 330, 347, 360
Hringu-nes, Norway, 590
Hróald, f. Svein; of Wick, ii. 194
Hróald, f. Thori, 394, 423 (e. Firdafylki)
Hróald Hryggr, 321
Hróald Red, 400, 405
Hróald Sad, s. Asleik, s. Biorn, 336
Hrodgeir the Wise, 344
Hrodny, dau. Midfiord-Skeggi, 387
Hrœrek, s. Dag; k. Hedemark, 550
Hroi, b. Faroes, ii. 382
Hrólf, f. Olaf, ii. 192
Hrólf, " k. Irish," 311
Hrólf, s. Gautrek; k. Goths, 311, 312
Hrólf, s. Helgi the Lean, 330
Hrólf, s. Ingiald, s. Frodi the King, 313
Hrólf, s. Ornolf Fiskreki, 359. *See* Thorolf Moster's-beard
Hrólf, s. Ronald of Mærr. *See* Going-Hrólf
Hrólf (Going-Hrólf), s. Sturlaug; leader of Danish army, 469, 495
Hrólf Kitten, f. Sumarlidi, ii. 482, 483
Hrólf Nefia, 373
Hrollaug, s. Ronald of Mærr, 373-376, 530
Hrossey, Orkney. *See* Pomona
Hrut, s. Heriolf, s. Eyvind Fire, 383
Hrutafiordr, Iceland, 328
Hubaldus, b. Ostia. *See* Lucius III, pope
Hubba, leader of Danes, 300-302. *See* Ubba; Ubbi
Hubert, s. Walter; archb. Canterbury, ii. 354, 367, 384
Hugh, a. Beaulieu, b. Carlisle, ii. 426, 448, 454, 468
Hugh (I), a. Culross, ii. 416, 432
Hugh (II), a. Culross, ii. 486, 541
Hugh, a. Deer, ii. 660
Hugh, a. Kelso, ii. 501, 515, 552
Hugh, a. Melrose. *See* Clipstone
Hugh, a. Newbattle, ii. 354
Hugh, a. Tiron, ii. 160
Hugh, archdeacon. *See* Potton
Hugh, b. Aberdeen. *See* Benham
Hugh, b. Brechin, ii. 434
Hugh, b. Chester. *See* Patshull
Hugh, b. Dunkeld. *See* Sigillo
Hugh, b. Durham. *See* Pudsey
Hugh, b. Ely, ii. 469
Hugh, b. St. Andrews, ii. 299, 304, 306, 316, 493
Hugh, b.-elect of Dunkeld. *See* Stirling
Hugh, b.-elect of Glasgow. *See* Sigillo
Hugh, chancellor. *See* Sigillo
Hugh, e. Chester. *See* Avranches
Hugh, prior of Melrose, a.-elect of Deer, ii. 495-496
Hugh, s. William. *See* Moray
Hugh Fat, s. Richard le Goz; e. Chester, ii. 103, 111, 112, 144, 166
Hugh le Brun. *See* Lusignan
Hugh le Grand, s. Henry I, k. French, ii. 155
Hugh le Meschin, s. Randolph de Gernons; e. Chester, ii. 281, 286, 324, 487, 492, 494
Hugh Noble, e. Shrewsbury and Arundel, ii. 103, 111, 112
Hugh Poor, e. Bedford, ii. 200
Humbald, prior of Wenlock, ii. 267
Humber, R., 11, 296, 429, 583, 594, 595; ii. 14, 19, 24, 41
Hunda-dalr, Iceland, 381
Hunda-Steinar, e. in England, 301
Hundi, e. in Scotland, 499
Hundi, f. Holdbodi, ii. 192
Hundi, f. Karl, 578
Hundi, Scottish freedman of Aud, 381
Hundi, s. Sigurd, s. Hlodve, 507-509, 511; called Hlodve, 509
Hungary, ii. 27, 28
Huns, ii. 25, 27, 29
Huntingdon, xlii, lxxix, 595, 596; ii. 32, 33, 40, 145-157, 167, 197, 201, 202, 222, 234, 235, 280, 283, 284, 309, 323, 324, 330, 426, 427, 436, 462, 489, 506, 537
Huntingfield, Roger of, clerk, ii. 443
Husa-stadir, in Skrido-dalr, 317, 319
Hussa, k. Bernicia, 13
Hústó, s. Ragnar, 299
Hutton, Berwickshire, ii. 523
Hvamm, Iceland, 362, 381, 382, 385, 387
Hvamm-Thori, 344
Hvarf. *See* Wrath, Cape
Hvarflod, dau. Malcolm Macheth, ii. 238, 348
Hvelp, or Hund, s. Sigurd. *See* Hundi
Hvinir, Norway, 313
Hvinisfiordr, 314
Hvítsborg, 541
Hvitserk, s. Ragnar and Aslaug, 299
Hyacinthus. *See* Celestine III
Hygebeald, b. Lindisfarne, 254
hymns, lxxii, 5, 7, 8, 28, 36, 97
Hythe, Kent, 445

I-. *See also* J-
Iacob. *See* Jacob
Iar, s. Dedad, cliii
Iardoman, battle in, 72
Iargna (? Iárn-kné), f. Ottar, 408
Iarnbodb, s. Gartnait, 168, 169
Iceland, xxii, xxxii, lxvi, lxxi, xc, 19, 136, 301, 306, 315-320, 324, 328-330, 335-350, 360-363, 373, 375, 377, 378, 380-386, 393, 395, 405, 423, 424, 428, 457, 458, 482, 486, 489-493, 495, 496, 502, 503, 511, 528, 529, 532, 537, 539, 541, 542, 550; ii. 8, 11, 18, 44, 161, 227-229, 238, 360, 485, 519, 550, 595; called Garthar's-holm, 339; called Snowland, 338; called Thule, 19, 338, 341
I-Choluim-chille, 22, 45. *See* Iona
Ida, countess of Boulogne, ii. 373
Ida, s. Eobba; k. Northumbria, 11, 12, 14, 225, 298
Idle, R., battle of, 142
Idvie. *See* Kirkden
Iehmarc, k. in Scotland, 547, 591
Iercne (? Iárn-kné), leader of Norwegians, 281
Ieuaf, s. Iutgual, 450
Illann, s. Cerball, 145, 146
Iloa Deck, 411
Imlech-Ibair, 88
Inber-aldan. *See* Alnwick
Inber-daile (Ennereilly, Wicklow county), 445
Inber-Dub-róda, 355
Incades, islands, ii. 316 (*i.e.* Insi-Cat)
Inch, I., off Inishowen, 229
Inchaffray, Perthshire, ii. 490, 493, 564
Inchbrayock. *See* Rossie Island
Inchcailloch, I., in L. Lomond, 231
Inchcolm, Fife, ii. 396, 500, 564, 668, 699; priory, foundation of, *see* Fordun, V, 28
Inchemurdauch, ii. 510, 662
Inchri, William de, ii. 421
Inchture, Perthshire, ii. 524
Indrechtach, f. Dubucan, 446
Indrechtach, f. Maelmochergi, 403
Indrechtach, k. Connaught, cxlvi
Indrechtach, s. Duncan; k. Connaught, cxlvi
Indrechtach, s. Fiannamail; k. Dalaraide and Dalriata, 203, 230, 237
Indrechtach Ua-Finnachta, a. Iona, 279, 282-285
Indulf (Illulb), s. Constantine II; k. Scotland, cxxxviii, cxxxix, cxlix, cliii, 468, 470, 475, 476, 480, 484, 485, 544, 580
Inga, m. k. Hakon, Hakon's son, ii. 430
Ingebald, f. Peter, ii. 531
Ingemund, k. Hebrides, ii. 101
Ingenach, w. k. Gabran, 78
Ingi, s. Bard, s. Guthorm; k. Norway, ii. 334, 369, 378-381, 429
Ingi, s. Harold Gilli; k. Norway, ii. 188, 190, 204, 205, 214, 225, 248, 249; called Ingi Cripple, ii. 190
Ingi, s. Steinkel; k. Sweden, ii. 5, 6, 186
Ingiald, s. Frodi the King, 313, 347
Ingiald, s. Helgi, s. Olaf, 306, 307, 311
Ingiald, s. Helgi the Lean, 330
Ingiald, s. Hring, k. Denmark, 312
Ingiald, s. Olaf Feilan, 387
Ingiald Faithful, s. Kolbiorn Snipper, 313
Ingiald Wicked, s. Braut-Onund, 306
Ingibiorg, dau. Bendik, ii. 6
Ingibiorg, dau. Eric, k. Norway, ii. 683
Ingibiorg, dau. Eric Holy, k. Denmark, ii. 601, 602, 604
Ingibiorg, dau. Eric Stakblællr, ii. 238
Ingibiorg, dau. Hakon, s. Paul, ii. 137, 139, 190, 191, 350
Ingibiorg, dau. Hrólf, "k. Ireland," 311, 312
Ingibiorg, dau. Magnus, s. Erling, ii. 334, 378-380
Ingibiorg Earls'-mother, dau. Finn, s. Arni; w. Thorfinn; w. Malcolm III, 585, 586, 590; ii. 4, 13, 20, 25, 26, 92, 190, 214
Ingibiorg Honourable, dau. Herbiorg, dau. e. Paul, ii. 6, 140, 226
Ingigerd, dau. Harold Hardrádi, ii. 13, 19
Ingigerd, dau. Olaf, k. Sweden, 598
Ingigerd, dau. Olaf, s. Hrólf, ii. 194
Ingigerd, dau. Ronald Kali, ii. 4, 237, 238, 350, 480
Ingigerd, dau. Sigurd Slembi-diákn, ii. 188
Ingimund, f. Ivar, ii. 188
Ingimund the Old, settler in Iceland, 336
Ingirid, dau. e. Erlend, s. Thorfinn, ii. 191
Ingirid, dau. e. Paul, s. Thorfinn, ii. 6
Ingirid, dau. e. Skúli, ii. 483
Ingirid, dau. Olaf. *See* Ingigerd
Ingolf, s. Orn, 335, 338, 339, 344, 347, 360, 386, 490; called the Settler, 386
Ingram, b. Glasgow, chancellor, ii. 252, 253, 259, 274, 275, 278, 279
Inguar, k. Danes, 300, 301

Inguar, s. Eystein, s. Adisl in Uppsala, 306
Inguar, s. Lodbrok (Lodparch); k. Danes, 299, 300, 302, 365, 366; s. Ragnar Lodbrok, 299-301. Cf. Ivar Legless
Ingunn, dau. Helgi the Lean, 330
Ingve. *See* Yngve
Inis-Cathaig, 170. *See* Lindisfarne
Inis-Cuirenn-rige, 229
Inis-Findmic, 283
Inishboffin, Galway, 179, 180, 256
Inishcathy (Scattery I.), 479
Inishfallen, Kerry, xxvi, liii
Inishmurray, Sligo county, 256
Inishowen, Donegal, 229, 230; ii. 94, 227, 393, 415
Inisloughlin, ii. 271
Inis-Medcoit, 170. *See* Lindisfarne
Inis-meic-Uchen, 122
Inis-Tarbnai, 286
Innerwick, Haddingtonshire, ii. 523
Innisibsolian, battle, 396, 452. ? Cf. Soil
Innocent, papal notary, ii. 518
Innocent II, pope, ii. 163, 184
Innocent III, pope, ii. 349, 352, 354, 355, 360, 361, 370, 377, 390, 395, 413, 509
Innocent IV, pope, ii. 86, 361, 491, 511, 518, 526, 528, 529, 531, 532, 534-539, 545-552, 559-574, 578-580, 585, 590
Insi-Cat, 536. *See* Shetland
Insi-Mod (Inishymoe Islands), 31
Insula, Brian de, ii. 410, 418
Insula, Robert de, b. Durham, ii. 677
interpreters, 61, 62
Inverarity, Forfarshire, ii. 524
Inver-cullen, Banffshire, 470
Inverdovat, battle, 353
Inverkeilor, Forfarshire, ii. 522
Inverkeithing, Fife, ii. 77, 479, 525, 563, 668, 682, 691, 692
Inverkeithing, Richard of, chamberlain; b. Dunkeld, ii. 563, 564, 579, 583, 661, 668, 672
Inverlochy, Inverness-shire, 251
Inverness, 49; ii. 312, 347, 471, 500
Iol, s. Macmars, ii. 96
Iolan, b. Kingarth, 177, 198
Iona (I-Choluimchille; Holy I.), 1, lxvii, lxviii, xciii, 22, 23, 28, 37, 39-41, 43-47, 50, 57, 63, 65, 66, 69, 75, 77, 78, 83, 96-100, 104-116, 119, 125, 136, 147, 157, 159, 160, 165, 168, 171, 176, 178, 180, 181, 183, 185-189, 194, 196, 199-201, 204, 208-218, 220-223, 225, 238, 240-243, 245-247, 249, 251-254, 256-263, 265, 277, 279, 282, 284, 289, 291, 353, 357-359, 364, 365, 368, 382, 396, 425, 428, 430, 433, 436, 450, 452, 453, 470-473, 485, 487-490, 494, 513, 515, 518, 521, 522, 524, 526, 527, 568, 569, 573, 581, 600, 603, 604; ii. 56, 73, 90, 100, 107, 109, 174, 253, 279, 316, 344, 352, 361, 363, 379, 459, 461, 472, 546, 700; abbots of, i. 24, 215-216 (*see* Columba, successors of); Angels' Knoll in, 186; arid lands of, 186; blessing of, 108, 111; chair of, 214, 216, 217
Iorwerth, f. Lewelin, ii. 517
Iorwerth Coch, Welsh leader, ii. 260
Ireland, xxvi, xxxiv, xxxv, lx, lxvii, cxviii - cxxi, cxxvi, cxlii - cxlvi, cxlviii-cl, 1, 3, 4, 6, 7-9, 15, 17, 18, 24, 28, 30-34, 36-41, 43, 44, 46-49, 54, 70, 75, 76, 79-84, 87-90, 94, 105, 106, 107, 109, 115, 116, 122, 127, 141, 144, 146, 147, 149, 160, 162, 163, 166, 167, 176-186, 189, 190, 191, 195-197, 200-202, 204, 206, 207, 209, 210, 212, 215-217, 219, 221-223, 227-230, 232, 236-238, 240-243, 246-250, 252-254, 256, 257, 259, 261-263, 266, 268, 272, 273, 276, 277, 279-287, 290, 293-296, 300, 301, 303-305, 308, 309, 311, 314, 321, 323-327, 330-332, 335-337, 339, 341, 342, 344-346, 350-353, 356, 364, 365, 368, 373, 377, 383-385, 394, 395, 399, 400, 403-408, 411, 425, 428-431, 436, 437, 444, 445, 449-452, 459, 460, 462, 463, 467, 468, 471, 472, 474, 479, 485-488, 494, 495, 500, 503, 504, 506, 508, 520, 525-529, 533-535, 539, 550, 554, 555, 574, 575, 577, 578, 584, 585, 589-592; ii. 2-4, 9, 10, 16, 42, 44, 74, 93, 94, 101-109, 126-128, 132-134, 226-230, 238, 253, 254, 267-276, 295, 317, 318, 345, 357, 358, 363, 364, 383, 384, 386-389, 393, 395, 404, 439, 443, 447, 492, 497, 503, 536, 537, 594, 608, 622, 634, 670; called Lesser Britain, i. 339
Ireland the Great, 337
Irgalach, s. Conaing Cuirri, 210, 221
Irish (or Gaels), 24, 29, 30, 76, 88, 204, 252, 264, 280-282, 285, 303, 312, 331, 340-346, 352, 382-384, 395, 398, 405, 410, 429, 445, 457, 463, 506, 517, 526; ii. 363. *See* Scots (Irish)
Irish language (Scottish, or Gaelic), lxviii, cxxi, 23, 37, 59, 70, 129, 135, 164, 188, 224, 342, 369, 383, 492, 590-591

Irish Sea, cxvi, cxviii, cxxix
Irish slaves taken to Iceland, 335, 345
Irvine, Reginald of, archdeacon of Teviotdale, archdeacon of Glasgow, ii. 530, 541-542
Isaac, f. Koll, ii. 7, 190
Isaac, prior of Scone, ii. 250
Isabella (or Elizabeth), countess of Northampton, ii. 153. *See* Beaumont
Isabella, dau. David, e. Huntingdon; w. Robert de Bruce, s. William, ii. 437, 488, 506, 688
Isabella, dau. Henry, s. Malcolm, s. Matad; countess of Athole, ii. 478, 531
Isabella, dau. Henry II, c. Luxembourg, ii. 684
Isabella (or Elizabeth), dau. Hugh le Grand; w. Robert I de Beaumont; w. William (2) de Varenne, ii. 155, 200
Isabella, dau. John, k. England, ii. 499
Isabella, dau. Otto II, c. Gelderland, ii. 514, 515
Isabella, dau. Richard. *See* Clare
Isabella, dau. William, k. Scotland, ii. 306, 325, 375, 376, 399, 454, 503, 506, 561, 574
Isabella, w. Richard. *See* Marshal
Isabella, w. Walter Comyn; ? dau. e. Maurice; countess of Monteith, ii. 643
Isabella of Angoulême, w. John, k. England, ii. 421, 445, 446
Isidore of Seville, 142; ii. 317
Isla, R., Forfarshire, cxviii
island fortresses (or crannogs), 122, 150, 183, 208, 221, 237, 279; ii. 625
Islay, I., cxii, cli, 51, 61, 72, 147, 158, 160, 233, 236, 574; ii. 44, 98, 108, 109, 254, 475, 617, 618, 619, 634, 635, 649; Ilea insula, i. 65
Isleif, s. Gizur; b. Iceland, 337, 482; ii. 8
Italy, cxx, 116, 197; ii. 260, 502
Itharnan, 180
Iudeu, city, 15, 16
Iutgual, s. Anaraut; k. N. Wales, 402, 404, 409, 445, 450, 479
Iutgual, s. Catgualart, s. Catguollaun, 450
Ivar, b. Hamar, ii. 430
Ivar, f. Erling, ii. 611
Ivar, f. Hakon, 588
Ivar, f. Sigfrith, 406
Ivar, grandfather of Ivar, 399; of Ronald, 404; of Sigtryyg, 401; "children of," 406; "grandsons of," 398, etc. *See* Ivar, s. Godfrey, s. Ronald
Ivar, grandfather of k. Ronald, 487
Ivar, grandfather of k. Ronald; k. Dublin, 591
Ivar, gs. Ivar, 399
Ivar, k. Scandinavians of Limerick, 479, 480, 487
Ivar, k. Man, ii. 657
Ivar, knight, ii. 553, 554, 568, 587
Ivar, s. Godfrey, s. Olaf, s. Godfrey Crovan, ii. 313, 467
Ivar, s. Godfrey, s. Ronald, s. Halfdan (the Black); k. Norwegians, 280, 282, 286, 290, 296, 300-305, 307, 309, 311, 323, 334, 351
Ivar, s. Guthorm; a war king, 461
Ivar, s. Halfdan the Old; e. Uplanders, 307, 373
Ivar, s. Harold; k. Dublin, 591, 592
Ivar, ? s. Harold Blue-tooth; "s. k. Denmark," 411
Ivar, s. Helgi, ii. 613
Ivar, s. Ingimund, ii. 188-190
Ivar, s. Lodbrok, 299. *See* Ivar Legless
Ivar, s. Ronald of Mærr, 332, 334, 373
Ivar Beytill, 320
Ivar Boddi, ii. 428, 429
Ivar Conung, leader of Scandinavians, 407
Ivar Galli, gs. Havard, s. Gunni, ii. 350
Ivar Hólmr, ii. 625, 626, 634
Ivar Legless, s. Ragnar and Aslaug; k. Scandinavians, k. Northmen (in England), 297-301, 337. Cf. Ivar, s. Godfrey; and *see* Inguar, s. Lodparch
Ivar of Fiódir, ii. 158, 159
Ivar White, gs. Hakon Mighty, 598; ii. 5, 139, 189, 190
Ivar Wide-fathom, k. Denmark and Sweden, 298
Ivetta. *See* Judith
Ivo. *See* Yvo

Jacob, s. Beli, s. Run, 140, 141, 450
Jacob, s. Iutgual, s. Anaraut, 450, 478, 479
Jacobites, ii. 470. *See* Dominicans
Jacobus, papal legate, ii. 443, 444, 468
Jafeth, s. Noah, cxvii
James, a. Cîteaux. *See* John
James, a. Cîteaux, archb. Narbonne, ii. 659
James, apostle, ii. 450
James, deacon. *See* Honorius IV

Iamtaland (Jämteland), Sweden, 314, 316, 317, 324, 347, 359
Iarizleif, k. Gardariki, k. Holmgardr, 569, 598; ii. 13
Iathgud, s. Gilli, s. Biadach, 539
Iatvor, dau. Erlend, s. Thorfinn, ii. 7
Jedburgh, ii. 53, 83, 86, 169, 261, 262, 280, 425, 436, 448, 516, 517, 553, 565, 589, 592, 643, 681, 686, 697, 699
Jeremiah, prophet, 437
Jerusalem, 33; ii. 24, 98, 136, 145, 146, 164, 186, 190, 213, 214, 241, 242, 308-309, 313, 314, 325-327, 347, 355, 364, 378, 379, 438, 453, 469-470, 539, 548, 551, 580, 658
Jervaulx, Yorkshire, ii. 428
Jesus, staff of, 599
Jews, ii. 323, 386, 407, 663
Ióan. *See* John
Ióan, s. Lopt, lxxi
Joanna, dau. k. Edward I, ii. 694
Joanna, dau. k. Henry II, ii. 326
Joanna, dau. k. John; w. k. Alexander II, ii. 28, 403, 444-446, 489, 499, 502, 505, 510, 511, 515
Job, ii. 689
Joceline, a. Melrose, b. Glasgow, lxxv; ii. 195, 196, 268, 275, 296, 304, 305, 311, 330, 343, 348, 351
Joceline, b. Bath, ii. 418, 517
Johanris, Perven de, ii. 421
John, a. Balmerino, ii. 569, 572
John, a. Cîteaux, ii. 511
John, a. Culross, ii. 598
John, a. Deer, ii. 440
John, a. Dryburgh, ii. 517, 565
John, a. Dunfermline, ii. 518
John, a. Jugum Dei, a. Holme Cultram, ii. 211, 454, 505, 585
John, a. Kelso, ii. 245, 263, 275, 296, 298, 302
John, a. Melrose. *See* Edrom
John, a. Rievaulx, b. Ely, ii. 188
John, a. Savigny, a. Cîteaux, ii. 659
John, archb. Trondhjem, ii. 228
John, archb. York. *See* Romanus
John, b. Aberdeen, ii. 351, 369
John, b. Caithness, ii. 308, 355, 356
John, b. Dunkeld. *See* Leicester
John, b. Glasgow, ii. 9
John, b. Glasgow (chancellor, 1128 × 1136), ii. 164, 165, 169, 207
John, b. Glasgow. *See* Cheam
John, b. Holar, ii. 161
John, b. Kingarth, 198. *See* Iolan
John, b. Lincoln, ii. 418
John, b. Norway (from England), 508, 511-512
John, b. Whithorn, ii. 96
John, b. Whithorn, ii. 311, 373
John, canon of Dunkeld, ii. 449, 462
John, e. Athole. *See* Athole
John, f. Bryniólf, ii. 602, 603
John, k. England, lxii; ii. 29, 323, 342, 351-355, 361, 365-367, 372-377, 383-387, 391, 392, 395, 397, 401, 404-414, 419, 421, 433, 435, 442, 445, 452, 492, 503
John, legate. *See* Crema; Paparo; Salerno
John, nephew of Sverri, ii. 333
John, presbyter cardinal, S. Laurentii in Lucina, ii. 532, 573
John, priest from Ireland, 251
John, prior of St. Andrews. *See* Forfar; Haddington
John, s. Conall, s. Donald; a wizard, 67, 69
John, s. Duncan, s. Dugald, s. Somerled; k. Hebrides, ii. 465, 548, 549, 551, 555, 556, 567, 568, 616, 617, 622, 635; called John Dugald's son, ii. 567, 568
John, s. Geoffrey; sheriff of York, ii. 499
John, s. Hallkel, ii. 331, 346
John, s. Harold, s. Matad; e. Orkney, ii. 139, 238, 369, 380, 397, 399, 428, 429, 431, 455, 456, 461, 464, 474, 479-484, 513
John, s. Hefare, b. Hebrides, ii. 428, 547
John, s. Langlif, ii. 611, 616
John, s. Orm, ii. 463
John, s. Peter; baron in Sogn, ii. 191, 192
John, s. Svein, s. Bergthor Buck, ii. 248, 249
John II, pope, 26
John IV, pope, 150
John VIII, pope, 339
John XIX, pope, 547
John XXI, pope, ii. 678
John Ball-head, torch-bearer, ii. 634
John Baptist, ii. 665; monastery of, at Chester, i. 479
John de Caleto, a. Peterborough, xlv
John Dróttning, Norwegian baron, ii. 614, 616, 639, 641
John Evangelist, 120, 142, 439
John le Blund, ii. 583
John Mad, a Norwegian, ii. 272, 273; called John Vehement, ii. 273
John of Austrátt, s. Sigurd, ii. 186
John of Hestbær, ii. 637
John Quiet-life, ii. 613
John Scot, b., in Orkney and Slavonia, ii. 8, 9, 229
John Scot, b. Dunkeld, ii. 157, 299, 300, 303, 304, 306, 343, 360
John Scot, s. e. David, s. e. Henry;

e. Huntingdon, e. Chester, ii. 324, 436, 437, 453, 462, 486, 487, 492, 494, 505-507, 517, 537, 543
John Smior-balti, f. Hallkel Hukr, ii. 171
John Thiori, ii. 648, 649
Iokulsdalr, Iceland, 317
Iokuls-river, Iceland, 342
Joleta. *See* Dreux, Yolande
Iolgeir, br. Radorm, 344
Iomsburg, Wendland, 504, 506, 507
Jómsvikingadrápa, ii. 452
Jonah, prophet, 22
Jonathan, b. Dunblane, ii. 490
Jordan, a. Dundrennan, ii. 500
Jordan, R., 157; ii. 186, 190, 215
Jordan Gaileang. *See* Exeter
Iórund, b. Holar, ii. 683
Iórund, s. Yngve, s. Agnes, 306
Iórund the Christian, s. Ketil, s. Bresi, 343
Iórunn Mannvits-brekka, dau. Ketil Flatnose, 340, 347
Joseph, friend of Harold, k. Man, ii. 508
Joshua Ben Nun, 157
Ióstein. *See also* Justin
Ióstein Paunch, ii. 428
Judith, dau. Baldwin IV, c. Flanders; w. Tostig, 597; ii. 2 († ? 1071)
Judith (or Ivetta), dau. Odo of Champagne and Adelaide, sis. k. William I; w. Waltheof, s. Siward, ii. 28, 29, 32, 33, 40, 145, 148, 150, 155, 494
Jugum Dei. *See* Grey Abbey
Juliana, dau. Gospatric I, ii. 38
Juliana, w. Alan of Galloway, ii. 467, 468
Juliana, w. Thomas, s. Randolph, ii. 604
Jura, I., 160
jury system, ii. 503, 504
Justin, leader of Scandinavians, 505
Justin, s. Eric of Ofrostadir, 509
Justinian I, emperor, 44
Justinian II, emperor, 182, 183, 198, 200, 212
Justinus II, emperor, 25, 44
Jutland, Denmark, 464, 590

Kadlin (Kathleen), dau. Going-Hrólf, 363, 373
Kailli-auinde, monastery, 62 (possibly = Kilmun ?)
Kalda-kinn, Iceland, 348
Kaldbak, Iceland, 320, 329
Kalf, s. Arni, 585-587, 589; ii. 26
Kalf Skurfa, Danish viking, 373, 377
Kálf-á, Iceland, 329
Kalfadalr, Caithness, ii. 238
Kálfs-flokkr, 586
Kali, s. Koll. *See* Ronald Kali
Kali, s. Sæbiorn, ii. 115-117, 172, 190, 191
Kallbaks-vík, 320
Kalman, Hebridean settler in Iceland, 344
Kamho, William de, sheriff of Northumberland, ii. 504
Kampa-Grim, Hebridean settler in Iceland, 344, 383
Kane. *See* Cave
Kari, s. Eindridi, ii. 614
Kari, s. Sigrid, ii. 186
Kari, s. Solmund, 496-500, 502, 503, 532, 533
Karl, s. Hundi; "k. Scotland," lxxxii, 499, 577, 578
Karl, s. Jón; a. Thingeyri, xci
Karlsefni. *See* Thorfinn
Karlshofud, s. Eric of Ofrostadir, 509
Karlshofud, yeoman of Trondhjem, ii. 634
Kaupmanna-ey. *See* Copeland Island
Keldeleth, Robert of, a. Dunfermline; chancellor; a. Melrose, ii. 196, 518, 563, 572, 583, 660, 661
Kelidei. *See* célidé
Kellie, Fife, ii. 523
Kells, Meath, 34, 85, 258-260, 265, 399, 408, 430, 451, 452, 474, 475, 526, 527, 543, 544, 551, 578, 583, 599, 600; ii. 2, 22, 100
Kells, Book of, 20, 526, 527
Kelso, Roxburghshire, ii. 163, 171, 183, 207, 218, 245, 298, 357, 360, 377, 434, 437, 501, 515, 523, 528, 543, 552, 565, 583, 592, 593, 598, 599, 681, 697, 699
Kelton, Kirkcudbrightshire, 237
Kemback, Fife, ii. 525
Kenleith, Currie, Midlothian, ii. 196, 518
Kenneth, b., 177
Kenneth, f. Boite, 571
Kenneth, f. Dubscuile, 471
Kenneth, f. Suibne, 578
Kenneth, k. Picts, 86. *See* Cennalath
Kenneth, s. Conaing; k. Ciannachta (E. Meath), 309
Kenneth, s. Derile, 214
Kenneth, s. Donald, 485. *See* Kenneth, s. Malcolm, s. Donald
Kenneth, s. Feradach; k. Picts, cxxv, cxxvi, 246-250
Kenneth, s. Fland, 247
Kenneth, s. Irgalach; k. Ireland, 219, 221
Kenneth, s. Luchtren; k. Picts, cxxiv, 154

Kenneth, s. Malcolm, cxxxviii, cxxxix
Kenneth, s. Wrad; k. Picts, cxxviii
Kenneth I, s. Alpin (II); k. Argyle, k. Picts, k. Scotland, xxxiv, cxviii, cxxviii, cxxxv-cxxxvii, cxlii, cxlvii, cxlviii, cliii-clv, clvii, 227, 267-275, 279, 280, 287-292, 354, 357, 363, 403, 473, 604; ii. 93, 687
Kenneth II, s. Malcolm I; k. Scotland, cxxxix, cxlix, cliv, clvii, 274, 275, 478, 479, 483-485, 488, 499, 511-518, 520-522, 572-574, 579, 58c
Kenneth III, s. Dub, s. Malcolm I; k. Scotland, cxxxix, cxlix, 514, 518, 520-522, 572, 579, 580
Kenneth Left-handed, 154. *See* Connad Cerr
Kent, 13, 266, 400, 442, 505
Kent, Thomas of, ii. 544
Kentigern, lxxiv, 74, 93, 126, 129-140, 242; ii. 256-258, 304, 330
Kentigerna, 231
Kepduf, mountain, 128
Kerlingar-steinn, Scotland, ii. 616
Kerrera, Argyle, ii. 556-558, 561, 617, 635
Kerry, Ireland, 283, 351, 405
Ketil, battle of, 276, 286
Ketil, f. Olaf the Old, 495
Ketil, f. Vestlidi and Einar, 381
Ketil, s. Bresi, 343
Ketil, s. Thidrandi, s. Ketil Thrymr, 316
Ketil Brimill, s. Ornolf, s. Biornolf, 377
Ketil Calf, 590
Ketil Crook, s. Tostig, ii. 20
Ketil Flatnose, s. Biorn Buna; ruler of Hebrides, 284, 286, 305, 306, 309, 311-313, 315, 316, 330, 340, 343, 344, 346-350, 359-361, 363, 378, 379, 381, 383, 384, 393, 399
Ketil Foolish, s. Iórunn Mannvitsbrekka, 340, 343, 347
Ketil Gufa, s. Orlyg, s. Bodvar, 345
Ketil Hængr, law-speaker, 325, 386; called Hæng the Settler, 386
Ketil One-handed, 320, 325, 387
Ketil Raumr, 317, 318
Ketil Thrymr, s. Thidrandi, 315-319; called s. Thori Cock-partridge, 316
Ketil Wether, chief in Hringa-ríki, 330, 347, 360
Ketil White, 284, 286
Ketil's-stead, Iceland, 348, 381
Kettins, Forfarshire, ii. 526
Kettle, Fife, ii. 524
Keweilauc, Owen of; Welsh leader, ii. 260
Key, Lough, xxix
Kialarnes, Iceland, 347, 380, 385, 386
Kiallak, e. in Iamtaland, 347, 359, 360, 362
Kiallak, s. Biorn the Strong, s. e. Kiallak, 348
Kiallak, s. Kiarval, 344
Kiallak the Old, s. Biorn the Eastern, 362, 363
Kiallak's-stead, Iceland, 348
Kialleklingar, 362
Kiarnak, s. Makamal, ii. 605
Kiartan, s. Olaf Peacock, 383
Kiarval (I) (the Old), k. Ireland, 311, 314, 320-321, 325, 328, 336, 339, 344, 345, 347, 539. *See* Cerball, s. Dunlaing
Kiarval II, k. Irish, 484
Kidia-fell, Iceland, 344
Kilbrandon, Argyleshire, 18
Kilchousland, Argyleshire, 93
Kilconquhar, Fife, ii. 523, 663
Kilconquhar, Adam of, e. Carrick, ii. 666
Kilconquhar, William of, b. Brechin, ii. 663, 664
Kilcoy, Ross-shire, ii. 301
Kildare, Ireland, cxx, 295, 445. *See* Airthir-Life
Kilgour, Fife, ii. 524
Kilkerran, Kintyre, 126
Killskeer, Meath, 34
Kilmaling, ii. 597
Kilmichael-Glassary, 191
Kilmun, Dunoon parish, Argyleshire, 40
Kilrenny, Fife, ii. 523
Kilrimun(e)d, or Kilrymont(h), 238, 266, 267, 474; ii. 520, 580
Kilskeer, Meath, 451
Kilwardby, Robert of, archb. Canterbury, ii. 669
Kilwinning, Ayrshire, ii. 700
Kincardine, Mearns, ii. 389
Kincardine, Ross, 370
Kincardineshire. *See* Mearns
Kinclaven, Perthshire, ii. 658
Kinewin, St., ii. 700
Kingarth, in Bute, 176, 177, 198, 228, 236, 248, 254
Kinghorn, Fife, ii. 523, 687, 691, 692
Kinghorn, Little (or Wester), ii. 523
Kinglassie, Fife, ii. 462, 523
Kinloss, Elginshire, 473; ii. 210, 211, 279, 320, 416, 440, 569, 670, 671, 700
Kinnaweer, Donegal, cxlvi, 209
Kinneddar, Elginshire, ii. 448
Kinneff, Mearns, ii. 522
Kinnettles, Forfarshire, ii. 521
Kinninmonth, Fife, 474
Kinross, ii. 526, 589, 685

Kinross, Hervey of, canon of St. Andrews, ii. 679
Kinsi, b., ii. 2
Kintyre, cxlvii, cliii, 2, 5, 76, 78, 80, 93, 94, 143, 147, 162, 190, 211, 213, 214, 219, 227, 255, 259, 356, 502, 536, 537; ii. 106-109, 113, 114, 227, 254, 457, 476, 477, 545, 617-620, 622, 634
Kiotvi the Rich, k. Agdir, 321, 323
Kiritinus. *See* Cuiritán
Kirkbean, Kirkcudbrightshire, 433
Kirkbuddo, Forfarshire, cxx
Kirkby, John of, b. Ely, ii. 694
Kirkcaldy, Fife, ii. 525
Kirk-constantine of Galloway, the Kirk of Urr, 94
Kirkcudbright, ii. 644
Kirkcudbright, Adam of, papal chaplain, ii. 644
Kirkcudbright, Alexander of, physician, ii. 682
Kirkcudbrightshire, 94, 190, 237, 433
Kirkden, Forfarshire, ii. 524
Kirkham, Lancashire, ii. 167, 552
Kirkham, Walter of; dean of York, b. Durham, ii. 552, 584, 598
Kirkiubær, Faroes, 332
Kirkiubær, Iceland, 340, 347
Kirkliston. *See* Liston
Kirkmaiden, Wigtonshire, 6
Kirkmichael, Man, ii. 185, 547
Kirkmichael, Strathardle. ? *See* Michael, church of
Kirkton, Roxburghshire, ii. 521
Kirkwall, Orkney, 332, 586; ii. 161, 192, 237, 266, 608, 615, 637-639, 665
Kleifar, Iceland, 320
Klemit the Short, ii. 613
Kleppiarn, s. Einar, s. Ketil, 381
Kleppiarn the Old, s. Thorolf Viligisl, 344
Klofringar, Iceland, 348
Knapdale, Argyleshire, 177, 233
Knarstoun, Orphir, ii. 7
Knut. *See also* Cnut
Knut, s. Hakon Galinn; e., ii. 483, 603
Knut Wealthy, of Berwick, ii. 237
Kodran, f. Thorwald Wide-farer, 493
Kol, s. Thorstein, 503, 541
Kolbein, e. Buchan. *See* Colban
Kolbein, s. Aslak, ii. 6
Kolbein, s. Hrólf Kitten, ii. 480, 481, 483, 485
Kolbein, s. Thord, s. Eystein Meinfret, 383, 384
Kolbein Black, an Orkneyman, 503, 532, 533, 541
Kolbein Hruga, ii. 6, 204, 452, 482
Kolbein Karl (Churl), s. Kolbein Hruga, ii. 6; f. Thorkel Walrus, ii. 360
Kolbein Knight, guardsman of Hakon, ii. 624, 625
Kolbein of Rendall, ii. 482
Kolbeins-vik, Iceland, 320
Kolbiorn Snipper, 313
Koli, b. Hebrides, ii. 381
Kolinus, s. Angus the Shoemaker, ii. 652
Koll, Hebridean settler in Iceland, 343, 344
Koll, hersir, follower of Aud, 379. *See* Dales-Koll
Koll, s. Isaac and Cecilia, ii. 7, 190
Koll, s. Ronald Kali, ii. 7, 115, 117, 172, 190-192
Köln, lxxviii
Kolskegg, priest, ii. 595
Kolskegg the Wise, lxxi
Konal, s. Steinmod, s. Olvi Barnakarl, 319, 325, 387
Konunga-hella, 317 (*i.e.* Kongelf, Sweden)
Kori, slave, 345
Kristianiafjord, 314. *See* Christiania
Kristin, dau. Sigurd Crusader, ii. 214, 331
Kristin, dau. Sverri; w. Hakon Galinn, ii. 378, 379, 603
Kudi, a ship, 344
Kylan, br. Kalman, 344
Kyrpinga-Orm, s. Svein, s. Svein, ii. 214

labours of monastic life, 27, 29, 35, 39, 53, 107, 120, 132, 140, 186; ii. 63
Lacornere (or Corneria), William de, canon of York, papal chaplain, ii. 564
Lacy, Alice, dau. Henry de, ii. 488
Lacy, Edmund de, s. John; e. Lincoln, ii. 488
Lacy, Henry de, s. Edmund; e. Lincoln, ii. 488
Lacy, Hugh de; lord of Meath, ii. 271, 362-365, 467
Lacy, Hugh de, s. Hugh; e. Ulster, ii. 365, 383-387, 563
Lacy, John de; constable of Chester, e. Lincoln, ii. 426, 452, 469, 488, 494, 503, 581
Lacy, Matilda, dau. John de, ii. 581
Lacy, Roger de, constable of Chester, ii. 366, 372
Lacy, Rohais, dau. Hugh de; w. Alan of Galloway, ii. 467, 468, 492
Lacy, Walter de, s. Hugh, ii. 365, 384, 386, 417
Lacy, William de, ? s. Walter, ii. 385

Laenauc, s. Masguic Clop, 13
Lafracoth, dau. Muirchertach, Ua-Briain, ii. 126
Lagar-fliót, R., Iceland, 319
Lagny, in France, 90
Lagore, Meath, 278, 279
Laidgnen, k. Connaught, cxlvi
Laid-treoit, 8
Laisren, s. Ronan; a Iona, 3, 125
Laisren (Molaisse) of Leighlin, s. Maithgemm, dau. Aidan, s. Gabran, 1905 Oengus, 116, 117
Laloecen, 139
Lamba-borg, Scotland, ii. 194
Lambay I. (Rechraind), Dublin county, 35, 54, 160
Lambden, Henry of, a. Kelso, ii. 598, 599
Lambert, c. Lens; s. Eustace I, c. Boulogne; and gs. Lambert I, c. Louvain, ii. 28, 33
Lamberton, William of, b. St. Andrews, ii. 679
Lambeth, London, ii. 391
Lambi, f. Gunnar, 503
Lambley, Ralph of; a. Arbroath, b. Aberdeen, ii. 514, 545
Lam-Dess (or Manus Dextera), 69
Lamlash, Arran, ii. 634
Lamnguin. *See* Oswald
Lanark, 477; ii. 479
Lanarkshire, 237, 476
Lancashire, ii. 167, 536. *See* Furness
Lanceles, Alan de, ii. 289
Land-Abae, 183
land-defence, 325, 326, 412, 431, 456, 457, 461, 554, 565, 567; ii. 270, 271, 420, 445, 530; etc.
Land-Elo, in Meath, 109
Lanercost, Cumberland, xlii
Lanfranc, archb. Canterbury, ii. 15, 31, 32, 40, 44, 47, 73, 74
Langalyver, Copeland, ii. 673
Langa-tún, ii. 217
Langeais, Touraine, ii. 319
Langlif, dau. Harold, s. Matad, ii. 238
Langres, Haute-Marne, ii. 471
Langton, Berwickshire, ii. 521
Langton, Stephen of; archb. Canterbury, ii. 390, 397, 426, 433, 442, 463, 468
Langu(or)eth, w. k. Riderch, 135, 136
Laon, Aisne, ii. 211, 444
Lappion, village, ii. 444, 470
Lapps, 492. *See* Finnmark
La Prée. *See* Pratea
Largo, Fife, ii. 524
Largs, battle of, ii. 626-634
Lasceles, Alan de, ii. 563
Lasswade, Midlothian, ii. 520
Lathrisk, Fife, ii. 521, 524
Latin, lx
Latteragh, in Muscraige-Tire, 46
Laundeles, John de, ii. 463
Laurence, a. Melrose, ii. 195, 296, 299
Laurence, archb. Dublin, ii. 272, 273
Laurence, archdeacon in Man, b. elect of Hebrides, ii. 547, 550
Laurence, archdeacon of St. Andrews, ii. 374, 509, 565, 580
Laurence, b. Argyle, ii. 361, 605, 679
Laurence, b. Dunblane, ii. 490
Laurence, St., ii. 450
Laurencekirk, Mearns, ii. 525
Lauretta. *See* Lora
Laval, Guy de, ii. 241
Lavon, w. Reginald the Elder, k. Man, ii. 457, 458
Lawmen (or men called Logmann ?) of the Islands, 479
laws, decrees, and customs, xxii, 83, 128, 189, 202-205, 241, 246, 249, 252, 270, 274-275, 288, 291, 301, 357, 365, 368, 385-387, 428, 445, 447, 486, 491, 493, 513-514, 532, 564; ii. 23, 32, 72, 73, 213, 234, 352, 359, 361, 375-377, 499, 518, 519, 559, 602-604, 651, 673, 674, 677; etc.
Laxá, R., Iceland, 329, 382
Laxavágr, Norway, ii. 646
Laxdœla Saga, 387
Lax-river-dale, Iceland, 336, 382, 383
Lecale, county Down, 403
Leeds, on boundary of Cumbria, 441
Legerwood, Berwickshire, ii. 523
Leicester and Leicestershire, xc, 402; ii. 148, 155, 156, 280, 290, 537
Leicester, Hugh of, sheriff of Northampton, ii. 149
Leicester, John of, b. Dunkeld, ii. 383, 388, 396, 564
Leif. *See* Hiorleif
Leif the Lucky, s. Eric the Red; discoverer of America, 492, 520
Leim-Conculaind, 351
Leinster, Leinstermen, xxxv, cxliv-cxlvi, cxlviii, 8, 23, 36, 76, 78, 162, 220, 223, 231, 246, 277, 278, 286, 302, 303, 328, 351, 406, 445, 474, 475, 487, 520, 521, 535, 536, 574; ii. 42, 43, 45, 94, 270, 271
Leith, 88
Leithrig (or Leithreid), battle, 94, 97
Leitir, 367
Leix, Queen's County, 292, 403
Lemain, battle, 405, 406 (Laune R., Killarney)
Lén, gs. of, 237
Lenne, John de, official of Glasgow, ii. 662
Lennell. *See* Coldstream

Lennox, 231, 525; ii. 544, 625. *See* Dumbarton
Lennox, Adam of, monk of Melrose, ii. 543, 544
Lennoxtown, ii. 544
Lens, Artois, ii. 28, 33
Leo, ruler of Armenia, ii. 355
Leo, St., ii. 243
Leo III, emperor of the East, 208
Leo VI, emperor of the East, 339
Leo II, pope, 191
Leofric of Mercia, 597
Leonard, precentor of Messina; papal chaplain, ii. 596, 601
Leonius, a. Dundrennan, a. Rievaulx, ii. 500, 514, 516
Leontius, b. Saintes, 19
Leopold, duke of Austria, ii. 328, 329
Leot, 475
Leot, a. Brechin, ii. 178
Lerwick, Shetland, ii. 614
Leslie, Fife, ii. 525
Lesmahagow, Lanarkshire, ii. 360
Lethan (and Liathan), 54, 56
Lethet, castle, 87, 88, 149
Lethet-Midenn, in Drong, 87, 88, 148, 149
Leth-find. *See* Dun-leithfind
Lethfoss, cxxi, 122
Leuchars, Fife, ii. 493, 525
Leudonus, k. Lothian, 127-129
Leven, R., Dumbartonshire, 208
Lewelin, f. Grufud, ii. 1
Lewelin, s. Iorwerth; k. Wales, ii. 391, 416, 452, 470, 486, 494, 506, 517
Lewes, Sussex, ii. 644, 649
Lewis, I., Ross-shire, 65, 69, 341, 536, 537; ii. 101, 105-107, 194, 236, 237, 456-458, 472, 478, 556, 616
Lia-Moelain, battle, 185
Liberatione. *See* Geoffrey de
Libren, s. Illann, s. Cerball; two sons of, 145, 146
Lichfield, Staffordshire, ii. 517, 530
Liddel, Moat of, 74
Liddesdale, 123
Liége, Belgium, ii. 45, 123
Lier, Vessford, Norway, 314
Liff, Forfarshire, ii. 524
Liff, R., Perthshire, cxviii
Liffey, R., Ireland, 574; ii. 272, 273. *See* Airthir-Life
Ligulf, s. Uhtred, ii. 46
Ligulf, son-in-law of e. Ealdred, ii. 46
Lilliesleaf, Roxburghshire, ii. 449
Limerick, 280, 283, 290, 337, 351, 405, 480; ii. 184
Limesi, Ralph de; lord of Wulverly ii. 30
Limoges, Haute-Vienne, ii. 243
Lincoln and Lincolnshire, ii. 23, 148, 149, 152, 153, 184, 199, 202, 235, 246, 281, 354, 368, 395, 411, 417-419, 496, 537, 576, 586, 682
Lind-duachail, 281
Lindisfarne (Holy I.), 13, 16, 142, 158, 170, 176, 192, 254; ii. 1, 2, 41, 301
Lindores, Fife, ii. 343, 432, 437, 522, 586, 587, 593, 604, 661, 663, 669, 681, 684, 699
Lindores, John of; clerk of k., ii. 604
Lindsay, David de, ii. 581, 583, 584
Lindsay, Walter de (†×1222), ii. 449
Lindsay, Walter de (1265), ii. 651
Lindsay, William de, ii. 404
Lindsey, Lincolnshire, xc
Linhouse Water, Midlothian, 164
Linlithgow, 233, 239; ii. 520, 521. *See also* Manau
Linnhe, Loch, 59
Linton, ? Peeblesshire, ii. 521
Linton, ? Roxburghshire, ii. 585
Liodguald, s. Ecgwulf, 225
Liódhús. *See* Lewis
Liódhús, Norway, ii. 609
Liót. *See also* Leot
Liót, sis. Hildi and Hallgeir, 345
Liót, s. Thorfinn Skull-cleaver; e. in Orkneys, lxxxii, 481-484
Liót Worthless, husband of Frakokk, dau. Moddan, ii. 139
Liótolf, ii. 193, 236
Liótolf, settler in Iceland, 348
Liótolf's-stead, Iceland, 348
Lismore, I., Argyleshire, 19, 95, 126, 160; ii. 501, 529, 545
Lismore, Waterford, Ireland, 109, 160, 284, 406
Liston (Kirkliston), Midlothian, ii. 525
Little-Saxons, 170
Livingston, Berwickshire, ii. 525
Llancarvan, Glamorganshire, 132-134
Llychlyn, 282
Lo, R., Christiania, ii. 548
Loarn, s. Erc and Fergus, 3
Loarn Bec, s. Erc, s. Eochaid, cxliii, cl
Loarn Mor, s. Erc, s. Eochaid; k. Argyle, cxliii, cl-clvi, 2-4, 203, 208, 289; daughters of, 4. *See* Cenel-Loairn
Lochaber, 59
Lochalsh, 231
Lochavich, 218
Lochdiæ, 59, 226
Lochee, Forfarshire, ii. 524
Lochene, f. Conchobar, 229, 230
Lochene, s. Fingin; k. Dalaraide, 152

Lochene, s. Nechtan Cendfota, 145, 159
Lochland, 281, 282, 303, 305, 400, etc. *See* Scandinavia; Norway
Lochland, gf. Muirchertach, ii. 254, 297
Lochland, kinsman of Harold, k. Man, ii. 507, 508
Lochleven, lxxxvi; ii. 206
Lochmaben, Dumfriesshire, ii. 597
Lochore, Fife, ii. 583
Lochore, David of, ii. 583, 591
Lochy, Loch, 59, 226
Lochy, R., in Lochaber, 59
Lockhart, Jordan, clerk, ii. 589
Lodbrok, s. Sigurd Ring; k. Denmark (Lodparch) 299, (Lothbroki) 310. *See* Ragnar
Lodbrökr, 295
Lodbrok's sons, 299, 300, 456. *See* Ragnar's sons
Lodin, canon of Hamar, ii. 599
Lodin, s. Paul Small-eye, ii. 340
Lodmund, s. Donald, s. Malcolm III, ii. 26, 160, 162
Loegaire, s. Niall Nine-hostager, 18
Lofalækr, ii. 613
Loflo, ii. 613
Logie, Forfarshire (Logie-Dundee), ii. 524
Logie-Pert, Forfarshire, ii. 524
Logmann, s. Godfrey Crovan; k. Hebrides, ii. 98, 100, 108-110
Logmann, s. Olaf, s. Godfrey Crovan, ii. 137
Loichrois, Islay, clii
Loidis, district, 175; ii. 48
Loingsech, s. Angus, s. Donald; k. Ireland, cxlvi, 222, 230
Loingsech, s. Comgall, s. Domangart, clvi
Loingsech, s. Conall, s. Comgall, cl
Loingsech Ua-Maelsechlaind, 599
Loire, R., 373
Lok-hillar, Iceland, 375
Lombard of Piacenza, archb. Benevento, ii. 265
Lombardy, 191
Lomokestun, ii. 544
Lomond, Loch, 208, 231; ii. 625
Lon, Iceland, 342
Lonan, of Treoit; s. Talmach and Dustricc, 7, 8
London, 441, 457, 505, 507; ii. 14, 25, 55, 120, 169, 170, 183, 319, 323, 373, 390, 409, 411, 412, 420, 423, 449, 454, 469, 499, 505, 510, 527, 675, 694
London, Robert of, s. k. William of Scotland, ii. 500
Londonderry. *See* Derry
Lon-Einar, 381
Long, Loch, ii. 625, 634
Longformacus, Berwickshire, ii. 525
Long Hope, Hoy, ii. 637
Long Island, 65, 69
Longpont, abbey, ii. 435
Long-Serpent, ship, 510
Lonsdale (Kirkby-), Westmoreland, ii. 694
Loogdae, lake, 225, 226
Loop Head, Clare county, 351
Lora, countess of Athole, ii. 664
Lora (or Lauretta), w. Henry de Balliol, ii. 543
Lorcan, gf. Gillacrist, 544
Lorcan, s. Cellach; k. Meath, k. Leinster, 278, 283, 290, 525
Lorg-eclet, battle, 213
Lorn, Argyle, 161, 218, 229, 230, 233, 235
Lorraine, ii. 124
Lorrha, Tipperary, 277
Lot, br. Uranius; consul of Lothian, 127
Lothian, xli, li, 88, 127, 233, 234, 242, 253, 272, 289, 476, 518, 544, 546, 547, 575; ii. 37, 77, 138, 144, 194, 251, 278, 295, 370, 399, 400, 412, 446, 503, 531, 565, 692, 698. *See* Haddingtonshire; Linlithgow
Louis, s. Theobald V, s. Theobald, br. k. Stephen; c. Blois, ii. 342
Louis I (Le Debonnaire), s. Charlemagne; k. France, emperor of the West, 216, 310
Louis I, s. Louis I (Le Debonnaire); k. Germany, "emperor," 298, 299
Louis II, s. Louis I, k. Germany; "emperor," 339
Louis VI, k. France, ii. 170, 197
Louis VII, k. France, xc; ii. 213, 242, 243, 259, 277, 278, 281, 284, 287, 288, 291, 514
Louis VIII, s. Philip Augustus; k. France, ii. 409-412, 414-421, 423, 424, 435, 453, 461
Louis IX (St. Louis), k. France, ii. 548, 551, 553, 563, 580, 663
Lowdham, ii. 536
Luaire, battle, 355
Luath, s. Macbeth, 603
Lucca, Italy, ii. 682
Luchray, Bog of, 226
Luchtai, s. Parthalan, cxvii
Luchtren, 154
Lucius II, pope, ii. 167, 205, 553
Lucius III (Hubaldus), pope, ii. 77, 210, 305, 306, 310, 349, 510, 553
Lucy, m. William de Roumare, e. Lincoln, ii. 223
Lucy, Geoffrey de, ii. 418

Lucy, Geoffrey de, constable of Porchester castle, ii. 478
Lucy, Godfrey de, s. Richard; b. Winchester, ii. 362
Lucy, Reginald de, f. Richard, ii. 92
Lucy, Richard de, s. Reginald, ii. 92, 156, 278
Lufnaut, 601
Lugaid (or Moluoc), a. Lismore, 19, 95
Lugaid, s. Barrfind, s. Natsluaig, cli
Lugaid, s. Caiblene, s. Natsluaig, cli
Lugaid, s. Ellatig, cliii, clvii
Lugaid, s. Loegaire; k. Ireland, cxliii, 4
Lugaid, s. Natsluaig, s. Angus Mor, cli
Lugaid, s. Setna, s. Fergus, 210
Lugaid, s. Tailchan, 114-115
Lugaid Mocu-Themne, 39
Lugar, s. Ernin, s. Cael, 170
Lugbe, monk of Iona, 66
Lugbe Mocu-min, envoy from k. Riderch to Columba, 73
Lugne, prior of *Elena insula*, 51
Lugne Mocu-min, 51
Lugu Cenncalad, of Ardnamurchan, 68
Luimne, 535
Luing, I., 65, 91
Luirig, s. Sarran and Babona, 4
Luke, evangelist, 267
Lulach, s. Gillacomgain; k. Scotland, cxl, cl, clvi, 521, 572, 580, 582, 600-604; ii. 46, 97, 173; called s. Macbeth, cl
Lumberdus, layman, ii. 355
Lumphanan, Aberdeenshire, 600
Lund, Sweden, ii. 229, 296
Lundaff, *i.e.* Kinloch, Perthshire, 183
Lundie, Forfarshire, ii. 522
Lundy I., Devonshire, ii. 193, 194
Lusignan, Amalric de, br. k. Guy de, s. Hugh VIII de; k. Jerusalem, ii. 355
Lusignan, Hugh X de, s. Hugh IX, s. Hugh VIII; c. Marche, ii. 445, 446
Lutho-feirnn, in Fortriu; battle of, 179
Luxeuil, in Burgundy, 94
Lympne, ancient harbour in Kent, 442; ii. 649
Lynally, King's county, 109
Lyons, ii. 536, 669, 673, 686

Má, s. Atli the Red, 337, 382
Má, s. Hallvard, 387, 388
Mabel, dau. Hugh, e. Chester, ii. 487
Macbeth, b. Ross, ii. 247
Macbeth, e.; mormaer of Moray?, lxxxii, 484, 501
Macbeth, s. Findlaech; k. Scotland, cxl, cl, 499, 501, 513, 521, 571, 572, 574, 576, 578-582, 584, 586, 588, 593-597, 600-604; ii. 11, 58
Macc-. *See also* Mac-
Macc-Alpin, Laws of, 270
Macc-Baithine, gs. Baethen; a. Iona, ii. 22
macc-bethad, 33. *See* Macbeth
Macc-Craich, 221
Macc-Decuil, sons of, 23
Macc-Deichill, s. Erc, s. Eochaid, cl
Maccintsacairt, cx. *See* Ferchar
Macc-Misi Bec, cl. *See* Fergus Bec
Macc-Misi Mor, cl. *See* Fergus Mor
Macc-Naue (Filius Navis), 23. *See* Dimma, s. Noah
Macc-nia Ua-Uchtain; lector of Kells, 578
Macc-Nisse. *See* Domangart; Macc-Misi
Macc-Nisse, or Oengus, b. Connor, 4, 5
Macc-oigi, a. Bangor, 258
Mac-Cowle, Duncan, ii. 471
Maccus, k. Islands, 478; called Mac(h)t, s. Harold, 478-479. *See* Magnus, s. Harold
Maccus, s. Olaf, ? s. Sigtrygg, 460
Macdonalds, I
Machallanus, prior of St. Michael's; a. Wassor, 443
Machar, St., follower of Columba, lxxv, 40-42; called Mochumma, 40; called Mauritius, 42
Machar's Seat, 41
Macherummel, Kintyre, ii. 545
Macheth. *See* Malcolm
Macheth, Kenneth, ii. 233, 404
Machutus (Macutes, Maclovus, Molocus; St. Malo), 18, 19; ii. 239
Mac-Lochlaind, s. Muirchertach, ii. 297
Macmaras, Manx chief, ii. 96, 102
Mac-Mares. *See* Godfrey
Macmars, f. Iol, ii. 96
Mac-Thore, Thorfinn, ii. 37
Mac-William. *See* Donald, s. William
Mac-William's daughter, ii. 471
Madderty, Strathearn, ii. 564
Maeatae, 96-97
Maedoc, of Fearns, 148
Maedoc, s. Midgna; of Fid-duin, 40, 102
Maelanfaid, Maelanfaith, 212, 221, 222
Maelawr, in Gwynedd, 368
Mælbæthe, k. in Scotland, 547, 591 (?=Maelbrigte, s. Ruadri)
Maelbressail, k. Argyle?, cxlviii
Maelbriccin, f. Feradach, ii. 179
Maelbrigte, b. (in Scotland), 475

Maelbrigte, gs. Rimid, a. Iona, 521
Maelbrigte, s. Cathal, ii. 176
Maelbrigte, s. Dubican, 475
Maelbrigte, s. Ruadri, s. Morgan, clvi, 551, 571, 574, 580
Maelbrigte, s. Tornan ; a. Armagh, a. Iona, 400, 425, 433, 436
Maelbrigte Clusenair, lxxviii
Maelbrigte Tooth, e. in Scotland, 370, 371, 420
Maelcaich, s. Scandal, s. Bec ; k. Dalaraide, 152, 153
Maelcathaig, k. Connaught, cxliv
Maelchon, cf. Mailcun ; s. of, *see* Brude.
Maelciarain Ua-Maigne, a. Iona ; b., 489, 490
Maelcoba, s. Aed, s. Ainmire ; k. Ireland, cxlv, 217
Maelcoba, s. Fiachna, s. Deman ; k. Ulster, cxlvi
Maelcon, f. Fergussan, 208
Maelcroin, s. Muiredach ; k. Decies, 287
Maelcron, s. Gillasechnaill, ii. 208
Maelcu, s. Brude, s. Maelchon, 50
Maelduib's farm, ii. 177
Maelduin. Cf. Thorgeir Meldun
Maelduin, b. St. Andrews, ii. 49
Maelduin, e. in Scotland, 337, 384
Maelduin, f. Fland, 368
Maelduin, gs. Bead, ii. 178
Maelduin, s. Cendfaelad ; a. Raphoe, 261
Maelduin, s. Conall Crandomna ; k. Argyle, cxxxi, cxxxii, cxlv, 168, 178, 179, 198, 199, 202, 203
Maelduin, s. Gilla-Odrain ; b. Scotland, 599
Maelduin, s. Rigullan, 183
Maeleoin Ua-Torain, a. Derry, 568
Maelfothartaig, 182
Maelgiricc, 363
Maelgiricc, s. Tralin, ii. 179
Maelguala, s. of k. Dungal of Cashel ; k. Munster, 284
Maelissa, e. Strathearn. *See* Malisse
Maelissa, leader of Scandinavians, 411
Maelissa Ua-Dorig, b. Tirconnell, ii. 363
Maelmaedoic Ua-Morgair, b. Armagh, b. Down, xxxvi ; ii. 184-185, 208-209, 213, 244, 357
Maelmaire Ua-Gormáin, lx
Maelmanach, a. Kingarth, 248
Maelmithid, s. Flannacan ; k. Brega, 431, 449, 472
Maelmochergi, s. Indrechtach ; k. Lecale, 403
Maelmorda, s. Murchaid, s. Find ; k. Leinster, 535, 536
Maelmuire, dau. Kenneth, s. Alpin, 403
Maelmuire, f. Matad, ii. 140, 182
Maelmuire, gs. Uchtan ; a. Kells, 527
Maelmuire, s. Cossa-Nara, 411
Maelmuire, s. Niall, ii. 508
Maelmuire Ua-Uchtain, a. Kells and Raphoe, 582, 583
Maelodair, a., 441
Maelpatraic, f. Steinrod ; Irish noble, 345
Maelpatraic Ua-Banain, b. Connor and Down, ii. 279
Maelpetair, s. Donald, ii. 178
Maelpetair, s. Malcolm ; e. Mearns, ii. 89-90
Maelruain, s. Colman, s. Senan ; a. Tallaght, ii. 73. *See* L.L., 352 g
Maelruanaid, s. Duncan, s. Donald, s. Murchaid ; k. Meath, 277, 281, 405
Maelruanaid Ua-Dubdai, k. Ui-Amalgada, ii. 447
Maelruanaid Ua-Maeldoraid ; k. Cenel-Conaill, 569
Maelrubai, s. Elgonach ; a. Bangor, a. Applecross, 43, 181, 183, 219-220, 236
Maelsechlaind, descendants of, 245
Maelsechlaind, s. Donald, s. Duncan ; k. Ireland, cxlix, 278, 486, 487, 490, 494, 520, 526, 535, 551
Maelsechlaind, s. Mac-Lochlaind, ii. 297
Maelsechlaind, s. Maelruanaid ; k. Tara, k. Ireland, 277-279, 281-283, 285-287, 290, 309, 352, 403-406
Maelsechlaind Ua-Lochlaind, s. Niall ; k. Ireland, ii. 297
Maelsechnaill ("servant of St. Sechnall"). *See* Maelsechlaind
Maelsnechtai, s. Lulach ; k. Moray, clvi, 521, 580 ; ii. 46, 175, 177
Mael-Suthain, 85
Maelumai, peasant in Iona, 40, 41
Maelumai, s. Baetan, s. Muirchertach, s. Erc, 123, 149. *See* L.L., 349 g
Maelumai, s. Erc and Baetan, 4
Maenach, s. Fingin ; k. Munster, cxlv
Mærleswegen, English nobleman, ii. 23, 24
Mærr, Norway, 294, 334, 347, 372, 374, 388-390, 588
Maeshowe, Orkney, 295
Maes-ydawc, 239
Mag-Ailbe, in Carlow and Kildare counties, 445
Mag-Breg, S. Meath, 191, 196, 204, 277
Mag-Circin, Mearns, 118
Mag-Conaille, Louth, 262
Mag-Line, Antrim, 87

Mag-Luinge, in Tiree, 66, 112, 182, 183, 247, 248
Mag-Luirg, Roscommon county, 305
Magnus, s. Erling; k. Norway, ii. 266, 331-334, 347, 350, 378
Magnus, s. Gilbert; e. Orkney, ii. 513, 587, 614, 616, 669
Magnus, ? s. Gillecrist; e. Orkney, ii. 513, 587
Magnus, s. Hakon, s. Hakon; k. Norway, lxii, lxxvii
Magnus, s. Harold, 479; ii. 1. *See* Maccus, k. Islands. ? Same as the following
Magnus, s. Harold Hardrádi; k. Norway, ii. 19, 20, 26
Magnus, s. Havard, s. Gunni, ii. 6, 195
Magnus, s. Magnus; e. Orkney, ii. 675, 685
Magnus, s. Olaf; k. Man, ii. 567, 569, 573, 576-578, 587, 590, 613, 616, 617, 625, 653, 657
Magnus, s. Sigurd Crusader; k. of half Norway, ii. 118, 172, 173, 187, 188, 191
Magnus, s. Thorhall, xci
Magnus, s. Thorliót, and gs. Frakokk, ii. 139
Magnus Bareleg, s. Olaf Quiet, s. Harold Hardrádi; k. Norway, 346; ii. 5, 98, 100, 102-116, 126-135, 158, 161, 162, 172, 186-188, 190, 238, 539, 540, 635
Magnus Good, s. Hakon; k. Norway, ii. 601-604, 608-610, 640, 645-649, 655-657, 675, 679
Magnus Good, s. Olaf the Holy; k. Norway, lxxxii, 539, 578, 584, 586-589, 598; ii. 11, 190
Magnus Holy (St. Magnus), s. Erlend; e. Orkney, 332; ii. 4, 5, 7, 105, 107, 110, 117, 127, 136, 138, 160-162, 190-192, 226, 237, 238, 266, 557, 639, 642
Magnus Mangi, s. Eric Stakblællr, ii. 4, 238, 267, 350
Magnus-drápa, ii. 106, 112
Magota. *See* Burgh
Mag-sered, battle, cxlvi
Maian. *See* Moen
Maiglinde, 24
Mailcun. *Cf.* Maelchon; Maelcon Maelcu; Walgannus
Mailcun (or Maglocunus), k. Gwynedd, cxxiii, 11, 12, 74, 90, 450
Maine, s. Forgo, cliv
Maine, s. Loarn Mor, clii
Mainz, lxxviii, 246
Mais, s. Fathecht, cxvii
Maithgemm of Moin; dau. Aidan, s. Gabran, L.L. 372 b; 1905 Oengus, 117
Makamal, f. Kiarnak, ii. 605
Makerston, Roxburghshire, ii. 528, 573
Malachias. *See* Maelmaedoic
Malaechín, ii. 181
Malcaeel. *See* Ralph
Malcolm, e. Angus and Caithness, ii. 485, 513
Malcolm, e. Athole, ii. 139, 182, 311, 493, 509
Malcolm, e. Moray, ii. 233, 238. *See* Malcolm Macheth
Malcolm, f. Maelpetair, e. Mearns, ii. 90
Malcolm, s. Culen, ii. 176
Malcolm, s. Donald, ? s. Aed; k. Cumbria, 478, 517; called s. Dub, s. Malcolm I, 478, 515; called s. Donald, ? s. Eogan, 517
Malcolm, s. Duncan, e. Angus, ii. 513
Malcolm (I), s. Duncan (II); e. Fife, ii. 416, 468, 470, 698
Malcolm (II), s. Duncan, s. Duncan (II); e. Fife, ii. 87, 470, 583, 584
Malcolm, s. Maelbrigte, s. Ruadri; mormaer of Moray, 541, 551, 571, 580; ii. 177; "e.," 541; "k. Scotland," 571
Malcolm, s. Malcolm III, ii. 26
Malcolm, s. Matad; e. Athole, ii. 478
Malcolm, s. Molini, ii. 179
Malcolm I, s. Donald II; k. Scotland, cxxxviii, cxxxix, cxlix, cliv, clvii, 431, 446, 448-454, 470, 472, 484, 513, 517, 518, 580
Malcolm II, s. Kenneth II; k. Scotland, cxxxix, cxl, cxlix, cliv, clvii, 274, 275, 433, 496, 499, 510, 511, 513-515, 517, 518, 520-525, 528, 542, 544-547, 549, 550, 560, 562, 567, 571-581, 586, 591, 593, 602; ii. 11, 39, 176; "k. Cumbria," i. 515, 521
Malcolm III, s. Duncan I; k. Scotland, cxl, cxli, cl, cliv, clvii, 271, 521, 577, 590, 593-595, 600-604; ii. 1, 2, 4, 12-14, 21-26, 28-30, 34-39, 45-59, 64, 67, 70, 83-89, 118, 120, 146, 182, 234, 262, 539, 540
Malcolm IV, s. e. Henry, s. David I; k. Scotland, xli, cxv, cxli; ii. 28, 77, 149, 150, 152, 154, 155, 157, 178, 182, 183, 203, 210, 218-226, 233-263, 299, 308, 322
Malcolm Macheth, ? s. k. Alexander I; e. Ross, ii. 140, 182, 183, 224, 232, 233, 238, 249, 254, 266, 348, 404
Maldovenus, e. Lennox, ii. 300

Maldred, lord of Cumbria, 577; ii. 36, 37, 39, 41
Malebysse, Richard, ii. 353
Malechi, ii. 179
Malescoldus, "k. Russia," ii. 27
Malisse, s. e. Ferteth of Strathearn, ii. 437
Malisse, s. e. Malisse; e. Strathearn, ii. 597
Malisse, s. e. Robert; e. Strathearn, ii. 563, 581, 583, 584, 587, 591, 660
Malluvel, Richard, ii. 289
Málmfríd, w. k. Sigurd Crusader, ii. 214
Malveisin. See Ralph; William
Malzeard (Kirkby-), Yorkshire, ii. 280, 282, 283
Man, I., 15, 16, 86, 88-90, 160, 262, 333, 355, 356, 404, 488, 494, 499, 500, 502, 504, 507, 528, 534-537, 592; ii. 18, 22, 43-45, 48, 97, 101, 102, 104, 108, 109, 126, 184, 193, 225-231, 239, 273, 297, 305, 313, 365, 382, 383, 387, 388, 427, 439, 455, 457, 459, 460, 464-467, 471-475, 478, 501, 507, 508, 512, 533, 547, 553, 554, 558, 566-569, 578, 587-590, 649, 653, 655-657, 672, 673; called Eumania, i. 86, 89; Eufania, Euonia, 88, 89; Eubonia, 90
Manannan, s. Ler, 398
Manau. *See also* Man, I.; Mano; Menevia
Manau Guotodin (Mano on the Forth), 12, 15, 16, 90, 97, 213, 234
Manaw, 507. *See* St. David's
Manchan, Adam de, prior of St. Andrews, ii. 206
Manchester, 402; in Northumbria, 402
Mandeville, Geoffrey de, ii. 152
Maneport, Hugh de, b. Hereford, ii. 418
Mano, Plain of, battle, 213
Mar, Aberdeenshire, cxvi, 536; ii. 176, 178, 493, 563, 583
marabut, ii. 681. (The marabotin $=\frac{1}{2}$ bezant)
Marcan, s. Breodalach, 475
Marche, France, ii. 445
mare's flesh, 64
Margad, k. Dublin, 589-591
Margad, s. Grim, ii. 194
Margad, s. Olaf, s. Hrólf, ii. 192
Margam Abbey, xxix
Margaret. *See also* Margery
Margaret, dau. Alexander III; w. k. Eric II of Norway, ii. 598, 658, 659, 672, 679, 680, 685, 688, 694-696
Margaret, dau. Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople, ii. 684
Margaret, dau. David, e. Huntingdon; w. Alan of Galloway, ii. 157, 374, 437, 467, 487, 506, 688
Margaret, dau. Edgar Ætheling, ii. 28
Margaret, dau. Edward, s. Edmund Ironside; w. Malcolm III, xcvi, cxl, cxli, 216, 271, 574, 599; ii. 22, 23, 25, 28-32, 50-51, 53, 54, 59-88, 99, 120, 171, 211, 570, 680
Margaret, dau. Eric II, k. Norway; queen of Scotland, 271; ii. 688, 694-696
Margaret, dau. Eric Holy; w. k. Sverri, ii. 379
Margaret, dau. Florence III, c. Holland, ii. 249
Margaret, dau. Hakon, s. Paul; w. Matad, ii. 139, 140, 190, 191, 193, 218, 236, 237
Margaret, dau. Harold, s. Matad, ii. 238, 348
Margaret, dau. Henry, s. k. David I; duchess of Brittany, ii. 246, 312, 326
Margaret, dau. Henry III, k. England; w. k. Alexander III, ii. 28, 530, 538, 557, 562, 569-571, 581, 582, 585, 588, 591, 598, 643, 650, 657-659, 661, 670, 671, 683, 685, 688, 694
Margaret, dau. Louis VII; w. Henry, s. Henry II, ii. 281
Margaret, dau. Magnus, s. Erling, ii. 378-380
Margaret, dau. Niall, s. Duncan, ii. 667
Margaret, dau. Olaf, "k. Scots," 312
Margaret, dau. Otto II, c. Gelderland, ii. 514
Margaret, dau. Richard le Goz, ii. 324
Margaret, dau. William, k. Scotland; grand-dau. Adam de Hythus; w. Eustace de Vesci, ii. 328, 399, 410, 420
Margaret (or Margery), dau. William, k. Scotland; w. Hubert de Burgh, e. Kent, ii. 375, 376, 399, 446, 503, 506, 561
Margaret of Provence, queen of France, ii. 585
Margery, dau. Alexander II, k. Scotland; w. Alan Doorward, ii. 559, 571
Margery (Margaret), or Marjory, dau. William, k. Scotland; w. Gilbert Marshal, e. Pembroke, ii. 376, 399, 498, 499, 506, 527
Maria, dau. k. Harold Gilli, ii. 248
Maria, dau. k. Harold Hardrádi, ii. 13, 17, 19
Mariscis, William de, ii. 421
Marisco, Richard de, b. Durham, ii. 410, 420, 425, 461

Marisco, Robert de, br. William; pirate, ii. 503
Marisco, William de, br. Robert; pirate, ii. 503
Mark, b. Hebrides, ii. 673
Mark, priest of Glasgow, ii. 256
Markinch, Fife, ii. 520, 524
Marmoutier, monastery, ii. 153
marriage laws, 132, 246; ii. 73, 74, 377, 429, 449, 458, 468, 496, 500, 545, 551, 553, 571, 574, 580, 585, 586, 651, 679
Marseilles, France, ii. 551
Marsh, Geoffrey, justiciar of Ireland, ii. 384, 386
Marshal, Gilbert, s. William (1); e. Pembroke, ii. 376, 499, 527
Marshal, Isabella, dau. William (1), and w. Richard, s. k. John, ii. 585
Marshal, John, ii. 418
Marshal, Richard, s. William (1); e. Pembroke, ii. 386
Marshal, Walter, s. William (1); e. Pembroke, ii. 453, 488, 494, 537
Marshal, William (1), s. John le Maréchal; e. Pembroke, ii. 290, 324, 366, 384, 410, 417, 418, 424, 426, 487
Marshal, William (2), s. William (1); e. Pembroke, ii. 386, 417-419
Martin I, pope, 169
Martin IV, pope, ii. 536, 564, 586, 597, 679, 681, 682
Martin of Tours, 27, 33, 42, 107; ii. 153
Martin, house of, 4
Martina, m. Heracleonas, 165
Martry, Meath, 599
Marvellous-strands, N. America, 492
Mary, dau. k. Malcolm III, ii. 26, 29, 54-56, 124, 125 (†1115, M.W., ii. 44; †31 May 1115, Annals of Southwark, M.G.H., Scriptores, xxvii, 430)
Mary, dau. k. Stephen; abbess of Romsey; countess of Boulogne, ii. 125, 240
Mary, sis. Isabella, countess of Monteith, ii. 643
Mary, Virgin, 127, 129, 209; ii. 489, 566
Mary, w. Alexander II. *See* Coucy, Mary de
Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, ii. 88
Marykirk, Mearns, ii. 522
Maserfelth, battle, 15, 165
Masguic Clop, s. Ceneu, 13
Masraige of Mag-Slecht, 81
Matad, s. Maelmuire; e. Athole, ii. 139, 140, 182, 191, 193, 215, 216
Matadan, k. Argyle?, cxlviii
Matadan, s. Fochertach, 434; s. of, 443
Matadin, judge, ii. 178
Matain, s. Cairell, ii. 176
Matha, gate of Cendrigmonaid, 267
Mathgernan, 214
Mathraval, 356
Matilda, countess of Angus, ii. 530, 534
Matilda, countess of Marche, ii. 445
Matilda (Maud), dau. Adela(ide). *See* Blois
Matilda, dau. Baldwin V; w. k. William I, 597; ii. 21, 30, 154
Matilda, dau. David, e. Huntingdon, ii. 488, 494
Matilda, dau. Eustace III, c. Boulogne; w. k. Stephen, ii. 56, 124, 199, 202
Matilda, dau. Gilbert, e. Orkney; countess of Strathearn, ii. 513, 587
Matilda, dau. Henry I; empress, ii. 29, 54, 56, 120-124, 151, 152, 170, 197, 200-203, 209, 210, 218, 234, 265
Matilda, dau. Hugh le Meschin, e. Chester; w. David, e. Huntingdon, ii. 157, 223, 323-324, 436, 437, 487, 492, 494
Matilda, dau. Malcolm III; w. k. Henry I, ii. 26, 28, 29, 52, 54, 56, 59, 120-124, 147, 162
Matilda, dau. Robert, s. Henry I; w. Hugh, e. Chester, ii. 324
Matilda, dau. Waltheof; w. Simon I de Senlis; countess of Huntingdon; w. David, k. Scotland, 595, 597; ii. 28, 33, 34, 40, 145-152, 155, 157, 494
Matilda of Lappion, dau. k. Scotland (? dau. k. William), ii. 444, 470
Mátni, f. Gille-andriais, ii. 181, 183
Matthew, a. Culross, ii. 541, 544
Matthew, a. Dunfermline, ii. 643
Matthew, a. Melrose, ii. 196, 438, 542, 543, 589, 600, 601
Matthew, b. Aberdeen, ii. 351, 493
Matthew, b. Dunkeld. *See* Crombie
Matthew, b. Ross, ii. 394
Matthew of Aberdeen, archdeacon of Glasgow, ii. 509, 516
Matthew of Alsace, s. Theoderic, c. Flanders, and Sibylla, dau. Fulk V, c. Anjou; c. Boulogne, ii. 125, 240, 277
Matthew Paris. *See* Paris, Matthew
Matthew Scot, chancellor of k. Scotland; b. Dunkeld, ii. 370, 462, 463, 490
Matussal. *See* Robert
Mauclerc. *See* Dreux, Peter; Walter
Maud. *See* Matilda

Mauduit, William, ii. 419
Maulia, W. de, archdeacon of Lothian, ii. 565
Maunsel, Herbert, a. Kelso, ii. 446, 501, 515
Maunsel, Hugh, ii. 501. *See* Hugh, a. Kelso
Maunsel, John, papal chaplain, provost of Beverley, ii. 571, 581, 584
Maunsell, John, treasurer of York, ii. 592
Maurice, b. London, ii. 119
Maurice, e. Monteith, ii. 489
Maurice, friar, ii. 648
Maurice, s. Gerald, ii. 273
Maurice Caech, ii. 456
Maurice Okarefair, bailiff in Man, ii. 657
Maurice Ua-Baetain, ii. 352
Mauricius, emperor, 91, 97, 104, 125
Mauritania, 294
Mauritius. *See* Machar
Maximus, emperor of Britain, 282
Maxton, Roxburghshire, ii. 517
Maxton, Adam of, a. Melrose, ii. 196, 659
Maxwell, Aymer de, chamberlain, ii. 583, 591
Maxwell, John de, ii. 404
Maxwell, John of, s. Herbert; sheriff of Roxburgh; chamberlain, ii. 529
Maxwell, Mary, w. Aymer de, ii. 583
May, I., Fife, 129, 350; ii. 194, 206, 569, 590, 699
Mayo, Connaught, 31, 179
Mearns (Kincardineshire), cxvi, 118, 226, 241, 253, 364, 453, 515; ii. 522
Meath, province or county, Ireland, 46, 85, 92, 109, 146, 162, 170, 209, 241, 259, 277-279, 289, 309, 351, 544, 599; ii. 94, 364
Meathie (-lour), Forfarshire, ii. 524
Meaux, Seine-et-Marne, ii. 661
Mecislav, s. Boleslav Chrobri; k. Poland, ii. 27
Mecklenburg, 549, 598; ii. 9. *See* Wendland
Medal-fells-strond, Iceland, 528
Mediana, Aragon, ii. 212
Mediterranean Sea, 293
Medraut, 9; Modredius, s. of k. Arthur's sister and Lot, 127
Meicen, battle, 154, 155
Meigle, Perthshire, 267
Meilge, 39
Melan, "e. Moray," 495
Melasey, ii. 634. *See* Holy Isle
Melchizedech, 135
Meldal, s. Macc-Decuil, 23
Melkorka, dau. Myrkiartan, 382-383
Mellifont, Louth, ii. 208
Mellindonor, 136
Melr, Gaut of, ii. 614
Melrose, Roxburghshire, xliii, xlv, 19, 272, 288; ii. 38, 59, 145, 183, 195, 206, 210, 221, 239, 240, 274, 275, 298, 302, 307, 308, 315, 330, 357, 363, 370, 389, 390, 405, 406, 437, 438, 469, 495, 496, 499, 515, 517, 519, 528, 529, 531, 542, 543, 558-560, 563, 589, 592, 600, 601, 604, 654, 659, 660, 697
Melsnati, e. in Scotland, 499. (Cf. the name Maelsnechtai)
Memma, St., ii. 520
Menai Strait, Anglesey, 590-592
Mend, s. Tulchan, s. Barrfind, cli
Menevia (Mynyw), Wales, 132, 507. *See* St. David's
Menzies. *See* Meyners
Merc, Plain of, 266
Merchants'-island, ii. 477
Merchiaun, s. Gurgust, 13
Mercia, Mercians, 16, 155, 166, 173-175, 183, 242, 251, 297, 300, 355, 356, 400-402, 409, 597, 598
Meriaun, s. Cuneda, 12
Merlay, Randolph de, ii. 38
Merlay, Roger de, ii. 544
Merlin, 74; ii. 528
mermaid, 369
Mermin, s. Etthil; k. North Wales, 276, 351, 356, 450
Mermin, s. Rotri, s. Mermin; k. Powys, 356; k. Mathraval, 356
Mernan, St., ii. 520
Merton, Berwickshire, ii. 521
Messina, Sicily, ii. 325, 596
Metcaud, Medcaut, Inis-Medcoit, 13, 16, 170. *See* Lindisfarne
Methven, Perthshire, ii. 526
Meti, s. Ninnid, s. Naxair, 40
metre, 101
Metz, 443
Meulan, Seine-et-Oise, ii. 148, 153, 199, 277
Meulan, Robert of, ii. 153
Meuruc, br. Clitauc, 408
Meyners, Robert de, knight (chamberlain, in 1251), ii. 581, 583, 584, 586, 593, 656
Miathi, 90, 95-97, 119
Michael, a. Culross, ii. 572, 598
Michael, a. Glenluce, ii. 491, 501, 534
Michael, b. Man, ii. 229, 331
Michael, church of St., 475 (*i.e.* Kirkmichael, Strathardle?)
Mid-Calder, Midlothian, 164, 234; ii. 521
Middleton, William of; b. Norwich, ii. 676, 677

Midfiord-Skeggi, 387
Midgna, s. Meti, 40
Midland's-Haven, Orkney, ii. 638
Midlothian, 234, 476
Mid-river, Iceland, 384
Miesko, k. Wendland, 598; ii. 27
Minchloth (and Mincholeth), sis. St. Columba, and w. Enan, 23
Minorites, ii. 479. *See* Franciscans
Minuirc, stone, 218
Mio-dœl, Iceland, 344
Miova-dals-river, Iceland, 344
Mirescog, Man, ii. 297, 566
Missel, knight, ii. 602, 603
Mitford, Northumberland, ii. 407, 419
Mjösen, Norway, ii. 460
Mobí Clár-ainech (the Flat-faced), s. Beóan; a. Glasnevin, xxxvi, 9, 10, 33, 102, 433
Moce-tauc (Mygedawc), battle, 239
Mochod, Book of, 17
Mocholmoc (Colman Maccu-Beognai), 109
Mochta, a. Louth, xxxi, 22, 30
Mochumma. *See* Machar; To-cummi
Mochuta, a. Rahen, a. Lismore, 38, 92, 160, 309
Mocu-, in Adamnan, = Irish *maccu*
Mocu-Cein, ss. of, 23
Moddan, nephew of Karl, s. Hundi; and f. Frakokk; e. Caithness, lxxxii, 577; ii. 4, 139, 191
Moddan, s. Thorliót, and gs. Frakokk, ii. 139
Moddan of Duncansby, 495, 498
Modred. *See* Medraut
Modrust, St., ii. 520
Modwena. *See* Darerca
Moen, s. Erc and Muiredach, 3, 4
Moëslains (Moëlain), Haute-Marne, ii. 515
Moffat, Dumfriesshire, ii. 541
Moffat, Nicholas of; archdeacon of Teviotdale; b.-elect of Glasgow, ii. 541, 542, 589, 593-596, 662
Mogils-river, Iceland, 347
Mohane, Bernard de, ii. 591
Moilmut. *See* Dumnagual
Moin, in Scotland, 474; *mór-moin*, 516; kingdom of, 573-575. Cf. *fri Monaid atuaid* "to the north of Moin" or the Mounth, 1905 Oengus, 76. *See also* Maithgemm
Moin-Carno, 226
Moin-craibe (or -croib), battle, 223, 224
Moin-daire-lothair, battle, 48, 49
Moin-Vacornar, 512
Moira, Down, ii. 365
Moira, battle of, 26, 104, 146, 149, 161-163, 207, 217
Molini, f. Malcolm, ii. 179
Moluoc. *See* Lugaid
Món, Mona. *See* Anglesey
Monadh Mhòr, Argyll, 575
Monasterboice, xxxvi, lvi, 7, 34; church of, 35; household of, 31
Monchestree, 231
Moncrieff Hill, Dunbarny, 223
Mondynes, Mearns, ii. 90, 91
Moneclatu, 267
Moneit, 225
money, 318, 415, 416, 546-548; ii. 23, 48, 76, 137, 159, 216, 242, 318, 322, 328-330, 343, 346, 347, 353, 356, 359-361, 373, 375-376, 384-385, 409, 411, 424, 436, 439, 443, 447, 453, 469, 476, 477, 491, 500, 504, 505, 511, 515, 518, 536, 540, 545, 546, 563, 564, 570, 590, 595, 596, 601, 640, 642, 654-658, 661, 664, 670, 673, 680-682, 698
Mongan, s. Fiachna Lurgan, 147-149
Monichi, 267
monid, 226
Monifieth, Forfarshire, ii. 525
Monimusk, Aberdeenshire, ii. 206, 681
Moninne. *See* Darerca
Monith-carno, battle, 225
Mons Dolorosus, ii. 275
Montague, Somersetshire, ii. 55
Mont-Cenis, Saône-et-Loire, ii. 421, 658
Monteith, Perthshire, cxvi; ii. 400, 489, 497, 583, 588, 589, 643
Montfort, Amicia de, dau. Ralph, ii. 153
Montfort, Henry de, s. Simon (2), ii. 652
Montfort, Ralph de, lord of Montfort and Gael, ii. 153
Montfort, Simon de (1); s. Simon, c. Evreux; s.-in-law of Robert III de Beaumont; e. Leicester, c. Toulouse, ii. 395, 434
Montfort, Simon de (2), s. Simon; e. Leicester, xlv; ii. 580, 592, 644, 645, 649-652, 658, 660
Montfort, Simon de (3), s. Simon (2), ii. 651
Montgomery, Arnulf de, s. Roger (1); e. Pembroke, ii. 126
Montgomery, Hugh de, s. Roger (1); e. Shrewsbury and Arundel, ii. 111-112
Montgomery, Robert de. *See* Bellême
Montgomery, Roger (1) de, e. Arundel, e. Shrewsbury, ii. 47, 267
Montgomery, Roger (2) de, s. Roger; e. Lancaster, ii. 126
Montibus, William de, chancellor of Lincoln, ii. 395

Montmirail, John de, ii. 514, 515
Montmirail, Mary, dau. John de ; w. Ingram de Coucy, s. Ralph, ii. 514, 515
Montmorenci, Hervé de ; constable of Ireland, ii. 269
Montrose, ii. 471
monuments, stone, 113, 129, 227, 355
Monzievaird, Strathearn, 522
Moone, Kildare county, 36
Moonzie, Fife, ii. 526
Moors of Africa, 293, 294
Moothill, Scone, 224
Moravians, 127, 453
Moray, cxvi, cxviii, 214, 253, 371, 378, 452-454, 473, 484, 495, 499, 501, 520, 521, 551, 571, 572, 578, 580, 581, 600 ; ii. 46, 89, 160, 174, 194, 196, 210, 233, 251, 278, 311, 312, 347, 368, 397, 399, 404, 435, 448, 456, 503, 514, 531, 532, 591, 662, 699
Moray, Andrew of, ? s. Hugh, s. William, s. Freskin I ; rector of Duffus ; b. Moray, ii. 394, 448, 489, 490, 501, 503, 514, 529, 531
Moray, Freskin I of, ii. 531
Moray, Freskin II of, s. Walter, s. Hugh, s. William, s. Freskin I, ii. 591
Moray, Gilbert of, b. Caithness, ii. 451, 456, 510, 514, 516, 529, 535
Moray, Walter of ; ? s. Hugh, s. William ; and lord of Duffus, ii. 581, 583, 584
Moray, William, s. Freskin I of, ii. 531
Moray Firth, 377, 498, 577 ; ii. 193, 615
Morcant. *See also* Morgan ; Morgand
Morcant, f. Tuathal, 178
Morcant, s. Coledauc, 13
Morcant Bulc, s. Cincar Braut, 13
Morebattle, Roxburghshire, ii. 678
Morel, nephew of Robert de Mowbray, ii. 51, 52
Mörer, Norway, 559. *See* Mærr
Morgan, children of, ii. 180
Morgan, f. Muiredach, ii. 176
Morgan, k. Cumbria, 132. Cf. Morcant, s. Coledauc
Morgan, s. Donald, s. Cathmail, clvi
Morgan, s. Duncan, ii. 181
Morgan, s. Eochaid Find, cli, clv
Morgan (Morgrunt), ? s. Gilla-chlerig ; e. Mar, ii. 493, 494
Morgand, f. Duncan, 480
Morham, Haddingtonshire, ii. 521, 525
Morham, Adam of, ii. 588
Morkere, s. Ælfgar, s. Leofric, 598 ; ii. 2, 14, 20, 21, 24, 36, 41, 47
mormaers, 407, 446, 480 ; ii. 174-178, 180, 415
Morpeth, Northumberland, ii. 407
Morrison, Glen ; Inverness-shire, 164
mors, 185, 248, 254
Morsey, ii. 237. *See* Mousa
Morstr, 548-549
Mortain, ii. 148, 149, 241
Morthec, a noble of Strathclyde, 139
Mortimer, Roger de, ii. 384
Mortimer, William de, ii. 289
Mortlach, Banffshire, 433, 525
Morvern, Argyleshire, 59
Morville, Eva (Helena), dau. Richard de ; w. Roland of Galloway, ii. 352, 420, 492
Morville, Hugh de (1), constable of k., ii. 249
Morville, Hugh de (2), ii. 353
Morville, Richard de, s. Hugh (1) ; constable of k., ii. 302, 307, 309, 315, 316, 321, 325, 352, 420
Morville, William de, s. Richard ; constable of k., ii. 315, 316, 347, 420, 492
Moses, 157, 442
Moster, I., Norway, 359
Mosterhavn, Bömmelö, 359
Mothoria, prior of Drumcliff, 36
Moulin, Perthshire, ii. 509
Mounth (Grampians), cxvi, 253, 267, 574
Mouric, f. Brochmail and Fernmail, 355
Mousa, Shetland, 394 ; ? ii. 237
Mousa Broch, 393, 394
Mowbray, Philip de, ii. 404
Mowbray, Robert de, e. Northumbria, ii. 42, 51, 52, 86
Mowbray, Roger de, s. Nigel de Aubigny, ii. 52, 281, 282, 285, 288, 289
Mowbray, Roger de, s. William, ii. 583
Mowbray, William de, ii. 419
Moy, R. *See* Muaid
Moycashel, West Meath, 209
Moygoish, West Meath, 544
Moylinny, Antrim county, 87
Muaid (district on Moy R., Sligo county), ii. 230
Muchdaigren, s. Rechtabrat, 284
Much Wenlock, Shropshire, ii. 251, 267
Muckros, Fife, 267
Mugdoch, Dumbartonshire, 239
Mugint, 7, 8
Mug-lama, cliii, clvii
Mugron, a. Iona, 488

Mug's Half, or Mugnuadat's Half (S. Ireland), 283; ii. 42, 43
Muirbolc (M. Paradisi, and Muirbulcmar), 54, 68, 115, 227, 228
Muirbolg, Ireland, cl, 68, 228 (*i.e.* Murlough, Antrim county)
Muirchertach. *See also* Myrkiartan
Muirchertach, f. a. Angus, 428
Muirchertach, f. Flaithbertach, 305
Muirchertach, s. Congalach, s. Maelmithid; heir of Tara, 472
Muirchertach, s. Erc and Muiredach, 3, 4
Muirchertach, s. Muirchertach Ua-Lochlaind, ii. 297
Muirchertach, s. Niall Black-knee; k. Ailech, 444, 468
Muirchertach, s. Tigernan, 408
Muirchertach Ua-Briain, s. Toirdelbach; k. Munster, k. Ireland, xxxv, cxlix; ii. 93, 94, 100, 105, 115-117, 126-129, 133, 138, 143
Muirchertach Ua-Lochlaind, s. Niall; k. Ailech, k. Ireland, ii. 227, 230, 297, 467
Muirecan, f. k. Cerball, 399, 407. ? *See* Muirecan, s. Diarmait
Muirecan, s. Diarmait; k. Nass and Airthir-Life, 290
Muiredach, f. Gillecoluim, ii. 178
Muiredach, f. k. Maelcroin, 287
Muiredach, k. Argyle ?, cxlviii
Muiredach, k. Connaught, cxlvi
Muiredach, k. Ireland, cxliii
Muiredach, s. Ainfcellach, s. Ferchar Fota; k. Argyle, cxxxiii, cxxxiv, cxlvii, cxlviii, 203, 222, 229, 230, 235, 236, 249
Muiredach, s. Angus Bec, cli
Muiredach, s. Baetan, s. Eochaid, clvi
Muiredach, s. Crichan; a. Iona and Raphoe, lector of Armagh, 526, 527
Muiredach, s. Eogan, s. Niall Nine-hostager, 3, 4, 82; w. of, *see* Erc
Muiredach, s. Erc, s. Eochaid, cl
Muiredach, s. Ewen, cxxxiii, cxxxiv, 235, 249. *See* Muiredach, s. Ainfcellach
Muiredach, s. Loarn Mor, clii, 203
Muiredach (2), s. Loarn Mor, clii
Muiredach, s. Morgan, ii. 176
Muiredach, s. mormaer of Lennox, ii. 415
Muiredach, s. Murchaid; k. Leinster, cxlvi
Muiredach, s. Ruadri; k. Leinster, cxlviii
Muiredach, s. Uargal; prior of Iona, 253
Muiredach Bolc, s. Olchu, s. Eochaid, cl
Muiredach Tirech, s. Fiachu Sroptene, 23
Muirhouse, Midlothian, 164
muir nGiudan, 127
Mull, I., 18, 65, 66, 68, 233; ii. 106, 107, 617, 635
Mullagh, in Derry county, 79
Múna, ? in Plain of Fortriu, 474. *See* Moin
Mundrehid, 292
Mungo, 130
Munnu (or Fintan), follower of Columba, 40
Munster, lii, liii; cxliii-cxlv, cxlviii, 84, 88, 94, 148, 260, 278, 283, 284, 286, 287, 328, 351, 400, 405, 406, 445, 525; ii. 94, 143, 213, 384
Munteni, Gallon de, ii. 421
Muntfichet, Richard de, ii. 419
Muraill, leader of Scandinavians, 405
Murchaid, lord of Kintyre, ii. 617, 618, 625, 635
Murchaid, s. Bran; k. Leinster, cxlvi, 220, 223
Murchaid, s. Brian Boroime, 533, 535, 536, 539
Murchaid, s. Diarmait, 238, 245
Murchaid, s. Diarmait, s. Maelnambó, 592
Murchaid, s. Find, s. Maelmorda; k. Leinster († 972), 474, 535, 536
Murchaid, s. Tadc Ua-Briain; heir of Munster, ii. 143
Murchaid Ua-Maelnambó, ii. 143
Murchaid Ua-Maelsechlaind, a. Clonard and Kells, 583, 599
Murdac, Henry, archb. York, ii. 96, 223
Muriel, dau. Malisse, e. Strathearn, ii. 563
Murieston Water, 164
Murkle, Caithness, 483
Murlough, Antrim county, 68. *See* Muirbolg
Musarde, Alan, a. Glenluce, ii. 536
Muschamp, Margery, dau. Robert de; w. e. Malisse, ii. 563
Muschamp, Robert de, ii. 545, 563
Muscraide, or Muscraige-Tire, Tipperary county, 46
Musgrave, Roger de, ii. 677
Muskerry (Muscraide-Bregain), Tipperary county, 284
Musselburgh, Midlothian, ii. 365
Mydals-river, Iceland, 344, 347
Mynydd-Carno, in Gwent, 226
Mynyw, 400
Myrgiol (Muirgel), dau. Gliomal, 384
Myrkiartan, k. Irish, 382, 383

Myrkvafiordr, Scotland, ii. 255 (*i.e.* Loch Glendhu, Sutherlandshire, according to Mr. James Gray)
Myruna, dau. Biadach, k. Irish, 342; called dau. Matad, k. Irish, 342

Naddodd, br. Exna-Thori; of Faroes, 338. (? Cf. the Bressay stone; J. R. Allen, *Early Christian Monuments*, iii. 9)
Naem, s. Barrfind, s. Natsluaig, cli
Nainndisi, 452
Nant-Carno, battle, 450
Nantes, 310
Narbonne, ii. 394, 659
Narfi, b. Bergen, ii. 695
Nargonne, ii. 415
Nass (Naas, Kildare county), 290
Nassar, sultan of Traci, ii. 539
Natsluaig, s. Angus Mor, cli
Natsluaig, s. Ronan, s. Angus Mor, clvi
Navan, Armagh, 88, 89
Navan, Meath, ii. 43
Navan-fort. *See* Emain-Macha
Navarre, ii. 326, 515, 663
Naxair, s. Crimthan, s. Eochaid, 39, 40
Neagh, Lough, 268
Nechtan, b. Aberdeen, ii. 178, 275
Nechtan, f. Alpin, 200. *See* Neithon, s. Guipno
Nechtan, gs. Verb; k. Picts, cxxiv, 121, 122, 145
Nechtan, s. Angus, s. Fergus, 266
Nechtan, s. Cano, 122, 145, 154, 159
Nechtan, s. Colum, s. Baetan, clvi, 203
Nechtan, s. Conaing, s. Aidan, cli
Nechtan, s. Conall, s. Comgall, cl
Nechtan, s. Dargairt, 212
Nechtan, s. Derile; k. Picts, cxxv, cxxvi, 145, 211, 212, 214, 217, 221, 222, 224-226, 228
Nechtan, s. Ferchar, s. Fingin, clvi
Nechtan, s. Foith, cxxiv
Nechtan, s. Irb, cxix
Nechtan Cendfota, 145, 159
Nechtan Morbet (or Morbrecc), s. Erp; k. Picts, xlvii, cxx, cxxi, 7, 122
Nechtan of Ner, 185, 186
Nectanius, k. Argyle, 249
Negroes in Ireland, 294
Neirin, Welsh poet, 11
Neithon. *See also* Nechtán
Neithon, s. Guipno, s. Dumngual Hen, clviii, 201, 224
Neketon, Henry de, escheator to N. of Trent, ii. 504
Ném, s. Conaing, s. Aidan, cli
Neman, a. Lismore, 126
Neman, s. Cathir; monk of Hinba, 64
Neman, s. Gruthriche; a wizard, 58
Nemar, b. Hebrides, ii. 229, 382
Nennius, xxiv, lx, lxiii-lxiv, lxix, 14-15
Ner, 185, 186
Nereid, sis. Sigurd Hlodve's son, 503
Nesan Cam, 67
Nesiar, battle, 556, 568
Nesius, s. William, ii. 493
Ness, m. Domangart, 5
Ness, Loch, 50, 51, 164
Ness, R., 50, 51
Netterville, Lucas de, b. Armagh, ii. 357
Neustria, ii. 30
Nevers, Nièvre, France, ii. 411, 412, 421, 422
Neville, Geoffrey de, chamberlain of k. England, ii. 418
Newark, Nottinghamshire, ii. 414
Newbattle, Midlothian, ii. 201, 202, 240, 301, 354, 360, 396, 397, 413, 414, 438, 441, 442, 489, 531, 586, 600, 697
Newburn, Fife, ii. 523
Newcastle, Northumberland, ii. 46, 198, 278, 288, 289, 372, 374, 408, 501, 503, 505, 536, 538, 582
New Forest, Hampshire, ii. 119
Newminster, Northumberland, ii. 38, 152, 157, 158, 438
Newport Bay, Mayo county, ii. 226
Newton, Midlothian, ii. 522
Newtownlimavady, 79
Newtyle, Forfarshire, ii. 522
Niacorp, 170
Niál, s. Thorgeir Gollni, (Burnt-Niál) 495, 497, 502, 503, 531, 533, 537, 540, 541; Niál's Saga, 530
Niall. *See also* Nigel
Niall, nephews of, 201
Niall, sons of, ii. 508
Niall, f. Muirchertach Ua-Lochlaind, ii. 227, 297
Niall, s. Duncan of Carrick; e. Carrick, ii. 667
Niall, s. Muirchertach Ua-Lochlaind, ii. 297, 467
Niall Black-knee (Glundub), s. Aed Findliath; k. Ailech, k. Tara, k. Ireland, cxlviii, cxlix, 403, 405, 407, 409, 431, 444, 446, 472, 474, 486
Niall Caille, k. Ireland, cxlviii
Niall Frossach, s. Fergal; k. Tara, k. Ireland, cxlviii, 246, 247, 249, 262
Niall Nine-hostager, s. Eochaid Muin-

remor, clii, 3, 7, 18, 28, 39, 217, 220, 241. *See* Ui-Neill
Niardvik, Iceland, 316
Nicholaa, warden of Lincoln castle, ii. 411
Nicholas, a., geographer, 492
Nicholas, a. Grey Abbey, ii. 505
Nicholas, a. Jedburgh, ii. 553, 565, 583, 589, 651
Nicholas, a. Scone, b.-elect of Caithness, ii. 535
Nicholas, archdeacon. *See* Hedon; Moffat
Nicholas, b. Durham. *See* Farnham
Nicholas, b. Man, ii. 331, 378, 381, 382, 427, 430, 457, 458
Nicholas, b.-elect of Glasgow. *See* Moffat
Nicholas, clerk of k. Scotland; chamberlain (while Herbert still held that office), ii. 243; chancellor, ii. 259, 274
Nicholas, esquire of Alexander of Seton, ii. 666
Nicholas, f. Andrew, ii. 611
Nicholas, nephew of Richard of Inverkeithing, ii. 564
Nicholas, papal legate, ii. 397
Nicholas, s. Sigurd, s. Hrani, ii. 110, 111
Nicholas, s. William Earl's-son, ii. 528, 573
Nicholas II, pope, ii. 1
Nicholas III, pope, ii. 535, 678
Nicholas IV, pope, ii. 87, 361, 532, 587, 597, 664, 686
Nicholas Gilli, ii. 379
Nicholas of Gizki, ii. 614
Nicholas Tartr, ii. 616
Nid, R., Norway, 333
Nidaróss, 333, 559, etc. *See* Trondhjem
Nidbiorg, dau. k. Biólan, 363, 373
Nidin. *See* Nydie
Niel, br. k. Sigtrygg of Danish Northumbria, 409. *See* Niall Black-knee.
Nigel (or Niall), s. Duncan of Carrick; e. Carrick, ii. 581, 583, 584, 667
Nigg, Mearns, ii. 522
Nîmes, Walter de, marshal of France, ii. 417
Ninian, lxxvi, 130, 133. (Cf. Moninn, † 16th September; 1905 Oengus, 194, 208)
Ninne. *See* Darerca
Ninnid, f. Baetan, 72
Ninnid, s. Duach, 24, 25
Ninnid, s. Naxair, s. Crimthan, 39, 40
Ninnid Lamidan, s. Eochaid, s. Aed, 18
Niord, k. Swedes, 306
Nizá, battle, 589, 590
Noah, cxvii
Noah, a. Kingarth, 254
Noah, s. Daniel, 183
Noah, s. Etine, s. Coirpre, 23
Nogent-sous-Coucy, lxi; ii. 36
Nór, market-town of, ii. 623
Norbert, St., of Prémontré, ii. 211
Nordalbingi, 310
Nordregöte, Strömö, Faroes, 380
Nore, R., 286
Norfa-Sound, ii. 214. *See* Gibraltar
Norfolk, ii. 280, 574
Norham, Northumberland, 302; ii. 198, 206, 253, 372, 374, 375, 392, 404, 408, 440, 690
Norham, Henry of, prior of St. Andrews, ii. 206
Norham, John of, the Younger; canon of St. Andrews, ii. 653
Norman, f. Ælfwine, ii. 24
Normandy, 324, 373, 374, 517, 541, 546, 597-599; ii. 14-16, 20, 24, 30, 47, 52, 148, 150, 170, 197, 210, 242, 260, 271, 285, 287-289, 293, 327, 353
Normann, sheriff of Northampton, 595
Normans (French), cl, 293, 526; ii. 15, 21, 23, 34, 144, 158, 242, 289, 294, 342, 401
Normanville, John de, ii. 517
Normanville, Thomas de, ii. 583, 677
Normanville, Waleran de, ii. 585
Northampton, 595, 596; ii. 32, 33, 40, 144-155, 197, 201, 202, 352, 426, 427, 487, 537, 658
Northamptonshire, xc
North Berwick, 242; ii. 523, 698
North-Foreland, Kent, 442
North-Saxons, 196, 296, 403, 406. *See* Angles; Northumbria
North Sea (Belgian Sea, etc.), cxvi, 251, 282, 330, 331, 354, 477, 570; ii. 555
Northumberland, 596; ii. 39, 158, 199-203, 218, 219, 222, 234, 235, 278, 280, 285, 286, 293, 406, 419, 423, 503, 504, 538, 677
Northumbria (and Northumbrians), cxxxii, cxli, 11-13, 88, 90, 123, 124, 142, 155, 158, 161, 164-166, 174, 175, 177, 181, 182, 192, 193, 195, 216, 218, 224, 227, 232, 236, 250, 251, 270, 296-298, 301, 308, 311, 331, 350, 356, 365, 366, 398, 400, 402, 403, 409, 412, 413, 416, 429, 431, 441, 450-452, 455-462, 465, 469, 504, 506, 512, 544, 577, 583, 584, 593-595, 598; boundaries of,

583, 595; ii. 1, 12-14, 21-24, 32, 36-42, 45, 144, 148, 151, 152, 155, 157, 158, 165, 196-203, 234, 278, 286, 293, 406; ks., i. cxi, 12-16. *See also* Angles; Bernicia; Deira; Northumberland
Northumbrians, called Ambrones, 14
Norway, and Norwegians (Northmen, White-foreigners, White-gentiles, etc.), xxxiv, liv, lvi, lviii, lxix, lxx, lxxxii, xcii-xciv, c, 136, 255, 258, 260, 268, 276-283, 285-287, 290, 292, 294, 295, 298-301, 303, 305, 306, 308-314, 319, 321-324, 326, 328-333, 335, 337-341, 344, 346-355, 360, 371-376, 383-386, 390, 392-395, 399, 404-407, 411, 418, 420, 423, 424, 426-428, 441, 444, 452, 453, 455-459, 461, 463-467, 469, 470, 481-483, 486, 488, 492, 493, 495-497, 500, 503, 504, 507-510, 520, 525, 529, 539, 541, 546, 548-550, 553, 555-557, 559, 566-570, 584-589, 598; ii. 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11-14, 18-20, 102, 104, 106, 110, 127-135, 136, 159-162, 171-173, 186, 188, 194, 204, 205, 215, 218, 225-228, 236-239, 272, 316, 333, 334, 344, 345, 359, 360, 378-381, 429, 455, 456, 464, 471-478, 482, 483, 507, 512, 533, 539, 540, 546, 548, 550, 554-556, 567, 576, 577, 602, 608, 610-642, 645, 647, 648, 653-656, 679, 680, 694, 695; kings' reigns, xciii, 427, etc.
Norway, Ridge of ("Keel"), 349, 359; ii. 11
Norwegian language, 458, etc.
Norwich, 507; ii. 280, 433, 517, 676, 682
Norwich, Ralph of, clerk of k. England, ii. 410
Nottingham, 402; ii. 23, 392
Nottinghamshire, ii. 235, 536
Nova Scotia, Canada, 337
Novgorod, Russia, 569
Nowell, Ralph, b. Orkney, ii. 229
Nrurim, city, 357
Nuneaton, Warwickshire, ii. 153
Nydie, ii. 443, 490
Nydie, Hugh of, layman, ii. 443
Nydie, William of, clerk of chancellor, ii. 490
Nykomi, Iceland, 340

Obeth, s. k. Elind of Canaan, 128
Obrestad, Norway. *See* Ofrostadir
Ocha, battle, cxlii, cxliii, 239
Ochil Hills, 127, 128, 370
Octavian, anti-pope, ii. 250, 252
Octavian, emperor, 366
Octreda. *See* Æthelthryth
odal-lands, 324, 391, 392, 428, 501, 502, 510, 553, 560, 561
Odba, Meath, ii. 43
Odd, f. Hoskuld, ii. 613
Oddgeir, br. Hrodgeir the Wise, 344
Oddi, Iceland, ii. 238
Oddlaug, dau. Eyvind the Orkneyman, 344
Odeich, Islay, cli
Odin, 343, 390, 422, 566; ii. 131, 647. *See* Woden
Odo, a. Holywood, ii. 495
Odo, archb. Canterbury, 442
Odo, b. Bayeux, ii. 45, 47
Odo, b. Tusculum, ii. 564
Odo, c. Aumale; s. Stephen II, c. Champagne, ii. 150
Odo, s. Stephen II, c. Champagne; lord of Holderness, c. Aumale, ii. 150
Odo III, s. Hugh III; d. Burgundy, ii. 434
O'Donnells, of Tirconnell, 7
Odran. *See* Oran
Oengus. *See also* Angus
Oengus, eponym of Angus county, cxvi
Oengus, s. Crimthan, s. Cathair Mor, 39
Ófæra, Iceland, 320
Ofeig Burlufótr, s. Ivar Beytill, 320
Ofeig Grettir, s. Einar, s. Olvi Barnakarl, 319, 320, 325, 329, 385
Ofeigs-stadir, 329
Offa, s. Duminfert; k. Mercia, 175, 251, 260; s. Thingfrith, s. Eanwulf, s. Osmod, s. Eowa, s. Pybba, Searle, ii. 290-295
Offaly Leinster, xxxv, 8; ii. 94
Ofrostadir, 463, 509. (*I.e.* Obrestad, on the Jæder)
Ofsi, land (near Vestmarar, Norway), 308
Ogmund, f. Uspak, ii. 471, 472
Ogmund, s. Skopti, ii. 115, 127
Ogmund Crowdance, ii. 614, 617, 629-631, 647-649
Oidecha insula, 65
Oilill. *See* Ailill
Oine, island, 229
Oistin. *See* Eystein
Oitir (in Irish), Otter (in Welsh), equivalent not of Oddgeirr, but of Ottarr (= Anglo-Saxon Ohthere), 401
Okarefair. *See* Maurice
O'Kellys, cxlv
Olaf, br. Eric the Victorious, 597
Olaf, e. in Caithness, 485, 486
Olaf, f. Gunni, ii. 236

Olaf, " k. Scots," 311-312
Olaf, s. Eric the Victorious ; k. Sweden, 598 ; ii. 27
Olaf, s. Gautrek (or br. Gautrek ?), 310. ?? Cf. Olaf Conung
Olaf, s. Godfrey ; k. Norwegians, k. Dublin, 408, 411, 412, 428, 429, 444, 460. ? *See* Olaf Red
Olaf, s. Godfrey, s. Halfdan Whiteleg, 306, 307, 309
Olaf, s. Godfrey, s. Olaf Morsel ; k. Man, k. Hebrides, ii. 297, 313, 314, 359, 381, 427-429, 454-460, 464, 467, 471-474, 477, 507, 508, 512, 542, 657 ; called Olaf Black, ii. 474
Olaf, s. Godfrey, s. Ronald. *See* Olaf Young
Olaf, s. Godfrey Crovan ; k. Man, k. Islands, ii. 97, 98, 100, 134, 137, 139, 191, 204, 225-228, 246, 248, 255, 467 ; called Olaf Morsel, ii. 139, 248, 255 ; Olaf Butteredbread, ii. 248 ; wives of, ii. 457-458 : *see also* Ingibiorg, dau. Hakon, s. Paul
Olaf, s. Harold Fairhair, 462, 463
Olaf, s. Hrólf, ii. 192, 193
Olaf, s. Indulf ; " k. Scotland," 480, 484, 485
Olaf, s. Ivar of Limerick, 480
Olaf, s. k. Scandinavians of York, 536
Olaf, s. Logmann, 535
Olaf, s. Magnus Bareleg ; k. Norway, ii. 133, 135, 161, 172, 183, 184, 186
Olaf, s. Ronald, ii. 43, 44, 48
Olaf (Anlaf ; Olaf Cuaran), s. Sigtrygg ? gs. Ivar ; k. Scandinavians in Northumbria, k. Dublin, 431, 444, 460, 461, 474-475, 486-488, 506, 521. *See* Olaf Cuaran
Olaf, s. Sigtrygg (Silk-beard ?), 521
Olaf, s. Somerled, ii. 137
Olaf, s. Sven, s. Ulf, 598
Olaf, s. Tadc Ua-Briain, ii. 99
Olaf, s. Tryggvi, s. Olaf, s. Harold Fairhair ; k. Norway, xcii-xciv, 308, 383, 392, 406, 463, 464, 487, 492, 493, 504-511, 520, 527, 528, 542, 560 ; called Kraka-bein, 406
Olaf Black, leader of Danes, 401
Olaf Broad, s. Einar, s. Olvi Barnakarl, 319, 325
Olaf Conung, s. Godfrey, 280, 282, 304. Perhaps erroneously identified with Olaf the Young
Olaf Cuaran, 408, 431, 460, 474, 487, 488, 506, 508, 533, 535. *See* Olaf, s. Sigtrygg
Olaf Earl's-kinsman, relative by marriage of Harold Matad's son, ii. 331-333, 335-336, 339-341, 346, 347
Olaf Feilan, s. Thorstein the Red, 306, 312, 319, 361, 362, 380, 382, 385, 387, 388
Olaf Ffroit (or Fivit), 411
Olaf Geirstada-Alf, s. Godfrey the Noble ; k. Ofsi, Grenland, etc., 307, 308
Olaf Holy (St. Olaf), s. Harold Grenski, and stepson of Sigurd Sow ; k. Norway, 301, 308, 320, 510, 546, 547, 554-557, 559-568, 570, 584, 585, 587-590, 598 ; ii. 3, 4, 11, 14, 26, 102, 161, 557
Olaf Morsel. *See* Olaf, s. Godfrey Crovan
Olaf Old, s. Ketil ; merchant-captain, 495-497
Olaf Peacock, s. Melkorka and Hauskuld, s. Dales-Koll, 382-383
Olaf Quiet, s. Harold Hardrádi ; k. Norway, ii. 5, 17-20, 26
Olaf Red, k. in Scotland, 411-418, 420-422, 457
Olaf Sönski, k. Sweden, 503
Olaf Thick-leg, s. Harold Fairhair, 427
Olaf Tree-hewer (Tretelgia), s. Ingiald the Wicked, 306
Olaf Ua-Daigri, ii. 316
Olaf White, s. Ingiald, s. Helgi ; war-king, k. Dublin, 284, 305-312, 347, 348, 370, 371 ; called s. Ingiald, s. Frodi, 309, 347 ; pedigree, 307
Olaf Young, s. Godfrey, s. Ronald, s. Halfdan (the Black) ; k. Scandinavians, k. Northmen, 280-284, 286, 289, 290, 296, 300-304, 307-309, 311, 323, 348, 350-353. Perhaps confusedly identified with Olaf Conung
Olcan, b., 78
Olchobar, s. Kenneth ; k. Munster, 278, 283
Olchu, s. Eochaid Muinremar, cl
Oldham, Haddingtonshire, 242
Oldhamstocks, Haddingtonshire, ii. 523
Old-Saxons, 143
Oleif. *See* Olaf
Olen, dean of, ii. 589
Oleron, I., Charente - Inférieure, ii. 445
Olifard, Walter, the Younger ; justiciar of Lothian, ii. 446, 503, 531
Olitauc, clviii
Oliver, a. Dryburgh, ii. 517, 649, 650
Olvi Barnakarl, 319, 325, 387
Olvi Ilteitt, ii. 474, 480, 482, 484

Olvi Riot, s. Thorliót, and gs. Frakokk, ii. 139, 191-193
Ommon, I., 65, 71
Ona, leader of Scandinavians, 284
Ondemone, battle, 48, 96
Ondott Crow, s. Erling Purse, 314, 329, 330
Onund Wooden-leg, s. Ofeig Burlufótr, 320-322, 324-330, 385, 387
Orabilis, dau. Nesius, s. William ; w. Robert de Quincey ; " countess of Mar," ii. 493, 494
Orabilis, w. Adam, s. e. Duncan of Mar, ii. 494
Oran (Odran), monk of Iona, 45, 46
Oran (Odran), of Latteragh, 46
Oran (Odran), priest of Tech-Airerain, 46
Orcades. *See* Orkney
Orchanus, e. (eponymous), 330
ordeal, trial by, ii. 173, 187, 205, 430, 431
Ordonius, cardinal, b. Tusculum, ii. 679
Ordulf, duke of Saxony, ii. 9
Oriel, Ireland, 223, 267 ; ii. 94. (The district to S.W. of Dalaraidc ; including Armagh, Monaghan, Louth, and part of Fermanagh)
Orkadalr, Norway, ii. 609 (*i.e.* Orkedal, Söndre-Trondhjem)
Orkney, lxii, lxxxi-lxxxii, 56, 57, 86, 136, 191, 212, 293-295, 324, 330-334, 337-339, 341, 342, 344, 346, 348, 349, 369, 372-380, 382, 389-394, 420, 427, 428, 455-457, 459, 462-466, 469, 479, 481-483, 497, 499-504, 507-511, 520, 528-537, 539, 541, 543, 550, 552-557, 559-567, 570, 571, 584-587, 589, 590 ; ii. 1-8, 11-13, 15, 17-19, 20, 96, 102-107, 110, 114, 117, 118, 127, 136-140, 159-162, 171, 172, 187-195, 212, 214, 215, 226-229, 236-238, 255, 266, 271, 272, 295, 317, 332, 344-351, 356, 369, 380, 381, 428, 474, 478, 480-485, 512, 513, 519, 551, 561, 608, 610, 611, 637, 645, 647-649, 654, 656, 675, 685, 694 ; k. of, i. 56
Orlyg, s. Bodvar, s. Vigsterk, 345
Orlyg the Old, s. Hrapp, s. Biorn Buna, 343-346
Orm, br. Vethorm, s. Vemund the Old, 317, 319
Orm, e. Uplands, 589
Orm, f. John, ii. 463
Orm, s. Eilif, and gs. Hakon the Mighty ; e., ii. 214
Orm, s. Erp, s. Maelduin, 384
Orm, s. Thorliót, and gs. Frakokk, ii. 139
Orm of Barra, 490-491
Orm the Rich, 320
Orn, f. Ingolf, 335
Ornolf, s. Biornolf, s. Grim Shaggy-cheek, 377
Ornolf Fiskreki, 359, 362
Orosius, ii. 317
Orphir, Orkney, ii. 192
Orrastadir, Iceland, 348
Orti, ii. 175
Orwic, k. Scandinavians, 299 ; called s. Lodbrok, 299
Osbarn (or Osbert Bulax), s. Siward, s. Biorn, 594, 596
Osbearn, e., leader of Danes, 301
Osbeorht, k. Northumbria, 296, 297
Osbert, a. Holyrood, ii. 211
Osbert, a. Jedburgh, ii. 280, 696, 697
Osbert, a. Kelso, ii. 305, 360
Osbert, b. Dunblane, ii. 490
Oscytel, k. Danes, 301
Osfrith, s. Edwin, s. Ælle, 154, 155
Osfrith Hlytte, leader of Danes, 401
Osgod Clapa, ii. 30
Osiblen, br. Godfrey, s. Olaf, s. Godfrey Crovan, ii. 230, 231
Osk, dau. Thorstein the Red, 312, 361, 382, 383
Oslac, e. Northumbria, ii. 40, 41
Oslo, ii. 548. *See* Christiania
Osmail, s. Cuneda, 12
Osred, k. Northumbria, 216
Osric, s. Ælfric ; k. Deira, 153, 155, 165
Ossene, s. Duncan, ? s. Eoganan, 190, 203
Ossine, s. Cellach ; prior of Clonmore, 34
Ossory, Ireland, cxliv-cxlvi, cxlviii, 81, 83, 89, 91, 184, 185, 283, 290, 292, 328 ; ii. 42, 94
Ostá, Iceland, 383
Ostia, Italy, ii. 199, 462
Osulf, s. Eadulf, s. Uhtred ; e. Northumbria, ii. 40-42
Osvif the Wise, s. Helgi, s. Ottar ; and gs. k. Biólan, 363
Oswald, archb. York, 478
Oswald, s. Æthelfrith ; k. Northumbria, 15, 142, 152, 155-158, 160, 164-166, 174, 175, 210, 315, 346 ; ii. 137 ; called Lamnguin, 15
Oswestry, Shropshire, 15, 166 ; ii. 260
Oswine, s. Osric ; k. Deira, 169 ; ii. 2
Oswiu, s. Æthelfrith ; k. Bernicia, 15, 16, 173-175, 181, 194, 195, 224
Oswulf, s. Eova, s. Pubba, 175
Oswulf, e. Northumbria, 460, 461

Oswulf Cracabam, e., leader of Danes, 403, 406, 407; called Graggabai, 406, 407
Ösyssel, I., 464 (*i.e.* Ösel, Livonia)
Other, e., in Man, ii. 102. (This name = Icelandic *Óthr*)
Othlyn, battle, 411
Otho. *See also* Odo; Otto
Otho, deacon cardinal, S. Nicholai in Carcere Tulliano; papal legate, ii. 502-504, 511, 515, 518, 536, 553; b. Porto, ii. 536
Otho I, the Great; k. Germany, emperor of West, 443, 464, 489
Otho III, the Young, k. Germany; "emperor," 505, 506, 510
Otho IV, k. Germany, emperor, ii. 355, 377, 389, 397, 434
Othulf, hold, leader of Danes, 401
Ottar, br. Frakokk; e., in Thurso, ii. 140, 191, 193, 204, 236
Ottar, e., leader of Scandinavians, 400-407; s. Iargna; k. Scandinavians, 408; f. Bard, 404; probably Norwegian
Ottar, gs. Ottar; k. Dublin, ii. 204, 207, 208
Ottar (Ohthere), of Halogaland, 341
Ottar, s. Biorn the Eastern, 363
Ottar, s. Egil Vendilkraka, 306
Ottar, s. Snækoll, ii. 455; Ottar Snækollr, ii. 474, 475
Ottar Black, 535, 566
Otter, 400. *See* Ottar, e.
Otto, "archb. Winchester," 442
Otto III, s. Gerard IV, s. Otto II; c. Gelderland, ii. 514
Ottobon, deacon cardinal, S. Adriani; papal legate, ii. 651, 661
Oughterard, Kildare county, ii. 94
Ouse, R., Yorkshire, ii. 14, 24
Owel, Lough, 85, 277
Owen (Eogan), f. Dunguallaun, 480
Owen (Eugein), f. Talorcan, 222
Owen, k. Gwent, 409; s. Higuel Da, and k. Wales, 450
Owen (Eugein), k. Picts, 235
Owen, leader of N. Welsh, ii. 260
Owen (Eugein), s. Beli, s. Neithon; k. Strathclyde, 167, 193, 202
Owen, s. Dumnagual; k. Strathclyde, 550, 577
Owen (Eugein), s. Dumnagual, s. Teudubr, 243
Owen of Cyveiliog, ii. 260
Owles. *See* Newport Bay; Westport Bay
Oxar-á, Iceland, 386
Oxford, and Oxfordshire, vi, 596; ii. 148, 151, 152, 154, 201, 371, 468, 664
Oykell, R., 370, 372, 577; ii. 193
Ozur. *See also* Auzur
Ozur, s. Hrollaug, s. Ronald of Mærr, 530
Ozur Toti (or Lafskeg), "f. Gunnhild," 410, 456, 461

Padarn, 93
Paisley, Renfrewshire, ii. 251, 267, 297, 441
Palestine (Holy Land), xlv; ii. 136, 140, 146, 187, 190, 194, 215, 236, 442, 443, 502, 539, 545, 546, 563, 576, 601, 658, 665, 666, 681. *See* Jerusalem
Palladius, b. Irish Scots, cxix, cxxi, 127
Palnatoki, e. in Wales, 506
Pandulf, b.-elect of Norwich; papal legate, ii. 397, 414, 427, 431, 433, 435, 436, 440, 442, 443
Papa, Paba, Pabbay, islands called, 341
Papa Stronsay, Orkney, 586
Papa Westray, Orkney, 586; ii. 117
papae, papar, 331, 340, 341
Paparo, John, deacon cardinal; papal legate, ii. 212, 213, 244
Papey, Iceland, 331, 341
Papey, Orkney, ii. 117. *See* Papa Westray
Paplay, Orkney, ii. 7
Pappo, s. Ceneu, s. Coil Hen, 104
Papyli, Iceland, 341
Parcé, Thomas de, prior of Loches, li
Paris, 251, 294; ii. 371, 444
Paris, Matthew (of), chronicler, ii. 548, 552
parishes, 132
Parma, Albert de, papal writer, ii. 596
Parthalan, s. Agnoinn, cxvii
Partick, Lanarkshire, 139; ii. 196
Paschal II, pope, ii. 161
Paternus, k. Cornwall, 92
Patras, 267
Patrick, a. Alnwick, ii. 218
Patrick, a. Dunfermline, ii. 349, ?443, 509
Patrick, a. Kelso, ii. 592, 599
Patrick, a. Melrose, lxxvi; ii. 196, 368, 370
Patrick, a. Melrose. *See* Selkirk
Patrick, b. in Hebrides, 343
Patrick, clerk of Glasgow, ii. 490, 491
Patrick, e. Salisbury, ii. 265
Patrick, e. Athole. *See* Athole
Patrick (St.), s. Colpurnius, s. Potitus; b. Ireland, xxvii, xxxiv, cxix, cxlii, 2, 5, 6, 17, 19, 20, 26, 28, 29, 46, 47, 78, 106, 113, 134, 209, 400, 425,

494, 520, 526, 527, 578, 599; ii. 213; relics of, i. 20, 526
Patrick, s. William Earl's-son, ii. 573
Patrick, treasurer of Caithness, ii. 535
Patrick I, s. Waltheof, s. Gospatric III; 5th e. Dunbar, ii. 37, 306, 307, 370, 409, 486, 519, 521
Patrick II, s. Patrick I; 6th e. Dunbar, ii. 37, 486, 497, 538, 545, 551-552
Patrick III, s. Patrick II; 7th e. Dunbar, xlii; ii. 551, 552, 581, 583, 588, 656
Patrick IV, s. Patrick III; 8th e. Dunbar, ii. 307
Patrick's Bell, 20, 526
Patrick's Cup, 20
Patrick's Law, 204, 205
Patshull, Hugh of, b. Chester, ii. 517, 530
Paul, apostle, 180, 442
Paul, b. Bergen, ii. 337
Paul, chief, ii. 231
Paul, s. Balki; sheriff of Skye, ii. 458, 459, 474, 478
Paul, s. John; b. Skálholt, ii. 344
Paul, s. Thorfinn, s. Sigurd; e. Orkney, ii. 4-6, 11-13, 17, 18, 26, 103, 106, 115, 117, 138, 139, 187, 190, 229, 350
Paul Goose, ii. 474
Paul Silent, s. Hakon, s. Paul; e. Orkney, ii. 139, 140, 190, 192, 193, 238
Paul Small-eye, ii. 340
Paul Sour, ii. 623, 629, 631
Paul Vágaskálm, ii. 485
Paulinus, b. York, 14, 150, 155; called Run, 14
Paynell, Gervase, s. Ralph; baron of Dudley, ii. 153
Paynell, Thomas, ii. 563
Peada, s. Penda; k. Mercia, 15, 16, 173
Peakland, 402
Peche, Bartholomew, ii. 499
Peebles, ii. 343
Pelagius, heresy of, 150
Pelagius, papal legate, ii. 442
Pelagius II, pope, 91
Pembroke, ii. 126, 145, 193
Penblathaon, ii. 144
Pencaitland, Haddingtonshire, ii. 521
Penda, a holy father, 19
Penda, s. Pubba; k. Mercia, 15, 16, 154, 155, 165, 166, 173-175, 183
Pengwaed, ii. 144
Penkethan, Adam (of), ii. 563
Pennant-bachwy, ii. 144
Penrith, Cumberland, ii. 504, 505
Pentland Firth, 57, 331, 338, 498, 509, 570, 585, 586; ii. 193, 616, 637; called Pictland Sea, i. 331
Peohthelm, b. Whithorn, 246
Peohtwine, b. Whithorn, 246, 248
Perche, France, ii. 419
Percy, Alan de, ii. 154
Peretur, s. Elifer, 86
Périgueux, Dordogne, ii. 243
Péronne, Somme, 443
Pertan, s. Eochaid Find, cli
Perth, 223; ii. 168, 244, 280, 320, 354, 356, 393, 400, 444, 470, 520, 522, 663, 664, 696, 699
Perthshire, 218, 233, 473; ii. 522
Perus. *See* Ferus
Pessei, William de, ii. 421
pestilences, 9-11, 15, 26, 33, 134, 138, 195, 197-198, 305, 527; ii. 94, 95, 224, 240, 279, 399, 607, 661, 672
Peter, a. St. Martial's, Vigeois, ii. 243
Peter, a. Savigny, ii. 228
Peter, a. Weburn, ii. 362
Peter, apostle, 180, 209
Peter, archb. Nidaróss (†1226), ii. 460-461
Peter, archdeacon. *See* Alintun
Peter, b. Aberdeen. *See* Ramsay
Peter, b. Bergen (†1270), ii. 656
Peter, b. Faroes, ii. 382
Peter, b. Hamar, ii. 573
Peter, b. Orkney, ii. 665, 685
Peter, b. Winchester. *See* Roches
Peter, canon of Roskild; chancellor of k. Scotland, ii. 490, 544
Peter, s. Ingebald, ii. 531
Peter II, k. Aragon, ii. 389
Peter Mauclerc. *See* Dreux
Peter Steypir, ii. 334, 378-380
Peterborough, Northampton, xxiii, xlv; ii. 95, 356
Petreius, a. Bermondsey, ii. 55
Petronilla. *See* Grentemesnil
Pevensey, Sussex, ii. 14
Pherath, s. Bergeth; k. Picts, 267. *See* Wrad, s. Bargoit
Philip, a. Jedburgh, ii. 516, 553
Philip, b. Durham. *See* Poitou
Philip, chamberlain. *See* Valognes
Philip, c. Flanders, s. c. Theoderic, ii. 277, 288, 306, 314, 325-327
Philip, k. Franks, 597
Philip, s. Birgi, ii. 334
Philip, s. Simon, and gs. Bard, ii. 378, 379, 548
Philip II (Augustus), s. Louis VII; k. France, ii. 277, 306, 314, 315, 325-329, 342, 355, 361, 367, 389, 391, 397, 409, 417, 442, 453
Philip III, s. Louis IX; k. France, ii. 663, 664

Philippicus, emperor, 206
Phocas, emperor, 97, 123, 125
physicians, 106, 129, 591; ii. 527, 682
Picti, 252, 331, 342
Pictish language, cxxvi, 62, 226, 370, 474
Pictland, cxix, cxx, cxxxvi, 90, 91, 145, 181, 193, 204, 211, 214, 244, 253, 266, 270, 272, 274, 288, 289, 291, 295, 296, 303, 331, 352, 353, 385, 395, 398, 405; ii. 144
Picts, cxv, cxvii, cxviii, cxx, cxxi, cxxviii, cxxxvii, cxlviii, cli, 2, 4, 16, 21, 37, 41-44, 57, 58, 61, 75, 76, 86, 91-93, 121, 122, 125, 133, 148, 151, 154, 155, 159, 166, 171, 172, 174-176, 178, 180, 181, 183, 185, 193, 195, 197, 201, 202, 206, 211, 213, 214, 216, 221-224, 226-228, 232-235, 237-239, 241, 244, 245, 247-255, 266, 268, 270-275, 282, 287-290, 295, 303, 330, 331, 342, 350, 352, 354, 356, 365, 368, 445; ii. 295; admixture of Irish blood, 272; daughters of ks. of, 50, 128, 193; ks. of, cxiii, cxix-cxxviii; provinces of, 51, 57, 62, 122, 195
Picts, northern; provinces of, 44
Picts of Argyle, 151-152 (possibly Fortriu ?)
Picts of Caithness, 41
Picts of Galloway, 135, 152, 193
Picts of Ireland, 2, 48, 53, 70, 85, 91, 128, 152, 153, 199, 228, 237. *See* Dalaraide
Picts of Manau, 239
Picts within (*citra*) the Mounth, 253 (*i.e.* Fortriu and Strathmore ?)
Picts' Houses, 331. *See* earth-houses
Pierce Caward. *See* Agabard, Piers
Pílavík. *See* Filey
Pipewell, Northamptonshire, ii. 438
pirates, 143, 144, 255, 263, 271, 308, 314, 324, 326, 331-333, 336, 341, 346, 371, 373, 394, 396, 456, 459, 462, 485-486, 495-497, 559, 567, 585, 588, 589; ii. 5, 238, 255, 317, 332, 347, 379-383, 421, 503, 594, 653, etc.
Pitcox, Philip of, ii. 544
Pitgaveny, Elgin, 581
Pittenweem, Fife, ii. 206
plagues. *See* pestilences
Plato, philosopher, 437
Platt, knight of Scandinavia, 536
Pletan, s. Eochaid, s. Muiredach, cliii
Pletan, s. Eochaid Find, cli
Pluscarden, Elgin, ii. 471, 606, 671
poet, s. Finntan, 147
poets, 81-83, 194, 210, 241, 313, etc.
Poitiers, ii. 445
Poitou, France, 310; ii. 213, 260, 371, 418, 445, 505
Poitou, Philip of, b. Durham, ii. 366, 371, 377
Poix, Somme, ii. 119
polaire, 35
Poland, 598
Polwarth, Berwickshire, ii. 521
Pomfret. *See* Pontefract
Pomona (Hrossey), Orkney, 372, 498, 500, 531, 532, 586; ii. 162, 192, 194
Pompa, dau. Loarn, 4. *See* Babona
Pontefract, Yorkshire, ii. 197
Pontefract, Peter of (or of Wakefield), ii. 393, 397
Ponteland, Northumberland, ii. 538
Ponthieu, Picardy, ii. 265
Poor, the. *See* Hugh; R.; Richard
popes, lxxiii
Porchester, Hampshire, ii. 478
Port, Adam de, ii. 289
Portloman, in Westmeath, 85
Portmoak, Kinross-shire, ii. 521, 524
Portpatrick, Wigtonshire, 76
Porto, Italy, ii. 435, 536
Portör, Sannikedal, Norway, ii. 461
Portsmouth, Hampshire, ii. 395, 504, 575
Potin, ii. 518
Potton, Hugh of, archdeacon of Glasgow, ii. 462, 463, 509
Potton, Richard of, b. Aberdeen, ii. 586, 643, 651
Powys, central Wales, 356; ii. 144, 260
Pratea, ii. 310 (*i.e.* La Prée, Indre)
Prebenda, Richard de; clerk of k.; b. Dunkeld, ii. 360, 369, 383, 396, 653
Prebenda, Robert de, b. Dunblane, ii. 564, 579, 591, 596, 597, 644, 661, 668, 675, 679
Premonstratensian order, ii. 208, 211, 213, 218, 517, 601, 697
Prémontré, Picardy, ii. 211
Prendergast, G., ii. 538
Pressmennan, Haddingtonshire, ii. 544
Preston, Haddingtonshire, 242
prime-signing, 411
Proc, k. Canand of Egypt, 128
Provence, ii. 329, 512
Prudhoe, ii. 289
Prydein, ii. 144, 569. *See* Pictland
Ptolemy, geographer, 442
Punchard, William de, a. Rievaulx, ii. 351, 361
Pubba (or Pybba), s. Eamer, 166, 175; s. Creoda, Searle, ii. 290

Pudsey, Hugh of, b. Durham, ii. 283, 319, 343
Pyrenees, Mts., 197

Queensferry, ii. 77, 691, 692
quies, requiescit, 5
Quincey, Hawisia, dau. Saher de, ii. 493
Quincey, Margaret, dau. Robert de (2), ii. 453, 488, 494
Quincey, Reginald de, s. Saher, ii. 395
Quincey, Robert de (1), f. Saher, ii. 493, 494
Quincey, Robert de (2), s. Saher, ii. 453, 487, 493, 494
Quincey, Robert de (3), s. Saher, ii. 494, 506
Quincey, Roger de, s. Saher; constable of Scotland, e. Winchester, ii. 487, 493, 494, 587
Quincey, Saher de, s. Robert (1) and Orabilis; e. Winchester, ii. 353, 395, 419, 493, 494, 506
Quiritinus. *See* Cuiritán

R-, *see also* Hr-
R. the Poor, presbyter, ii. 448
Radhard, 476
Radorm, br. Iolgeir, 344
Rafnista, Norway, 336 (Ramstad, in Namdal)
Raforta, dau. k. Kiarval, 311, 314, 325, 344, 347
Ragallach, s. Uata; k. Connaught, cxlv
Ragi, br. Thorarin, 388
Ragna, dau. Orm, s. Eilif, ii. 214
Ragnar Lodbrok, s. Sigurd Ring; k. Denmark, k. Scandinavians, 294, 295, 297-301, 306-308, 311, 336, 501
Ragnar's sons, 295, 297-301, 308, 501
Ragnfrod, s. Eric Blood-axe, 461, 482, 483
Ragnhild, dau. Eric, k. Jutland; w. Harold Fairhair, 427
Ragnhild, dau. Eric Blood-axe, lxxxii, 428, 461, 465, 482-483
Ragnhild, dau. Eric Stakblællr, ii. 238, 480
Ragnhild, dau. Erling Skakki, ii. 331, 332
Ragnhild, dau. Hakon the Mighty, ii. 214
Ragnhild, dau. Hrólf Nefia, 373
Ragnhild, dau. Magnus the Good, 589; ii. 5, 190
Ragnhild, dau. Olaf Morsel, ii. 255
Ragnhild, dau. Paul, s. Thorfinn, ii. 6, 350
Ragnhild, dau. Sigurd Hart, 307
Ragnhild, dau. Skofti, ii. 6
Rahen, King's County, 38, 92, 160
Ráith. *See also* Rath-
Raith-altan, 283
Raith-commair, 283
Raith-cro, 46
Raith-Cruachan, 88 (*i.e.* Rathcroghan, near Bellanagare, Roscommon, Connaught)
Raith-hErenn, in Scotland, 231
Raith-inber-amon, 291
Raith-Senaid, Tara, 210
Raleigh, William de, treasurer of Exeter, ii. 503, 517
Ralph, a. Arbroath. *See* Lambley
Ralph, a. Balmerino, ii. 501, 569
Ralph, a. Coupar-Angus, ii. 320
Ralph, a. Dunfermline. *See* Greenlaw
Ralph, a. Holme Cultram, ii. 211, 454
Ralph, a. Holyrood, ii. 575
Ralph, a. Jedburgh, ii. 327, 362, 367
Ralph, a. Kinloss, ii. 432, 440, 442
Ralph, a. Kinloss; a. Melrose; b. Down, ii. 195, 196, 342, 351, 357, 389
Ralph, a. Melrose, ii. 196, 413, 432, 438
Ralph, a. Seez; b. Rochester, ii. 137
Ralph, a. Selkirk, ii. 143, 160, 163
Ralph, archb. Canterbury, ii. 164, 165
Ralph, b. Aberdeen. *See* Lambley
Ralph, b. Brechin, ii. 357, 369
Ralph, b. Orkney. *See* Nowell
Ralph, b. Orkney, ii. 229
Ralph, b.-elect of Dunblane, ii. 490
Ralph, b.-elect of Moray, ii. 531-532
Ralph, rector of Dunbar and Eccles, ii. 373
Ralph, rector of Lochmaben, ii. 597
Ralph, s. Hugh le Grand; c. Péronne, ii. 200
Ralph le Rus, ii. 289
Ralph Malcaéél (or Malcheel), ii. 265
Ralph Malveisin, canon of Glasgow, ii. 436
Ramsay, Peter de, b. Aberdeen, ii. 545, 583, 584, 586
Ramsay, William de, a. Culross, ii. 486, 583
Ramsey, Man, 355; ii. 44, 225, 255, 258
Randolph, archdeacon of Durham, ii. 203
Randolph, archdeacon of St. Andrews, ii. 374, 509; called Ralph, ii. 509
Randolph, e. Chester. *See* Blundeville; Gernons
Randolph, subprior of St. Andrews, ii. 678

Randolph Flambard, b. Durham, ii. 120, 137
Randolph le Meschin, e. Chester, ii. 37, 38, 153, 166
Randolph le Riche, f. Simon I de Senlis, ii. 147
Rang-ár-hverfi, Iceland, 386
Ránríki, Norway, 588
Ranskill, Nottinghamshire, ii. 596
Raphoe, Donegal, 33, 34, 261, 452, 583, 600
Rastarkálfr, battle, 466
Rathinveramon, 518 (*i.e.* Cramond ?)
Rathlin (Rechraind), 35, 160, 255, 256; Rechru, Rechrea insula, 65, 159-160
Ratho, Midlothian, ii. 523
Raud, s. Kiallak, s. Kiarval, 344
Raumariki, Norway, 306, 308 (Romerike, Akershus)
Raumsdalr. *See* Romsdal
Raumsdals-mynni, ii. 187
raven banner, lxxxii, 538-539
Ravenna, cxliii
Ravenspur, Holderness, ii. 19
Raymond, c. St.-Gilles and Toulouse, ii. 241, 242
Raymond, prince in Antioch, ii. 355
Raymond, s. Anforsius, ii. 242, 243
Raymond, s. Gerald, ii. 271-273
Rayner, a. Kinloss, a. Melrose, ii. 195, 279, 320, 342
Raynerius, friar, of Florence, ii. 681
Raynold I, s. Otto III; c. Gelderland, ii. 684
Reading, Berkshire, ii. 186, 371, 537, 699
Réalmont, Tarn, France, ii. 664
Rechraind. *See* Lambay; Rathlin
Rechtabrat, f. Muchdaigren, 284
Rechtabrat, s. Bran, 284
recles, 98, 105, 108
Redigast, god of Slavs, ii. 9
Ree, Lough, 277, 304, 305, 411
Ref of Bard, 336
Regan, Morice, li
Reginald. *See also* Ronald; Reynold
Reginald, a. Arbroath, ii. 298, 301
Reginald, archdeacon. *See* Irvine
Reginald, b. Man, ii. 96, 228, 229, 382
Reginald, chaplain of k. Alexander III; bailiff in Man, ii. 657
Reginald, c. Boulogne, ii. 421
Reginald, nephew of Olaf, k. Hebrides; b. Hebrides, ii. 427, 458, 467
Reginald, sheriff of Ayr, ii. 552
Reginald, s. Echmarcach, ii. 305
Reginald, s. Godfrey, s. Olaf, s. Godfrey Crovan; k. Man, ii. 313, 314, 350, 364, 365, 381, 388, 391, 427, 439, 443, 455-460, 465-467, 471, 472, 478, 507, 512, 554; called Ronald, s. Godfrey, s. Ingibiorg, dau. e. Hakon, s. Paul, ii. 350
Reginald, s. Olaf, s. Godfrey, s. Olaf; k. Hebrides, k. Man, ii. 550, 553
Reginald, s. Olaf, s. Godfrey Crovan, ii. 137, 258, 259
Reginald, s. Somerled, ii. 137, 254, 255, 327, 378, 393
Reginald, s. Wimund, ii. 98
Reginald le Chen, ii. 591
Reginhere, 294-295, 308
Regnær, ii. 279, 382
Regulus, St., 266, 267
Reichenau, Baden, 265
Reilic Odrain, 45, 46
Reims, Marne, lvii
Reinar, b. Hebrides, ii. 382. *See* Reginald, b. Man
Reinerius. *See* Rayner
Remigius, St., ii. 535
Renchidus, b., 14
Rendall, Orkney, ii. 482
Renfrew, ii. 251, 254, 255, 267
Rere Cross, 140, 396; ii. 661. *See* Stanemore
Rescobie, Forfarshire, ii. 90, 100
Restennet, Forfarshire, 145; ii. 524, 590, 699
Reta (Redda), k. Ireland, 272
Rete, 4, 5, 10
Rethre, metropolis of Slavs, ii. 9
Revesby, Lincolnshire, ii. 420
Reydar-fiordr, Iceland, 317, 319
Reykiafiordr, Iceland, 329
Reykiahólar, 337
Reykianes, 337, 382
Reykjavik, Iceland, 335, 338, 347
Reynold, a. Arbroath. *See* Reginald
Reynold, b. Ross, ii. 196, 343, 355, 394
Rhine, R., 299, 443
Rhinns, Galloway. Cf. Rinns
Rhuddlan, N. Wales, ii. 235, 266
Rhyfoniawg, in Gwynedd, 368
Riagan, s. Fergna, s. Angus, Mor, cli
Riaguil of Bangor, 193, 194
Richard, a. Bruern, ii. 468
Richard, a. Coupar-Angus, ii. 370, 377
Richard, a. Dundrennan, ii. 514, 515, 534
Richard, a. Jedburgh, ii. 327
Richard (1), a. Kelso. *See* Cave
Richard (2), a. Kelso, ii. 434, 446
Richard, a. Kinloss, ii. 440, 569, 670
Richard, a. Melrose, ii. 195, 207, 209
Richard, a. Newbattle (cellarer of Newbattle), ii. 397, 413
Richard, a. Newbattle (master of lay-brothers), ii. 438, 441

Richard, a. Newbattle (prior of Newbattle), ii. 441, 448
Richard, a. Savigny, ii. 228
Richard, almoner of the Knights Templars, ii. 518, 583
Richard, archb. Canterbury, ii. 469, 479
Richard, b. Aberdeen. *See* Potton
Richard, b. Chichester, ii. 418
Richard, b. Dunkeld. *See* Inverkeithing; Prebenda
Richard, b. Dunkeld (chaplain of k.), ii. 268, 299, 564
Richard, b. Durham. *See* Marisco
Richard, b. London, ii. 142
Richard, b. Man, ii. 547, 573, 590, 673
Richard, b. Moray (clerk of k.), ii. 311, 360, 532
Richard, dean of Caithness, ii. 536
Richard, b. St. Andrews (chaplain of k.), ii. 251, 259, 268, 274, 294, 299
Richard, e. Chester. *See* Avranches
Richard, s. Baldwin, ii. 265, 266
Richard, s. k. Henry I, ii. 29
Richard, s. k. John; c. Poitou, e. Cornwall, emperor of Germany, ii. 375, 418, 422, 505, 510, 512, 576, 585, 588, 654
Richard I (Cœur-de-Lion), s. k. Henry II; c. Poitou, k. England, 366; ii. 29, 281, 287, 288, 314, 320, 323-331, 342, 351, 353, 401, 445
Richard I (the Fearless), s. William Longsword; duke of Normandy, 517, 545, 546, 597-599; ii. 15, 63
Richard II, s. Richard I; duke of Normandy, 597; ii. 63, 148
Richard Black-master, Dominican friar, ii. 345
Richard le Goz, s. Hugh; viscount of Avranches, ii. 111, 166, 324
Richard Poor, b. Salisbury, b. Durham, ii. 418, 463, 469, 499, 502, 506
Richmond, Yorkshire, ii. 213, 273, 283, 287, 289, 584
Ricsig, k. Northumbria, 297
Ridding, 74
Riddlesford, Walter de, ii. 273
Riderch, s. Eugein, s. Dumnagual, clvii, 243
Riderch Hen, s. Tutagual; k. Dumbarton, 13, 73, 74, 92, 134-136, 139; called Roderc, 73
Riderch Hael, 74
Riemmelth, dau. Royth, and w. k. Oswiu, 15
Rievaulx (or Rivers Abbey), Yorkshire, ii. 183, 195, 265, 320, 342, 351, 413, 454, 500, 514, 536, 600, 671
Rigullan, s. Conaing, s. Aidan, cli, 152, 153, 183
Rimbert, archb. Bremen, 298
Rimid, gf. a. Maelbrigte, 521
Rinansey. *See* Ronaldshay, North
Ringerike, Norway. *See* Hringa-ríki
Rinns, Roscommon, 592
Rioc, 7, 8
Riphean Mountains, ii. 11. *See* Norway, Ridge of
Ripley, Robert de. *See* Roppele
Ripon, Yorkshire, 137, 460
Ris, f. Higuel, 355
Ris, s. Grufud; k. S. Wales, ii. 260, 261
Ris, s. Teudubr; k. Wales, ii. 96
Rise, Simon of, a. Rufford, ii. 470
Ritha, siege, 165, 208
Riupa, dau. Arnald, s. Sæmund the Hebridean, 336
Robartach, a. Kells and Raphoe, 451, 452
Robartach, f. Donald, a. Kells, ii. 100. ? Same as the following
Robartach, s. Ferdomnach; a. Kells and Raphoe, 599, 600
Roberstone, Robert of, ii. 667
Robert, a. Deer, ii. 496, 572
Robert, a. Deer, a. Kinloss, ii. 439, 440, 442, 569
Robert, a. Dunfermline. *See* Berwick; Keldeleth
Robert, a. Glenluce, ii. 500
Robert, a. Jedburgh. *See* Guisbrough
Robert, a. Kelso. *See* Smailholm
Robert, a. Melrose. *See* Keldeleth
Robert, a. Newminster, ii. 438
Robert, a. Scone, ii. 250
Robert, archb. Canterbury. *See* Kilwardby
Robert, ? archdeacon of Brechin, ii. 553
Robert, archdeacon of Glasgow, ii. 449
Robert, archdeacon of Ross, ii. 511, ? 553
Robert, archdeacon of Ross. *See* Syvin
Robert, biographer of St. Magnus, ii. 161
Robert, b. Dunblane. *See* Prebenda
Robert, b. Dunkeld. *See* Stouteville
Robert, b. Durham. *See* Insula; Stichill
Robert, b. Glasgow. *See* Wishart
Robert, b. Lincoln. *See* Grosseteste
Robert, b. Lincoln, ii. 149
Robert, b. London, ii. 199
Robert (I), b. Ross (chaplain of k.), ii. 394, 400, 448, 553

Robert (II), b. Ross, ii. 394, 553
Robert (III), b. Ross, ii. 394, 686
Robert, b. St. Andrews (prior of Scone), ii. 166, 170, 205, 239, 698
Robert, b. Salisbury. *See* Bingham
Robert, br. k. Louis VII; lord of Dreux, ii. 242
Robert, chancellor of Dunkeld, dean of Dunkeld, ii. 564, 579
Robert, chancellor of k. *See* Keldeleth
Robert, c. Mortain, ii. 148, 149, 241
Robert, e. Leicester. *See* Beaumont
Robert, k. Franks, 597
Robert, legate. *See* Curzon
Robert, patriarch of Jerusalem, ii. 539
Robert, prior of Oxford, ii. 154
Robert, prior of St. Andrews, ii. 205, 245, 246
Robert, s. Henry I; e. Gloucester, ii. 124, 167, 201, 202, 240
Robert, s. Robert, br. k. Louis IX; c. Dreux, ii. 514, 686, 691
Robert, s. Roger; sheriff of Northumberland, ii. 366, 372
Robert, s. Stephen, ii. 270
Robert, s. Walter; baron, ii. 419
Robert, s. William, k. Scotland. *See* London
Robert, s. William Conqueror; c. Normandy, ii. 24, 45-48, 310, 311
Robert, yeoman in Wales, ii. 193, 194
Robert I, k. Scotland. *See* Bruce, Robert de
Robert III, k. Scotland, xlvii
Robert I, s. k. Louis VI; c. Dreux († 1188), ii. 242, 514
Robert II, s. c. Robert I; c. Dreux, ii. 514
Robert III, s. c. Robert II, ii. 412, 418
Robert IV, s. c. John, s. c. Robert III, s. c. Robert II and Iolanthe de Coucy; c. Dreux, ii. 686, 691
Robert I, s. Richard II; duke of Normandy, 597, 598
Robert le Meschin. *See* Bruce, Robert de
Robert Matussal, a. Dundrennan, ii. 454
Roches, Peter des, b. Winchester, ii. 377, 414, 418, 440, 511
Roderc, s. Tothail; k. Dumbarton, 73. *See* Riderch Hen
Roderic, rebel in 1197, ii. 347, 348
Roderic, rebel in 1230, ii. 471
Rodulf, leader of Scandinavians, 283
Rogaland, Norway, 320, 321, 336, 338
Roger, a. Dryburgh, ii. 218, 297
Roger, a. Newbattle, ii. 499, 583, 586
Roger, a. Warden, a. Rievaulx, ii. 422, 454, 514
Roger, archb. York. *See* Bishopsbridge
Roger, b. Orkney, ii. 229
Roger, b. Salisbury, ii. 199
Roger, chancellor, b. St. Andrews. *See* Beaumont
Roger, e. Lancaster. *See* Montgomery
Roger, e. Shrewsbury. *See* Montgomery
Roger, prior of Durham, ii. 203
Roger, s. Richard; lord of Warkworth, ii. 158, 278
Roger Black, b. London, ii. 469, 530
Rognalswath. *See* Ronaldsway
Rognvaldsvágr. *See* Wide-wall Bay
Rohais, w. Alan of Galloway. *See* Lacy
Rohais, w. Richard (3) de Clare, ii. 147
Roland, s. Uhtred. *See* Galloway
Roland, s. William; f. William of Greenlaw, ii. 545
Rollo of Normandy, 374. *See* Going-Hrólf, s. Ronald of Mærr
Rolt Pudarill, leader of Scandinavians, 405
Roman church, differences with, 133, 196, 215-217, 288
Roman tonsure, 195, 218
Roman wall, 131, 156, 469
Romans, cxxi, 13, 60, 97, 100, 173, 252, 366
Romanus, John, archb. York, ii. 678
Rome, lxxxii, lxxxiii, 18, 33, 42, 97, 98, 102, 105, 116, 133, 197, 267, 279, 284, 285, 287, 339, 365, 442, 475, 480, 537, 539, 541, 547-549, 569, 588, 591, 592; ii. 1, 2, 8, 32, 58, 164, 167, 169, 184, 189, 209, 243, 244, 263, 269, 295, 300, 390, 404, 405, 434, 449, 468, 517, 536, 599, 681
Romeley, Alicia, dau. Robert de, ii. 91
Romeley, Robert de, ii. 91
Romoym, Anselm de, ii. 421
Romsdal, Norway, 334, 347, 559; ii. 187
Romsdalsfiord, 320
Romsdœlafylki, 347
Romsey, Hampshire, ii. 25, 30, 56, 125
Rona, Inverness-shire, ii. 616, 636
Ronald, c. Herbauges, duke of Nantes, 310
Ronald, f. Olaf, f. Godfrey, k. Dublin, ii. 44, 48
Ronald (1), gs. Ivar; k. Danes of Waterford, 396, 402-407, 446; k. Norwegians and Danes of Ireland, 407

Ronald (2), gs. Ivar; k. Scandinavians, 487
Ronald (3), gs. Ivar; k. Waterford, 591, 592
Ronald, k. Möen in Hebrides, ii. 381. *See* Reginald, s. Godfrey
Ronald, k. Scandinavians, 396, 402, 409; called s. Guthorm (Æthelstan), 396; k. Danish Northumbria, 409. ? *See* Ronald (1), gs. Ivar
Ronald, nephew of k. Godfrey (Gautrek) of the Danes, 310
Ronald, s. Brusi, s. Sigurd; e. Orkney, lxxxii, 554, 560, 565, 566, 584-587; ii. 191
Ronald, s. Eric Blood-axe, 395, 424
Ronald, s. Eric Stakblællr, ii. 238, 350
Ronald, s. Eystein Glumra; e. Mærr, 294, 295, 307, 331, 332, 334, 350, 372-376, 379, 388, 389, 392, 393, 481, 530; ii. 15
Ronald, s. Godfrey; k. of Danes in Northumbria, 431, 460, 461. ? *See* Ronald (1), gs. Ivar
Ronald, s. Godfrey, s. Harold; k. Hebrides, 521
Ronald, s. Godfrey, s. Ingibiorg; k. Hebrides, ii. 350. *See* Reginald, s. Godfrey
Ronald, s. Halfdan (the Black), 293, 294, 300, 304, 305, 307, 309, 351; called s. Godfrey Conung, 304
Ronald, s. Harold, s. Godfrey Crovan, ii. 225, 226
Ronald, s. Ivar, 405. ? *See* Ronald (1), gs. Ivar
Ronald, s. Ivar, 486 (read: s. Olaf)
Ronald, s. Ketil Raumr, 317, 318
Ronald, s. Olaf (k. Foreigners), 486
Ronald, s. Sumarlidi Yeoman, ii. 255. *See* Reginald, s. Somerled
Ronald, s. Thorkel; k. Dublin, ii. 208, 272
Ronald Higher-than-the-Hills, s. Olaf Geirstada-Alf, 307, 308. ? ? *See* Ronald, s. Halfdan (the Black)
Ronald Kali (or St. Ronald), s. Koll, and gs. e. Erlend; e. Orkney, ii. 4, 7, 190-195, 213-215, 236-238, 267, 350, 369, 480
Ronald of Mærr. *See* Ronald, s. Eystein
Ronald Urka, ii. 611, 612, 614, 617, 629, 632, 639, 641
Ronaldshay, North; Orkney, 390, 392, 529; ii. 192
Ronaldshay, South; Orkney, 483, 509, 511, 555; ii. 215, 615, 638
Ronaldsway (or Rognal(s)wath; now Derby Haven), Man, ii. 459, 466, 508, 568, 672, 673
Ronan, a. Kingarth, 236
Ronan, f. Congal, 172
Ronan, gs. Congal, 183
Ronan, k. Leinster, cxlv
Ronan, s. Aidan, s. Coiblein, clvi
Ronan, s. Angus Mor, clvi
Ronan, s. Loarn, s. Erc and Fergus, 3; sons of, *see* Columbanus; Laisren; Segine
Ronan, s. Tinne, s. Aed, 210
Ronan Find, s. Saran and Babona, 4
Ron(n)at, dau. Segine, s. Duach, 204, 210
Roolwer, b. Man, ii. 95
Roppele, Robert de, ii. 419
Ros, castle, 11
Roscommon, 592
Roscrea, Tipperary, 180
Ros-Cuissine, 226
Ros-deorand, Islay, clii
Rosemarkie, Ross-shire, 19, 205, 211; ii. 247, 343
Ros-foichne, battle, 223
Ro-Sin, s. Trir, cliv
Rosis, R., 44
Roskild, ii. 490, 544. (*I.e.* Roskilde, Denmark; or Kilross ?)
Ros-meinn, 205
Ros-mic-Bairend, 205
Ros-na-ríg, battle, 88
Ross, county or diocese, cxvi, cxviii, 19, 44, 220, 253, 371, 378, 499; ii. 10, 196, 232, 233, 247, 249, 278, 301, 302, 313, 343, 369, 389, 394, 511, 529, 532, 553, 605, 700
Ross, Hugh de, ii. 301
Ross, Robert de (1); husband of Isabella Avenel, ii. 306, 325, 372, 416, 419, 426
Ross, Robert de (2), ii. 571, 582, 583
Ross, William de, s. Robert, s. William, s. Robert (1), ii. 325
Rossie, Perthshire (Rossinclerach), ii. 462, 521, 524
Rossie Island, Forfarshire, ii. 524
Rostand, sub-deacon, ii. 532
Ros-Torathair, 38, 98
Roth, battle, 161, 162. *See* Moira
Rothechtach, 194
Rother, R., Kent, 442
Rothiemay, Banffshire, ii. 532
Ro-Thrir, s. Arnail, cliv
Rotri, s. Higuel Da, 450
Rotri, s. Iutgual, s. Catgualart; k. Welsh (†754), 239, 450
Rotri, s. Mermin; k. N. Wales, k. Wales (†877), 276, 351, 355, 356, 399, 404, 450; called "of Man," 356

Rouen, 373, 545, 546; ii. 124, 225, 287-289, 342, 367
Roumare, Alice, dau. William de, ii. 153
Roumare, William de, e. Lincolnshire, ii. 153, 223
Rousay, Orkney, ii. 6, 192
Roxburgh, ii. 169, 183, 197, 198, 232, 233, 259, 278, 288, 292, 295, 322, 323, 328, 348, 370, 377, 407, 462, 479, 497, 514, 528, 529, 561, 582, 588, 591, 684, 697
Roxburgh, John of, treasurer of Glasgow, ii. 347
Roxburgh, Reginald of, monk of Melrose, ii. 653, 654
Royth, dau. Run, 15
Ruadri, f. Donald, ii. 176
Ruadri, k. Leinster, cxlviii
Ruadri, mormaer of Mar, ii. 176, 178, 494
Ruadri, ship's-commander, ii. 620, 621, 635
Ruadri, s. Ferchar, s. Muiredach, clvi, clvii
Ruadri, s. Morgan, s. Donald; gf. Macbeth, clvi, 551, 571, 580; ii. 176
Ruadri, s. Ronald, ii. 395
Ruadri Ua-Conchobair, k. Ireland, ii. 267, 270, 271, 273
Ruarc, k. Leinster, cxlviii
Rudolf, a Northman of royal race, 299, 311; called s. Lodbrok, 299. ? Cf. Going-Hrólf
Rufford, Nottinghamshire, ii. 360, 413, 470
rule, monasteries without, ii. 15
Rule, Roger de, ii. 652
Rum, f. Royth, 15
Rum, l., 184
Rumaun, s. Cuneda, 12
Rumesli, John de, ii. 504
Rumilly. *See* Romeley
Run, s. Arthgal, s. Dumnagual; k. Britons, clvii, 243, 289, 363, 364
Run, s. Mailcun, 450
Run, s. Urbgen, 14, 150; called Paulinus, 14
Runcorn, Cheshire, 402
Rupibus, Peter de. *See* Roches
Rus, s. Rodan, 39
Rus, le. *See* Ralph
Rushen, Man, ii. 97, 184, 228, 297, 428, 466, 507, 512, 554, 566, 567, 590, 653
Russia, lxxxii, 463, 508. *See* Holmgardr
Ruthven, Forfarshire, ii. 307
Rutland, ii. 492, 537
Ryband, William, ii. 677
Rye, Sussex, ii. 416
Rye, Henry of, ii. 695
Rygiafylki, Norway, ii. 609, 637. *See* Rogaland

Sabaudia, Peter de, ii. 592
Saddell, Kintyre, ii. 247
Sæbald, 11
Sæbiorn, f. Kali, ii. 190
Sæfugel, s. Sæbald, 11
Sælland, Denmark, 338
Sæmund, s. John, s. Lopt, ii. 238
Sæmund the Hebridean, 324, 336
Sæmund's-side, 336
Sæmund's-stream, 336
Saerlaith, dau. Cuilebath, s. Baethgal, 425
Sæunn, dau. Skallagrim, 423
Saffadin, br. Saladin, ii. 354
Sailtire, battle, 162. *See* Kintyre
Sainea insula, 65, 189
St. Albans, Hertfordshire, ii. 35, 512, 552
St. Albans, Richard of, ii. 512
St. Andrews, Fife, 44, 55, 238, 262, 266, 267, 364, 441, 447, 448, 471-473, 575, 577, 599; ii. 49, 56, 65, 77, 163-167, 205, 206, 212, 239, 244-246, 250, 251, 268, 275, 276, 299, 303, 312, 316, 352, 370, 394, 431, 443, 449, 462, 471, 479, 493, 500, 509, 516, 517, 520, 531, 535, 545, 563, 572-574, 578-580, 583, 584, 588, 591, 604, 652, 653, 662, 678, 679, 698
St. Baldred's Boat, Haddingtonshire, 242
Saint-Blaise, xxxvi
St. Columba's island, ii. 459. *See* Iona
St. Cyrus, Mearns, 364, 515
St. Davids, Pembrokeshire, 132, 400, 507, 536, 537; ii. 163, 167, 205-206
Saint-Denis, Seine, ii. 220
St. Edmund, Alan of, b. Caithness, ii. 536
Saintes, Charente-Inférieure, 19; ii. 445
Saint-Gilles, Gard, ii. 241
St. John's Eve, fire on, 102
St. Kinewin. *See* Kilwinning
St. Margaret's Hope, Fife, ii. 25
St. Margaret's Hope, South Ronaldshay; supposed place of Queen Margaret's death. *See* ii. 695
St. Michael's, in wood of Terrasson, 443 (*i.e.* Saint-Michel, Aisne)
St. Michael's Island, Man, ii. 568, 672
St. Neots, Huntingdonshire, ii. 146, 147, 152
St. Ninians, Stirlingshire, ii. 699

St. Olave Mary-Gate, York, 594
St. Patrick's Island, Ireland, 256, 257
St. Patrick's Island, Man, ii. 102, 466, 507, 508, 533, 546, 547, 673
St. Peter's, Rome, 86
Saint-Rémy, ? Ardennes, Belgium, ii. 535
St. Serf, Loch Leven, priory, ci; ii. 73
St. Serf's abbey. *See* Culross
St. Serffs, Redgorton parish, xli
St. Vigeans, Forfarshire, 227
St. Werburg's Abbey, xxvi
Salach, Glen, 60
Saladin, sultan of Egypt and Syria, ii. 354
Salcetum, forest, ii. 536
Salerno, John de, presbyter cardinal, papal legate, ii. 183, 349, 354, 357, 681
Salisbury, ii. 170, 199, 418, 463, 502, 517, 564
Salisbury, John of, ii. 261, 264, 265, 270, 286
Salteyiarsund, ii. 549
Salton, Haddingtonshire, ii. 525
salt-works, 361
Salza, Hermann de, ii. 438
Sam, s. Bork the Fat, 361
Sam-chasc, 281
Samson, b. Brechin, ii. 182
Samuel, 432
Sanchia of Provence, w. Richard of Cornwall, ii. 512, 585, 654
Sanchius VI, k. Navarre, ii. 326
Sancto Germano, Robert de, ii. 404, 435
Sancto Germano, William de, ii. 462
Sanda, Kintyre, ii. 634
Sanday, Orkney, 529
Sandey, Hebrides, ii. 359. (? Sanday, beside Canna)
Sand-lœkr, Iceland, 329
Sandside, Deerness, 552
Sandvík, 557. (? Sandwick, Pomona, Orkney)
Sandwich, Kent, ii. 16, 409, 422
Santwat, ii. 101, 102
Saracens, ii. 390, 665, 666
Saran (or Sarran), k. Britain, 4
Saran, s. Cormac, s. Eogan, 24
Sarrat, 402
Saudafell, Iceland, 384
Saudkolf, freedman of Aud, 381
Saudkolf's-dale, Iceland, 381
Saul, Down, 20, 265; ii. 208
Saulseat, Wigtonshire, ii. 208, 209, 218
Savigny, Rhône, France, ii. 97, 228, 428, 527, 659, 697
Savoy, Boniface of, archb. Canterbury, ii. 517
Sawtry, Huntingdon, lxxviii; ii. 148, 152, 362, 437
Saxi, of the Vik, ii. 186, 188
Saxons. *See* Angles; East-Saxons; Little-Saxons; North-Saxons; Old-Saxons; West-Saxons
Saxons' land, 92, 143, 282
Saxons, of Pictland, 249, 253
Saxony, Saxons, lxxxii, 282, ? 284, ? 285, ? 293, 294, 309, 410, 458, 459, 493, 504; ii. 9, 190
Saxulf, e., 283
Scacafel. *See* Snaefell
Scandal, s. Bec, s. Fiachra; k. Dalaraide, 152, 199
Scandal, s. Bresal, s. Enda, 39
Scandinavians (Foreigners; gentiles; Lochlannaig; etc.), xxvi, liii, lxviii-lxix, cxlix, ? 143, 255-260, 262, 263, 265, 268, 274, 276-285, 290, 292-296, 301-303, 305, 309, 323, 328, 351, 352, 356, 367, 369, 384, 396, 398-409, 451, 454, 474, 475, 480, 486, 487, 490, 521, 525, 535-537, 549, 591; ii. 1, 8, 42, 43, 93-95, 114, 126, 134, 207, 254, 272, 278, 363, 364, 395
Scandlan, k. Munster, cxliii
Scandlan, s. Cendfaelad; k. Ossory, cxlv
Scandlan, s. Colman, k. Ireland, 80, 83; Scandlan Mor, s. k. Cendfaelad of Ossory, 81-83
Scapa Flow, Orkney, ii. 637
Scapa isthmus, Kirkwall, ii. 638, 646
Scarba, Argyleshire, 160; ii. 110
Scarborough, ii. 14, 217
Scarborough, Robert of, ii. 677
Scelling, s. of; leader of Cenel-Eogain, ii. 227
Schaffhausen, Switzerland, xxxvi
schools, 436-437, 547; ii. 565
Sciath-Nechtain, 278, 283
Scilly Isles, 493, 504-506; ii. 237
Scolph, leader of Scandinavians, 284
Scone, Perthshire, xli, cxxviii, cxlvii, 224, 273, 274, 291, 445, 519, 575, 601, 602; ii. 159, 160, 166, 168, 222, 250, 251, 399, 400, 444, 490, 491, 500, 509, 562, 682, 699
Scone, Adam of, clerk, ii. 443
Sconedale, abbey, ii. 247
Scoonie, Fife, ii. 520, 523
Scot. *See* Dubthach; Gilmerius; Henry; John; Matthew; William
Scotland (Alba), called Albania, cxv; called Chorischia, 44
Scotland, boundary of, cxviii, 123, 131, 398, 454; ii. 23, 48, 167, 196, 198, 209, 219, 235, 295, 319, 322, 374, 538, 583, 677

Scotland, ks. of, cxiii, cxxxvii-cxlii, etc. *See* tables
Scotland (Ireland), 251, 341; ii. 9, 184. *See also under* Ireland; Scots (Irish)
Scotland's Firths, 326, 498, 504, 541, 585; ii. 106, 107, 114, 115, 189, 255
Scotlandwell, Kinross-shire, ii. 525
Scots (Irish), cxviii, cxix, cxxi, 1, 2, 12, 19, 40, 44, 97, 111, 127, 150, 167, 209, 215, 216, 259, 277, 279, 342, 498, 521; ii. 9, 74, 98. *See* Irish (Gaels)
Scots (of Argyle), or Gaels, 13, 21, 25, 36, 81-84, 88, 90, 93, 111, 122-124, 127, 131, 133, 141, 142, 152, 155, 157, 158, 161, 165, 174, 175, 178, 195, 197, 211, 235, 251, 252, 268, 270-275, 285, 288, 289, 291, 367, 409, 445; ii. 256, 257. *See also* Gaels of Pictland
Scottish church, under authority of kings, 217-218, 365, 368, 445; ii. 32, 61, 70-73, 163, 166, 220, 234, 244, 245, 253, 280, 292-294, 299, 303, 401-402, 436, 451, 490, 575, 597, 598, 662, 668, 686
Scottish kings in subjection to England. *See* English kings' claim
Scottish Laws, 270
Scrælingar, 491
Scurfa, e., leader of Danes, 401
Scythia, 252; ii. 11
sealing rights, 66
Seal-Thori, 533
Sechnasach, k. Ireland, cxlvi
second-sight, 28, 32, 35, 48, 56, 147, 498; ii. 61, 318, 393, 684
Segais, battle, 145, 159
Segine, f. Bressal, 257
Segine, f. Feradach, 256
Segine, s. Duach, s. Barr-finnan, 210
Segine, s. Fiachna (or Fachtna), s. Feradach; a. Iona, 157, 159, 160, 171
Segine, s. Ronan, s. Loarn, 3
Segrave, Stephen de, ii. 440
Sel, Iceland, 363
Selarsund, Iceland, 363
Selbach, s. Eogan, cxxxiii, cxxxiv
Selbach, s. Ferchar Fota; k. Argyle, cxxxi, cxxxvi, cxlvi, 203, 207, 208, 213, 215, 218-220, 222, 223, 227, 233, 235, 250
Selbach (Selva(n)d, etc.), s. Fergus; k. Argyle, cxxxiv, 250, 251, 269; called s. Ewen, s. Ferchar Fota, 250
Seligenstadt, Hesse, liv
Selim, s. Cinan; k. Britons, 140, 141
Selkirk, ii. 143, 160, 163, 169, 171, 196, 372, 678
Selkirk, Patrick of, a. Melrose, ii. 196, 671
Semniu, 88
Senan, s. Gerrchend, s. Dubthach, 480
Sen-Chormac, s. Croithluithe, cliv, clvii
Senlac, ii. 17
Senlis, Amicia, dau. Simon II de, ii. 155
Senlis, Hawisia, dau. Simon II de, ii. 155
Senlis, Matilda de, dau. Robert, s. Richard de Clare, ii. 146, 155
Senlis, Matilda de, dau. Simon I, ii. 145, 146, 155
Senlis, Simon I de, ii. 33, 34, 145-151, 155, 157, 239, 309, 494
Senlis, Simon II de, s. Simon I, ii. 33, 34, 42, 145, 149-155, 157-158, 200-202, 223, 494
Senlis, Simon III de, s. Simon II, ii. 153-157, 200, 309
Senlis, Waltheof de. *See* Waltheof, a. Melrose
Sens, Yonne, France, ii. 252
Serf (Servanus), s. Alma and Proc, lxxvi, 127-130
Serf's Bridge, 130
Sergius I, pope, 191
Serk of Sogn, baron, ii. 115, 127
Serk Sogners'-cheese, ii. 474
Serlo, deacon, monk of Newbattle, ii. 449
Setna, f. Subthan, 219
Setna, s. Erc and Fergus, 3, 49, 210, 217. *See* Sil-Setnai
Setna, s. Fergus Bec, cli
Setna, s. Olchu, s. Eochaid, cl
Seton, Haddingtonshire, ii. 522
Seton, Alexander de, knight, ii. 666
Severinus, pope, 150
Severus, emperor, 131
Sewal, archb. York, ii. 585, 592
Sguerthing, s. Soemil, 11
Shannon R., Ireland, 479
shape-changing, 7, 305
Sheriffmuir, Perthshire, 97
Shetland, 317, 324, 330, 332, 334, 338, 341, 372, 377, 394, 462, 511, 532, 536, 537, 564, 566, 567, 584; ii. 3, 12, 162, 192, 194, 316, 333, 346, 347, 350, 380, 381, 456, 519, 550, 611, 612, 614, 656
Shiel R., 188
Shuna, I., 65, 189
Sibylla, sis. Geoffrey of Anjou; w. Theoderic of Flanders, ii. 240
Sibylla, w. Alexander I, k. Scotland, ii. 165
Sicily, ii. 325, 326, 329, 575, 576, 585, 657

side, 398
Side-Hall, gf. Uspak, ii. 7
Sidon, Palestine, ii. 136, 355
Sidroc the Old, e., leader of Danes, 301
Sidroc the Young, e., leader of Danes, 301
Siena, Italy, ii. 682
Sigebeorht, k. East-Angles, 175
Sigebriht, k. Wessex, 239
Sigen, dau. Styr, s. Ulf, ii. 41
Sigfast, 313
Sigfrith. *See also* Sigurd
Sigfrith (Sigurd), br. Halfdan; k. Denmark, 293, 298, 299, 309, 311
Sigfrith, e., in Dublin, 369
Sigfrith, gs. Gautrek, k. Danes, 310
Sigfrith, k., 478
Sigfrith, s. Ivar; k. Scandinavians, 406; called Sigtrygg, 406
Sigfrith, s. Sigtrygg, leader of Scandinavians, 411
Sighvat, s. Bodvar, ii. 613, 642
Sighvat of Hlidar, 314
Sighvat the Lawman, s. Surt, s. Thorstein, 340, 347
Sighvat the Poet, s. Thord, 547, 548
Sigillo, Hugh de, b. Dunkeld, ii. 396, 413, 443, 451, 463
Sigillo, Hugh de; chancellor of k. Scotland; b.-elect of Glasgow, ii. 351, 396
Sigmund, s. Bresti; of Faroes, 486
Signy, dau. Sighvat of Hlidar, 314
Sigríd, dau. Bard, s. Guthorm, ii. 186
Sigríd, dau. Dag, s. Eilif, ii. 5, 6
Sigríd, dau. Finn, s. Arni, ii. 214
Sigríd, dau. Saxi; w. John, s. Sigurd of Austrátt; m. k. Olaf, s. Magnus Bareleg, ii. 186, 188
Sigríd, ? w. Asbiorn Skeriablesi, 315, 318
Sigríd, w. Sven Forkbeard, 598
Sigritha, w. Waltheof, s. Gospatric I, ii. 37
Sigtrygg, f. Godfrey, 451
Sigtrygg, f. Olaf (? Cuaran), 487. ? *See* Sigtrygg, gs. Ivar
Sigtrygg, f. Sigfrith and Audgisl, 411
Sigtrygg, gs. Ivar; k. Scandinavians in England, 401, 405, 444
Sigtrygg, k. Danes of Northumbria, 396, 409, 429, 431; called kinsman of Guthorm (Æthelstan), 396. ? *See* Sigtrygg, gs. Ivar
Sigtrygg, s. Godfrey, s. Ronald, s. Halfdan the Black, 280, 282
Sigtrygg, s. Ivar, 405, 406. ? *See* Sigtrygg, gs. Ivar
Sigtrygg, s. Ivar, 406. *See* Sigfrith, s. Ivar
Sigtrygg, s. Olaf, s. Ronald, ii. 18, 22, 43, 45, 48
Sigtrygg, s. Olaf, s. Sigtrygg. *See* Sigtrygg Silk-beard
Sigtrygg Silk-beard, s. Olaf Cuaran; k. Scandinavians in Ireland, k. Dublin, 474, 487, 488, 503, 521, 533, 534, 537-539, 542, 551, 592
Sigurd, br. Halfdan. *See* Sigfrith
Sigurd, e. in Northumbria, 506
Sigurd, friar, ii. 648
Sigurd, k. Scandinavians, 461
Sigurd, s. Hakon, s. Griótgard; e. Hladir, 481
Sigurd, s. Hakon Claw, ii. 188
Sigurd, s. Harold Fairhair, ii. 26
Sigurd, s. Hlodve; e. Orkney, 379, 391, 479, 481, 484, 497-504, 507-511, 528-539, 541, 542, 560; ii. 3, 190, 369; called the Fat, 481, 484; mother of, 501
Sigurd, s. Hrani, ii. 110, 111, 115, 127
Sigurd, s. Ivar Rofa, ii. 613
Sigurd Crusader, s. Magnus Bareleg; k. Norway, ii. 5, 104-107, 115-118, 126, 131-136, 158, 161, 162, 172, 173, 191, 214, 229, 331, 333
Sigurd, Earl's-son, s. Erling Skakki; foster-s. Sverri, ii. 331, 335, 336, 341
Sigurd Earl's-stepfather, ii. 7
Sigurd Fafni's-bane, 299
Sigurd Fortress-rock, ii. 335
Sigurd Hart, s. Aslaug, 307, 323
Sigurd Hebridean, ii. 622
Sigurd Hound, Norwegian baron, ii. 130
Sigurd King's-son, s. Magnus, s. Erling, ii. 331-333, 340, 341
Sigurd Lord, s. Sverri, ii. 334
Sigurd Mighty, s. Eystein Glumra; e. Orkney, 309, 332-334, 339, 346, 369-372, 376, 378, 384, 392, 394, 395
Sigurd Mouth, s. Harold Gilli, ii. 190, 204, 205, 248, 266, 429
Sigurd Murtr, s. Ivar Galli, gs. Havard, ii. 350
Sigurd of Austrátt, s. Kari; and gs. Dag, s. Eilif, ii. 186
Sigurd of Westness, ii. 6, 140
Sigurd Ring, k. Denmark, 294, 298, 307; called gs. Gautrek, 310
Sigurd Sæpill, one of Skúli's leaders, ii. 474, 477
Sigurd Slefa, s. Eric Blood-axe, 461
Sigurd Slembi-diákn (or Slembir), s. Thora, dau. Saxi; foster-s. Æthelbeorht; ? s. Magnus Bareleg, ii. 140, 173, 186-190
Sigurd Smith, ii. 474, 477

Sigurd Snæis, a baron of Agdir, ii. 117, 192
Sigurd Sow, s. Halfdan, gs. Harold Fairhair; k. Hringa-ríki, 588; ii. 3, 26
Sigurd Tafsi, archb. Trondhjem, ii. 480, 544, 547, 573
Sigurd Woolcord, ii. 127
Sigurd Worm-in-eye, s. Ragnar Lodbrok and Aslaug; k. Denmark, 298-300, 306, 307, 311. Cf. Sigfrith, br. Halfdan
Sigurd's castle, in S. Moray, 371
Sigvaldi, f. Thorfinn, ii. 614
Sigvaldi, s. Skiálg, ii. 484
Sigwarth. *See* Sigurd; Siward
Silavágr, Norway, ii. 646
Silgrave, Henry de, li
Sillenus, 40 (perhaps = Sillann, a. Bangor, †606)
Silnan, a monk of Iona, 66
Silnan, a wizard, 58
Sil-Setnai, 3
Sil-Tigernaig, 3
Silvanus, a. Rievaulx, ii. 265, 297, 316, 321
Silverius, pope, 10
Silvester, b. Worcester. *See* Evesham
Silvester I, pope, 134, 209
Simal, s. Drust, 221
Simon, a. Dunfermline, ii. 518
Simon, a. Rufford. *See* Rise
Simon, a. Rushen, ii. 590
Simon, archb. Tyre; papal legate, ii. 422
Simon, b. Dunblane, ii. 490
Simon, b. Man, b. Hebrides, ii. 382, 428, 460, 461, 501-502, 529, 546-547, 673; and a. Iona, ii. 461
Simon (I), b. Moray. *See* Toeni
Simon (II), b. Moray (dean of Moray), ii. 531, 532
Simon, friar, ii. 619
Simon, prior of St. Andrews (1204–1224×1225), afterwards prior of Loch Leven, ii. 206, 443
Simon Scabbard, ii. 248
Simon Short, ii. 617
Simplicius, pope, cxliii
Simprin, Berwickshire, ii. 526
Sín, 4
Sin, s. Ro-Sin, cliii
Sinech, sis. Columba, and w. Mocu-Cein, 23
Sinicius, papal nuncio, ii. 601, 657, 658
Sióland, 338
Siracht, in Glenduckie, 231
Sisebert, 142
Sisera, ii. 692
Siward, nephew of e. Siward, 596, 597
Siward, s. Biorn, s. Ulf; e. Northumbria, 577, 583, 593-598; ii. 32, 36, 39-41, 46, 147
Siward Barn, s. Æthelgar, 596; ii. 24, 47
Siward of Mercia, ? f. Edward, 596
Siward's How, York, 594
Skagafiordr, Iceland, 336
Skagi Skitradr, torchbearer, ii. 476
Skala-vík, Iceland, 328
Skaldbiorn, slave, 335
Skálholt, Iceland, ii. 161, 344
Skallagrim, 382, 395, 410, 423, 424, 457
Skapta-holt, Iceland, 329
Skati, s. Erp, s. Maelduin, 384
Skati, warriors of, ii. 626
Skeggi Yeoman, of Freswick, 533, 541
Skelbo, Sutherland, ii. 695
Skialdey, Iceland, 363
Skiálg, f. Sigvaldi, ii. 484
Skidmoor, Caithness, lxxxii, 484, 499, 501-502
Skillymarno, ii. 179
Skipton, N. Riding, Yorkshire, 140
Skjelsbosund, Norway, ii. 549
Skofti, or Skopti of Gizki, ii. 6, 115
Skora-vík, Iceland, 348
Skorri, slaves called, 345
Skraumuhlaup R., Iceland, 381, 385
Skrido-dalr, Iceland, 317
Skúli, s. Bard, s. Guthorm of Rein; e. (1217–1237), duke (1237–†1240), ii. 186, 428-430, 456, 460, 461, 464, 473, 474, 483-485
Skúli, s. Thorfinn Skull-cleaver; e. in Orkneys, lxxxii, 481-484, 501
Skúli King's-fosterer, s. e. Tostig, ii. 18-20
Skye, I., 51, 60, 65, 76, 88, 122, 179, 180, 207, 212, 255, 341, 536, 537, 585; ii. 97, 105-109, 378, 458, 475, 605, 616, 636
Slamannan, Stirlingshire, 213
slaves, 50, 196, 199, 302-303, 335, 345, 361, 366, 367, 384, 400, 452, 464, 510, 539
Slavonia, ii. 9. *See* Wendland
Slavs (of Wendland), 310, 549, 598; ii. 9, 11
Slebine, s. Congal; a. Iona, 242, 243, 246
Slétta, Iceland, 503
Slettu-Biorn, 382
Slievemargie, Queen's County, 277
Sligo, Connaught, 24; ii. 227
Sligo, battle of, ii. 48
Sluagadach, 475
Sluag-Fanat, 3

Smailholm, Roxburghshire, ii. 523, 552
Smailholm, Adam of, a. Deer, ii. 659
Smailholm, Robert of, a. Kelso, ii. 552, 583, 592
smiths, 34, 345. *See* Fergna; Sigurd
Smurull, leader of Scandinavians, 405
Snæbiorn, s. Eyvind Eastman, 325
Snaefell, Man, ii. 44
Snæfrid, a wife of Harold Fairhair, 389
Snæis. *See* Gudleik; Sigurd
Snækólf, s. Moddan of Duncansby, 495-498
Snækoll, f. Ottar, ii. 455; ? same as the following
Snækoll, s. Gunni, ii. 480-482, 485
Snæulf, a Hebridean, 467
Snam-Aignech, Snam-Ergda, 281, 283
Snorri, s. Hofda-Thord, 336
Snorri, s. Sturla, lxxxii, 336, etc.
Snorri Godi, 529
Snorri Godi (the baron-priest), s. Thorgrim, s. Thorstein Codbiter, 306, 337, 361-363, 381, 387
Soemil, s. Zegulf or Sæfugel, 11
Sogn, Norway, 308, 346, 394; ii. 4, 187, 191, 336
Soil, 72
Sóleyiar, 308
Solmund, f. Kari, 497
Solmund, s. Sigurd Snæis, ii. 192
Solomon, k. Hungary, ii. 27
Solomon, k. Israel, ii. 62, 692
Solskel, battle, 334
Solundae, Sólundar Is., or Sulendöerne, Norway, 330; ii. 555
Solundar-sea, ii. 555
Solvar, k. Goths, 313
Solway Firth, 429
Somerled. *See also* Sumarlidi
Somerled, relative of sons of Somerled, s. Gillabrigte; k. in Hebrides, ii. 465, 475; ? unnamed s. of, ii. 594-595
Somerled, s. Gillabrigte; k. Hebrides, xl; ii. 137, 140, 223, 231-233, 238, 239, 252-258, 327, 465; unnamed s. of, ii. 255
Somerville, Ralph de, ii. 585
Somerville, William de, ii. 531
Somme, France, 443; ii. 119
Söndhordland, Norway, 359
Sorkvi, b. Faroes, ii. 382
Sörli, archb. Trondhjem, ii. 573
Sótanes, Norway, 320, 328
Sóti, br. k. Súlki; e., 321, 328
Soulis. *See* Sules
Southampton, 505; ii. 250, 289, 504
Southumbria, ii. 165
Spain, 116, 197, 293, 294, 455, 456; ii. 214, 400, 457
Spey, R., cxvi, cxviii, 433
Spurn Head, Humber mouth, ii. 19
Spynie, Elginshire, ii. 368, 448, 456
Srath-Eret, 231
Srath-Ethairt, battle, 172
Srath-hErend, in Scotland, 231. *See* Strathearn
Stack Skerry, ii. 612
Stad, promontory, Norway, 359
Stade, Hannover, Germany, xxvi
Stafford, 402
Staf-river, Iceland, 361, 363
Stamford Bridge, Yorkshire, ii. 12, 14, 15, 17, 44
Stamfordham, Northumberland, ii. 689
Standard, battle of. *See under* Cowton Moor
standards, 412, 418-422, 499, 501-502, 523, 538; ii. 340
Stanemore, Westmoreland, 140, 151, 396, 512; ii. 661
Stanton, ii. 510
Starkad the Old, poet, 313
Staurr. *See* Stoer
Stavanger, ii. 430, 607, 609
Stefni, e. in Wales, 506
Stefni, leader of Danish army, 469
Stefni, s. Thorgils, s. Eilif, 510
Stegita, f. Gudmund, 505
Steig-Thori, ii. 103, 192
Stein, leader of Norwegians, 281
Stein, s. Thorolf. *See* Thorstein
Steinar, f. Sveinki, ii. 214
Steinar Herka, ii. 613
Steinmod, s. Konal, 320, 325, 387
Steinmod, s. Olvi Barnakarl, 319, 325, 387
Steinolf, s. Olvi Barnakarl, 319, 325
Steinolf the Short, 337
Steinrod, s. Maelpatráic, 345
Steinrœdar-stadir, Iceland, 375
Steinsholt, Iceland, 329
Steinvor Stout, dau. Liót Worthless and Frakokk, ii. 4, 139, 191
Stephen, a. Cluny, ii. 297
Stephen, archb. Canterbury. *See* Langton
Stephen, b. Hebrides, ii. 502
Stephen, b.-elect of Glasgow. *See* Dunnideer
Stephen, c. Aumale (†1127), s. c. Odo and Adelaide, ii. 33, 150; called s. Lambert, c. Lens, ii. 33
Stephen, c. Blois; s. c. Theobald III, ii. 56, 324
Stephen (II), c. Champagne; s. Odo II, c. Blois and Champagne, ii. 150

Stephen, deacon cardinal, S. Adriani, ii. 449
Stephen, gf. of a. Dubduin, 468
Stephen, martyr, ii. 450
Stephen, s. Stephen, c. Blois; c. Boulogne, k. England, xxiv; ii. 54, 124, 150-154, 166, 167, 185, 186, 196-203, 210, 212, 213, 217, 223, 224, 234, 240, 270, 398
Stephen I, k. Hungary, ii. 27
Stephen, Robert, prior of Deer, ii. 440
Steward, Alan, s. Walter I; dapifer of k. Scotland, ii. 362, 527, 643
Steward, Alexander, s. Walter II; steward of Scotland; regent, ii. 527, 581, 583, 584, 593
Steward, Walter, s. Walter II; e. Monteith, ii. 643-644
Steward, Walter I, s. Alan; dapifer of k., 577; ii. 251, 267, 297, 362, 441
Steward, Walter II, s. Alan; seneschal of k.; justiciar, ii. 297, 362, 441, 463, 527, 643
Stichill, Roxburghshire, ii. 446, 521
Stichill, Philip of, ii. 446
Stichill, Robert of, b. Durham, ii. 598
Stickelaw, Weland de, canon of Dunkeld, ii. 564
Stiflá, Iceland, 344
Stigand, archb. Canterbury, ii. 20, 32
Stiklastadir, battle, 559, 566, 568, 587, 589
Stirling, cxviii, 200, 519; ii. 167, 168, 275, 398, 399, 470, 514, 581, 589, 693, 699
Stirling, Gilbert of, b. Aberdeen, ii. 514
Stirling, Hugh of, b.-elect of Dunkeld, ii. 564
Stirling, Richard, canon of Dunblane, ii. 597
Stirling, Thomas of; clerk of k.; chancellor; archdeacon of Glasgow, ii. 444, 449, 462, 463
Stirlingshire, 12
Stoer, Sutherland, ii. 189, 358
Stonehaven, Mearns, cxxi
Stord, battle, 466
Stormont, Perthshire, 288
Stouteville, Robert de; dean of Dunkeld; b. Dunkeld, ii. 564, 574, 575, 588, 668
Stouteville, Roger de, castellan of Wark, ii. 278, 288
Stouteville, William de, ii. 289
Stow (or Wedale), Midlothian (and Selkirkshire), ii. 307, 490, 523
Strabus, 265
Stracathro, Forfarshire, ii. 149
Strachan, Mearns, ii. 522
Straiton, Richard of, ii. 675
Strangford Lough, county Down, ii. 365
Strata Florida, Cardigan, xl
Strathallan, battle, 357, 358
Strathardle, Perthshire, ii. 509
Strathbogie, Aberdeenshire, 603, 604
Strathcarron, battle, 161, 166, 167
Strathclyde, xxiv, 13, 74, 90, 134, 141, 159, 161, 174, 185, 192, 193, 202, 224, 234, 239-241, 243, 276, 289, 301, 302, 304, 363, 368, 402-403, 441, 448, 475, 477, 479, 480, 550, 577. *See* Dumbarton
Strathclyde, boundary of kingdom of. *See* Stanemore
Strathdee, Aberdeenshire, 226
Strathearn, Perthshire, cxvi, 127, 128, 231, 367, 385, 399, 444; ii. 400, 437, 493. *See* Fortriu
Strathfillan, Perthshire, 231
Strathmartine, Forfarshire, ii. 526
Strathmore, cxxi, 516
Strathoykell, Ross and Sutherland, 370. *See* Oykell
Strathtay, 49
Stroma, Pentland Firth, 498, 500, 537, 540, 570
Strömö, Faroes, 380
Strongbow, Richard. *See* Clare, Richard de
Studla, S. Hordaland, Norway, ii. 214
Sturla, s. Thord; lawman, lxii, lxxi, lxxvii, 336; ii. 614, 625, 632, 642, 647
Sturlaug, f. Hrólf, 469
Styr, s. Ulf, ii. 41
Styrbiorn, s. Olaf, 597
Styrmi the Wise, priest, lxxi, xci
Suartgair, 535
Subthan, m. Maelrubai, 219
Succession, Laws of, 252, 253, 274-275, 357, 513-514
Sudreyiar. *See* Hebrides
Súganda-fiordr, Iceland, 328
Suger, a. St.-Denis, ii. 220
Suibne, a. Iona, 246, 247
Suibne, s. Colman Cuar, 162
Suibne, s. Colman Mor, s. Diarmait, 34, 146
Suibne, s. Cuirthre; a. Iona, 176
Suibne, s. Eochaid Buide, 163
Suibne, s. Kenneth; k. Galwegians, 578
Suibne Mend, s. Fiachna, s. Feradach; k. Ireland, cxlv, 147, 163
Suineburne, Haddingtonshire, ii. 544, 572
Suineburne, William of; clerk of k., ii. 572

Suir, R., Tipperary and Waterford, 286
Sulby R., Man, ii. 44
Sule Skerry, ii. 612
Sulendöerne, Norway, 330
Sules, Nicholas de, ii. 583
Sules, Randolph de, ii. 370
Sules (Soulis), William de, ii. 689
Suliani, sect of, ii. 665, 666
Súlki, k. Rogaland, 321
Sulnastapi (or Sulnasker), ii. 612
Sumarlidi. *See also* Somerled
Sumarlidi, s. Hrapp, 384
Sumarlidi, s. Hrólf Kitten, ii. 482-484
Sumarlidi, s. Kolbein Hruga, ii. 6
Sumarlidi, s. Sigurd, s. Hlodve ; e. Orkney, 511, 528, 542, 551, 552
Sumarlidi, s. Uspak, ii. 7, 190
Sumarlidi Yeoman, s.-in-law of Olaf, s. Godfrey Crovan, ii. 255. *See* Somerled, s. Gillabrigte
Sumburgh Roost, Shetland, ii. 550
Sunday, Law of, 204, 205
Supino, P. de, papal clerk, ii. 512,
Súr, gf. Snorri Godi, 362
Surt, s. Thorstein, s. Asbiorn, 340, 347
Sussex, 505 ; ii. 504
Sutherland, 370, 378, 499, 542, 578 ; ii. 140, 172, 193, 237, 451, 513, 535
Svanhild, dau. e. Eystein ; w. Harold Fairhair, 393
Svanlaug, dau. Hlodve, 532
Svart, slave, 345
Svart Iron-skull, 485-486
Svartkel, 535
Svartkel, a Caithness-man, 344
Svavar the Swede, 338
Svefn-ey, Iceland, 361
Svegther, s. Fiolner, 306
Svein. *See also* Sven ; Swegen
Svein, b. Faroes, ii. 382
Svein, e., s. e. Hakon, xciv, 510, 570
Svein, s. Asleif and Olaf, s. Hrólf, ii. 192-194, 236-238, 255
Svein, s. Bergthor Buck, ii. 248
Svein, s. Hróald, ii. 194, 195
Svein, s. Svein, s. Erlend of Gerdi, ii. 214
Sveinbiorn, f. Hrafn, ii. 358
Sveinki, s. Steinar, ii. 106, 214
Sveinung Black, leader of Norwegians, ii. 474, 476
Sven, s. Cnut ; k. Norway, 548, 584
Sven, s. Ulf, s. Thorgils ; k. Denmark, 489, 586-590, 597, 598 ; ii. 5, 12, 24, 229
Sven Forkbeard (or Sven Otto), s. Harold, s. Gorm ; k. Denmark, 465, 488, 489, 503, 505-507, 510, 597, 598
Sverri, s. Sigurd Mouth ; k. Norway, xci ; ii. 266, 267, 331-338, 340, 341, 344-347, 350, 351, 355, 359, 360, 378, 380, 641
Svertlingar, 347
Svínafell, Iceland, 541
Svíney, Iceland, 348
Svoldr, battle, xciv, 510, 542
Sweden, Swedes, 298, 299, 306, 313, 314, 338, 339, 347, 463, 464, 486, 488, 489, 503, 510, 549, 569, 598 ; ii. 5, 8, 11, 27, 548
Swegen, s. Godwine, 597
Swelkie, in Pentland Firth, 331, 570 ; ii. 637
Swereford, Alexander de, lxxxiv
Swinton, Berwickshire, ii. 526, 698
Swords, Dublin county, 35
Syaconus, k., 40, 42
Sydero (or Cyder Hall ; Sigurdarhaugr), 372
Syderö, Faroes, ii. 382
symbolism, 32
Symeon, b. Dunblane, ii. 490
Symeon, b. Ross, ii. 247
Symmachus, pope, 1
Synchene, queen, 40, 42
Synchenus, relative of Columba, 41
synods, and local councils, 37, 189, 204, 210, 272, 399 ; ii. 39, 70-73, 122, 123, 169, 212, 213, 281, 297, 306, 315, 344, 345, 354, 355, 393, 432, 434, 440, 444, 449, 456, 458, 502, 505, 515, 520, 535, 548-549, 661, 670, 696
Syonan, in Kinelea, 209
Syvin, Robert de, archdeacon of Ross, ii. 394. *See* Robert (III), b. Ross
Syward, *i.e.* Sigwarth. *See* Sigurd

table of religious houses, ii. 697-700
tables, chronological, xxix, xciii, xcvii, civ-cvii, cxi-cxiii ; ii. 195-196, 520-526
tables, genealogical, 3, 190, 203, 307, 315, 580, 598 ; ii. 26, 39, 155, 190, 191, 324, 467, 494
tables of kings, xciii, cxi-cxiii (not indexed), cxxvi, cxxxi, cxxxiv-cxxxv
Tadc, f. k. Conall, 253, 254
Tadc, page of Brian Boroime, 540
Tadc, s. Brian Boroime, ii. 100
Tadc Ua-Briain, s. Toirdelbach, s. Tadc, ii. 100, 143
Tadcaster, Yorkshire, ii. 372
Tairpert-boitter (or -boittir), 213, 227
talents, ii. 447 (=bezants ?)
Talhaearn Tataguen, 11
Taliessin, 11
talismans, 34, 99, 101
Tallaght, 105. *See* L.L., 370

Talmach, 7
Talorc, s. Achivir ; k. Picts, cxix
Talorc, s. Aithican (or Acithaen ; =Accidan ?), 194
Talorc, s. Aniel ; k. Picts, cxix
Talorc, s. Congus, 224, 228, 232
Talorc, s. Foith ; k. Picts, cxxiv, 171
Talorc, s. Muircholach ; k. Picts, cxxiii
Talorcan, 142
Talorcan, f. k. Drust, 253
Talorcan, s. Angus (I) ; k. Picts, cxxvii, 253. Cf. Dubthalorc
Talorc(an), s. Drostan ; k. Athole, 214, 232, 236, 253
Talorcan, s. Drostan ; k. Picts, cxxvii, 253
Talorcan, s. Eanfrith ; k. Picts, cxxiv, 172, 176, 193
Talorcan, s. Fergus ; k. Athole, 214, 230, 233, 235, 236, 239
Talorcan, ? s. Owen, 222
Talorcan, s. Wthoil ; k. Picts, cxxvii, cxxxv
Tamworth, Stafford and Warwickshires, 402
Tancred, s. Roger, d. Apulia, s. k. Roger I of Sicily ; k. Sicily, ii. 326, 329
Tangward, b. Brandenburg, ii. 9
Tankerness, Pomona, ii. 192
Tannadice, Forfarshire, ii. 522
Tara, Meath, cliv, 38, 85, 162, 210, 245, 247, 261, 262, 283, 445, 486-488, 535 ; ii. 94
Tara, Feast of, 21, 24-26
Tarachin, 202. *See* Tarain
Tarain, a noble Pictish (? Scottish) exile, 61
Tarain, s. Ainftech ; k. Picts, cxxv, 201, 202, 204, 206 ; called Tarachin, 202
Tarbert, Knapdale, 213, 227 ; ii. 113
Tarrant Crawford, Dorsetshire, ii. 502, 510
Tartars, ii. 511
Tarves, Aberdeenshire, ii. 532
Tarvit, Fife, ii. 526
Tatwine, 231
Tay, Loch, 226 ; ii. 165, 658
Tay, R., cxvi, cxviii, 52, 193
Tebi, R., 12 (? Teifi, Cardigan)
Tech-Lommain, 85
Tees, R., Durham and Yorkshires, 450, 452 ; ii. 198
Teesdale, ii. 23
Teffia (Tebtha), 26, 34 (parts of Longford, Westmeath, and King's county)
Tegalere, in Glen-Almond, 518
Tegeingl, in Gwynedd, 368
Teifi, R., Cardigan, ii. 317
Teit, s. b. Isleif, 337, 386
Telach Dubglaisse, 22
Teltown, Meath, 38, 526
Temnen, priest, of Kingarth, 177, 228
Temple Douglas, Tirconnell, 22
Temple of Jerusalem, ii. 453, 539
Tentsmuir, Fife, 519
Ternan, b., 41, 42, 180
Terrasson, Dordogne, 443
Terryglass, Tipperary, 39, 277
Teudubr, f. Helised, 355
Teudubr, f. Ris, ii. 96
Teudubr, s. Beli, s. Elfin ; k. Dumbarton, clvii, 234, 239, 240, 241
Teviotdale, lxxix ; ii. 509, 516, 530, 541, 589, 593, 594
Tewkesbury, ii. 675
Thana, s. Dudabrach, 267
Thanea (or Thenew), dau. k. Leudonus, lxxvi, 127-130
Thanet, ii. 409, 422
Thangbrand, missionary priest, 491, 493, 508, 511
Thareyiarfiordr, Scotland, ii. 612
Thelamark, Norway, (Telemarken) 321
Thelwall, Cheshire, 402
Thengil, ii. 628
Theobald, archb. Canterbury, ii. 223
Theobald, br. k. Stephen ; c. Champagne, ii. 124
Theobald, c. Chartres, 517
Theobald, s. Walter ; and br. archb. Hubert, ii. 384
Theobald I, k. Navarre, and IV, c. Champagne ; s. c. Theobald III, ii. 515
Theobald II, k. Navarre (†1270), s. Theobald I, ii. 663
Theobald III, s. c. Odo II ; c. Blois, c. Champagne, ii. 150
Theobald V, s. c. Theobald, br. k. Stephen ; c. Blois, ii. 242
Theoderic, s. Theoderic II, d. Lorraine, and Gertrude, dau. William Clito, s. Robert, c. Normandy ; c. Flanders, ii. 240
Theoderic IV, c. Cleves, ii. 249, 250
Theoderic VII, s. Florence III ; c. Holland, ii. 249-250
Theodore, archb. Canterbury, 192, 199
Theodore I, pope, 165
Theodoric, b. Metz, 443
Theodosius III, emperor, 208, 216, 218
Theodric, s. Ida ; k. Bernicia, 12, 13
Thetford, Norfolk, 507
Theweng, Robert de, knight, ii. 589

Thiálbi, or Thialfi, f. Muirchertach, ii. 115, 116. *See* Toirdelbach Ua-Briain
Thidrandi, f. Ketil Thrymr, 317
Thidrandi, s. Ketil Thrymr, 316, 319
Thierri. *See* Theoderic
Thingeyri, xci
Thiodolf, writer of Ynglingatal, 308
Thiórsá, Iceland, 329
Thiorstolf, a Hebridean, 383
Thirlwall, 156 ; ii. 659
Thiron-Gardais. *See* Tiron
Thissisey, ii. 613
Thomas, archb. Canterbury. *See* Becket
Thomas, b. Carlisle. *See* Greystoke
Thomas, b. Norwich. *See* Blundeville
Thomas, chancellor. *See* Stirling
Thomas, c. Perche, ii. 412, 417, 419
Thomas, e. Athole. *See* Galloway
Thomas, prior of St. Andrews, ii. 206, 509
Thomas, rector of Lilliesleaf ; archdeacon of Glasgow, ii. 449
Thomas, s. c. Geoffrey III ; c. Perche, ii. 419
Thomas, s. John the Scot, ii. 506
Thomas, s. Randolph, ii. 583, 604
Thomas, s. Thorarin, ii. 358
Thomas, s. Uhtred. *See* Galloway
Thomas, vicar of Dull, ii. 652, 653
Thomas II, archb. York, ii. 32, 96, 142, 229
Thomas Cind-Crete, leader of Scandinavians, 405
Thor, 343, 359, 362
Thor, archdeacon. *See* Horo
Thora, dau. Guthorm, ii. 187
Thora, dau. Magnus Bareleg, ii. 238
Thora, dau. Olaf Feilan, 306, 361, 362, 387, 388 ; called Thorunn, 361, 388
Thora, dau. Paul, s. Thorfinn, ii. 5
Thora, dau. Saxi, ii. 186, 188
Thora, dau. Sigurd Worm-in-eye, 306, 307, 311
Thora, dau. Sumarlidi, s. Uspak, ii. 7, 190
Thora, dau. Thorberg, s. Arni ; w. Harold Hardrádi, 588 ; ii. 13, 20, 26
Thora, sis. Arinbiorn, s. Thori, 458
Thora Borgarhiortr, w. Ragnar Lodbrok, 299
Thora Lace-hand, sis. Thori the chief, s. Harold Fairhair, 394, 395
Thorarin, 550
Thorarin, f. Hall, 493
Thorarin, f. Thomas, ii. 358
Thorarin, law-speaker, 388
Thorberg, s. Arni, ii. 17, 26
Thorbiorg, sis. Steinolf the Short, 337
Thorbiorn, nobleman in Shetland, ii. 162
Thorbiorn, s. Einar, s. Ketil, 381
Thorbiorn, s. Vifil the freedman, 381, 382
Thorbiorn Black, 408
Thorbiorn Clerk, s. Thorstein Fiaransmudr, ii. 139, 192, 194, 237, 238, 255
Thorbiorn Earl's-champion, 329, 344, 385, 387
Thorbiorn Laxa-karl, 319, 320, 325, 329
Thorbiorn of Vatn, 382
Thorbiorn Skrofudr, s. Kiallak, s. Biorn the Strong, 348
Thorbiorn Skuma, s. Bodvar Bladderpate, 343, 344
Thorbiorn Sporr, s. Bodvar Bladderpate, 343, 344
Thorbiorn Talkni, s. Bodvar Bladderpate, 343, 344
Thord, s. Biorn Butter-keg, 336 ; called Hofda-Thord, 336
Thord, s. Bryniólf, s. Biorn, 394
Thord, s. Eystein Mein-fret, 383, 384
Thord, s. Skati, s. Erp, 384
Thord, s. Skopti of Gizki, ii. 115
Thord, s. Vermund, ii. 358
Thord Drowsy, 485
Thord Horse-head, s. Snorri, s. Hofda-Thord, 337
Thord Skáld, s. Kolbein, s. Thord, 383
Thord Skeggi, s. Hrapp, s. Biorn Buna, 315, 344, 346
Thord Vagagdi, 315, 317
Thord Yeller, s. Olaf Feilan, 306, 337, 361, 362, 381, 387, 388
Thordis, dau. Biorn, s. Hofda-Thord, 336
Thordis, dau. Einar, s. Ketil, 381
Thordis, dau. Olaf Feilan, 387, 388
Thordis, dau. Side-Hall, ii. 7
Thordis, dau. Súr, 362
Thordis, dau. Turf-Einar, 393
Thored, s. Gunner, 472
Thorey, dau. Ozur, 530
Thorfinn. ? *See also* Finntur
Thorfinn, s. Harold, s. Matad, ii. 238, 347, 348, 350
Thorfinn, s. k. Gallgaidil (or s. Alan of Galloway ?), ii. 383
Thorfinn, s. Óttar, ii. 231
Thorfinn, s. Sigurd, s. Hlodve ; e. Caithness, e. Orkney, lxxxii, 337, 379, 508, 510, 511, 528, 542, 543, 552-554, 556-557, 559-565, 567-568, 577, 578, 584-586, 589, 590 ; ii. 2-6, 11, 13, 26, 190, 369
Thorfinn, s. Sigvaldi, ii. 614

Thorfinn, s. Thori; of Allerdale, ii. 37
Thorfinn Karlsefni, s. Thord Horsehead, 337, 492
Thorfinn Skull-cleaver, s. Turf-Einar; e. Orkney, 379, 380, 393, 462, 465, 481-484, 497, 530
Thorfinn Strong, 418, 421, 423
Thorgeir. *See also* Tomrar
Thorgeir, f. Ari, ii. 358
Thorgeir, s. Halli, ii. 188
Thorgeir, s. Hofda-Thord, 336
Thorgeir, s. Vifil the freedman, 381, 382
Thorgeir Godi, 382
Thorgeir Gollni, s. Ufeig (or s. Thorolf), 503
Thorgeir Klaufi, 393
Thorgeir Meldun, settler in Iceland, 345
Thorgeir Skorargeir, 503
Thorgeir Thorn-foot, 395
Thorgerd, dau. Dales-Alf, 337, 382
Thorgerd, dau. Egil, s. Skallagrim, 382
Thorgerd, dau. Gisli, s. Thord, 384
Thorgerd, dau. Hauskuld, s. Dales-Koll, 382, 383
Thorgerd, dau. Thorstein the Red, 306, 312, 382-384
Thorgest. *See* Tuirgeis
Thorgest, s. Thordis, dau. Einar, 381
Thorgils, b. Stavanger, ii. 607, 617, 640, 641, 646, 656
Thorgils, s. Eilif, s. Helgi Bióla, 510
Thorgils, s. Gelli, s. Thorkel, 306, 362, 379, 491
Thorgils, s. Harold Fairhair, 393-395
Thorgils, s. Niall, ii. 508
Thorgils, s. Thord the Drowsy, 485, 486
Thorgils Gloppa, ii. 633
Thorgils Orraskáld, s. Thorvard, s. Thorbiorn Black, 408
Thorgils Reydarsída, 362
Thorgils Skarthi, ii. 595
Thorgils Sprakaleggr, 596-598; ii. 12
Thorgny, e. in Denmark, 469
Thorgrim, s. Thorstein Codbiter and Thora, dau. Olaf Feilan, 306, 361, 362, 387
Thorgrim Bill, 345
Thorgrim Skin-cap, baron in Uplands, ii. 130
Thorgrim Tangle, s. Kiallak, s. Biorn the Strong, 348
Thorhild, dau. Thorstein the Red, 312, 382, 383
Thorhild Riupa, dau. Thord Yeller, 336
Thori, archb. Nidaróss (†1230), ii. 464
Thori, b. Hamar, ii. 345
Thori, f. Thorfinn, ii. 37
Thori, s. Hakon; chancellor of Norway, ii. 695
Thori, s. Hrafnkel, s. Hrafn, 375
Thori, s. Hróald; a chief, 394, 395, 423
Thori, s. Ketil Flatnose, 347
Thori Cock-partridge, 316
Thori Godless, 344
Thori Klakka, xcii, 487, 506, 508, 509
Thori Longchin, s. Kiotvi the Rich, 321, 322, 336
Thori Silent, s. Ronald of Mærr; e. Mærr, 336, 373, 374, 376, 389
Thori Tree-beard, Danish viking, 373, 377
Thorid, dau. Snorri Godi, 337
Thorkatla, dau. Dales-Koll, 382
Thorkatla, dau. Hergils Hnapprass, 337
Thorkel, f. Ronald and Brodir, ii. 207, 208
Thorkel, s. Blund-Ketil, 388
Thorkel, s. Donald, s. Erp, 384
Thorkel, s. Eola, ii. 96
Thorkel, s. Eyiólf, 306
Thorkel, s. Gelli, s. Thorkel, 306, 337, 491
Thorkel, (s.) Niall, ii. 477
Thorkel, s. Svartkel, 344
Thorkel, s. Thormod, ii. 475, 478, 482, 484; called Thorkel Black, ii. 484
Thorkel, s. Thorstein, 493
Thorkel Fosterer, s. Amundi, 552-553, 556-559, 562-565, 586
Thorkel Fosterer, s. Sumarlidi, ii. 140, 172, 187, 189
Thorkel Hammer-poet, ii. 107, 109, 112, 127, 130
Thorkel Krafla, s. Thorgrim, 529
Thorkel Moon, s. Thorstein, s. Ingolf; law-speaker, 386
Thorkel Walrus (Rostungr), s. Kolbein Carl, ii. 360
Thorlaug, dau. Sæmund the Hebridean, 336
Thorlaug Bósi, ii. 628, 629, 631
Thorleif, a. Nidar-Hólmr, ii. 613, 640
Thorleif, dau. Moddan, ii. 139, 191
Thorleif, law-speaker, 489
Thorleif, s. Bryniólf, ii. 204
Thorleif Spáki (the Wise), 386; s. Horda-Kari, 386
Thorleik, s. Hauskuld, s. Dales-Koll, 382
Thorliót, f. Olvi Riot, ii. 139, 191
Thormod, f. Thorkel, ii. 475
Thormod, slave, 345
Thormod, s. Thorkel, s. Thormod, ii. 475, 478

Thormod, s. Thorkel, s. Thorstein; missionary priest, 493, 508
Thormod Foal's-leg, ii. 379
Thormod Skapti, s. Olaf Broad, 319, 320, 325, 326, 329, 387
Thormod Thasramr, ii. 379
Thormod Thingskorinn, ii. 474
Thorný, dau. Ingolf, s. Orn, 347
Thorodd Tax-barterer, 528-529
Thorolf, b. Blascona, ii. 8
Thorolf, explorer, 338
Thorolf, s. Skallagrim, 395, 410, 411, 413, 417-423
Thorolf Butter, 344
Thorolf Lusarskegg, 464
Thorolf Moster's-beard (Móstrar-skegg), s. Ornolf Fiskreki, 359-362, 388; called s. Thorgils Reydarsída, 362
Thorolf Viligisl, 344
Thororna, dau. Asgeir, s. Erp, 384
Thorp-Morgan, 132
Thorskafiordr, Iceland, 337, 361
Thorstein, f. Kol, 503
Thorstein, f. Thorkel, 493
Thorstein, s. Asbiorn, s. Ketil the Foolish, 340, 347
Thorstein, s. Eric the Red, 381
Thorstein, s. Gulli, ii. 613
Thorstein, s. Havard, s. Gunni, ii. 6
Thorstein, s. Ingolf, s. Orn, 386
Thorstein, s. Side-Hall, 529, 530, 532, 533, 537-539, 541
Thorstein, s. Sigurd, s. Kari, ii. 186
Thorstein, s. Snorri Godi, 381
Thorstein, s. Thora, sis. Arinbiorn, 457, 458
Thorstein Boat, ii. 634
Thorstein (Thór-Stein) Cod-biter, s. Thorolf Moster's-beard, 361, 362, 387-388
Thorstein Fiarans-mudr, ii. 139
Thorstein Leg, s. Biorn Blue-tooth, 342
Thorstein of Hemnes, ii. 460, 461
Thorstein Red, s. Olaf the White and Aud the Deepminded; e. in Scotland, 304, 306, 307, 309, 311, 315, 343, 348, 361-363, 370, 371, 378-380, 382-385, 387, 395, 481
Thorstein Surtr, the Wise; s. Hallstein, s. Thorolf, 361, 362, 382, 383
Thorstein Thynning, s. Kiallak, s. Biorn the Strong, 348
Thorstein White, baron (? of Obrestad), 485, 486
Thorunn, dau. Olaf Feilan. *See* Thora
Thorunn Gronungar-riupa, 315, 346
Thorunn Hyrna, dau. Ketil Flatnose, 311, 313, 330, 347, 350
Thorvald, br. Ketil Thrymr, 317
Thorvald, s. Thorgeir, s. Halli, ii. 188
Thorvald Wide-farer, s. Kodran, 493, 510
Thorvard, s. Thorbiorn Black, 408
Thótn, 306, 308 (*i.e.* Toten, Kristian, Norway)
Thourotte, ii. 515 (*i.e.* Thourout, Flanders)
Thrain, s. Vigfús, 495
Thrandar-holt, Iceland, 329
Thraslaug, dau. Eyvind the Orkney-man, 344
Thrasvík, ii. 236. *See* Freswick
Thrond the Voyager, s. Biorn and Helga, 314, 322, 324-330, 387
Thule, 19, 338, 341, 342, 549
Thurbrand Hold, ii. 40, 41
Thurfrith, hold, leader of Danes, 401
Thuri, e. Huntingdon, e. Midlanders, 595, 596
Thuri, tenant of Edward Confessor, 596
Thurid, dau. Arnbiorn, s. Slettu-Biorn, 382
Thurid, dau. Eyvind the Eastman; w. Thorstein the Red, 311, 379, 384
Thurid, dau. Hall of Mio-dœl, 344
Thurid, dau. Hauskuld, s. Dales-Koll, 382
Thurid, dau. Olaf Feilan, 387. *See* Thordis
Thurid, dau. Ref of Bard, 336
Thurid, sis. Snorri Godi, 529
Thurkil, e., ii. 24
Thurkil, e. Huntingdon, 596
Thurkil, tenant of Edward Confessor, 596
Thurolf, b. Orkney, ii. 8, 229
Thursa-sker, ii. 3, 555
Thurso, Caithness, 541, 577; ii. 193, 215, 236-238, 481
Thurstan, archb. York, ii. 96, 184, 197, 228
Thvatt-á, Iceland, 541
Thverá, Iceland, 329
Thyra, w. k. Gorm the Old, 462
Tiberius II, emperor, 25, 75
Tiberius III, emperor, 191
Tickhill, Humphrey of, ii. 357
Tigernach, k. Lagore, 278, 279, 283
Tigernach, s. Erc and Muiredach, 3, 4
Tigernan Ua-Ruairc, k. Breifne, ii. 270
Tilletai, Adam de, a. Rievaulx, ii. 516, 600
Tilleuil, Peter of, canon of Dunkeld, ii. 564
Tilleuil, Ralph of, ii. 574
Tinchebray, Orne, France, ii. 24, 241
Tinforni, s. Æsa, dau. Kiallak, 348

Tinne, s. Aed, s. Lugaid, 210
Tipperary, 278, 290, 351. *See* Emly
Tirawley, Mayo county, ii. 226, 447
Tirconnell, Donegal, 3, 7, 22, 36, 241, 262 ; ii. 227, 363, 537
Tiree, 18, 53, 66, 70, 112, 182, 248 ; ii. 106, 107, 192
Tirel, Walter, lord of Poix, ii. 119
Tireragh, Sligo county, ii. 227
Tirinn, battle, 184
Tir-Lugdach, Donegal, 22
Tiron, lxxiii ; ii. 142-144, 160, 163, 171, 697, 699, 700
tithes, 267, 365 ; ii. 450, 451
Tochannu Mocu-Fircetea, 39
To-Cummi Mocu-Cein, gs. Sinech, sis. St. Columba ; a priest, 23
Toeni, Godechilde, dau. Ralph de, ii. 145, 155, 200
Toeni, Ralph de, ii. 145, 155, 200
Toeni, Simon de, b. Moray, ii. 196, 275, 276, 307
Tofig Pruda (or Tovi), ii. 30
Toi, chief king of, 52
Toi, tribes of, 52, 106
Toimsnamo. *See* Tuaimsnama
Toirdelbach, s. Murchaid, s. Brian Boroime, xxxv, 533, 536, 538-541
Toirdelbach Ua-Briain, s. Tadc, s. Brian Boroime, ii. 43, 74, 100, 116
Toirdelbach Ua-Conchobair, ii. 143, 226
Toluhólmr, Bergen, ii. 484
Tomaltach, k. Argyle ?, cxlviii
Tomaltach, s. Indrechtach ; k. Ulster, 203
Tomaltach Ua-Conchobair, b. Armagh, ii. 357
Tomnat, w. Ferchar (? s. Connad Cerr), 170
Tomrair Earl, s. of k. Scandinavia, 278, 283, 284, *i.e.* Thorgeir or Thorar. *See* Noreen, Altisländische Grammatik, 43
Tongland, Kirkcudbrightshire, ii. 218, 497, 565
Tönsberg, Norway, 547 ; ii. 455, 461, 577, 609, 674, 675, 683
Torannan, 42
Torfnes, Scotland, 377, 577, 578
Tornan, f. Maelbrigte, 400, 425
Tornellis, de. *See* Tourniele
Torthorwald, Dumfriesshire, ii. 644
Tortu, tree of, 146
torture, 284, 297, 299, 319, 540 ; ii. 605
Tory I., 36, 143, 229
Tosti, s.-in-law of Godwine, 596
Tostig, s. Godwine ; e. Northumbria, 594-598 ; ii. 1, 2, 11-14, 16, 17, 19, 32, 37, 41
Tothail. *See* Tutagual. Cf. the names Tuathal, Tuathalan
Tothalan, Totholan, 171, 178. *See* Tuathalan
Totholan, St., 238
Tough, Aberdeenshire, 603
Toulouse, ii. 155, 235, 240-244, 434
Touraine, ii. 319
Tournai, Belgium, ii. 662
Tourniele, Ralph de la (or de Tornellis), ii. 421
Tours, Touraine, 33, 42 ; ii. 250, 330, 658
Tovi. *See* Tofig
Trabe (or Crave), Stephen, mariner, ii. 422
Traci, ii. 539
Trad Ua-Maelfabaill, chief of Cenel-Fergusa, ii. 415
trade, 280, 317, 318, 337, 394, 495-496, 503, 504, 528 ; ii. 64, 68, 163, 190-194, 238, 334, 379, 427, 503, 537, 594, 626, 682
Tralin, f. Maelgiric, ii. 179
Tranent, Haddingtonshire, ii. 525
Traprain (Dunpender), Haddingtonshire, 129
Trent, R., Nottingham, 16, 402 ; ii. 24, 33, 148
Treoit, 8
Trir, s. Ro-Thrir, cliv
Troch, 367
Trondhjem, Norway, (or Nidaróss) 333, 359, 383, 428, 493, 500, 559 ; ii. 18, 19, 102, 108, 110, 115, 117, 158, 159, 173, 188, 204, 227-230, 334, 335, 360, 361, 382, 430, 483, 485, 544, 546, 547, 573, 599, 608, 609, 634, 648, 655, 673
Troup Head, Banffshire, 226
Tryggvi, ruler of Hebrides, 315, 318
Tryggvi, s. Hakon the Mighty, 488
Tryggvi, s. Olaf, s. Harold Fairhair ; k. in Norway, 462-464, 492
Tryggvi, s. Ulfkel, in Buchan, 469
Tuaimsnama, k. Ossory, cxlv, cxlvi, 184, 185
Tuam, Galway, ii. 212
Tuatan, s. Dimman, s. Saran, 24
Tuathal, b. St. Andrews, ii. 49
Tuathal, f. Aed, 520
Tuathal, k. Leinster, cxlviii
Tuathal, s. Aidan, s. Gabran, cli
Tuathal, s. Artgus ; a. Dunkeld, and b., 295, 296
Tuathal, s. Fergna, s. Angus Mor, cli
Tuathal, s. Morcant, 178
Tuathal, s. Morgan, s. Eochaid Find, cli, clv. (Probably the same as the preceding)
Tuathal, s. Olchu, s. Eochaid, cl

Tuathal Maelgarb, k. Ireland, cxliii, cliv, 17
Tuathalan, a. Cendrigmonaid, 238
Tuathalan, f. Eoganan, 171, 176, 177, 190
Tuathalan, f. Feradach, 198
Tuathan, s. Conall, s. Comgall, cl
Tuda, b. Lindisfarne, 178
Tuirgeis, k. Scandinavians in N. Ireland, xxxiv, 276-277, 279, 280, 284, 394
Tula-Aman of Dunnolly, 193
Tulach-na-Rigna, 283
Tulchan, s. Barrfind, s. Natsluaig, cli
Tulket, Amunderness, ii. 97
Tungardr, Iceland, 348
Tungu-river, Iceland, 384
Tunis, ii. 663
Turf-Einar, s. Ronald of Mærr; e. Orkney, 294, 374-379, 389-393, 459, 461, 462, 481, 530; ii. 15
Turgot, prior of Durham, b. St. Andrews, lvii; ii. 24, 25, 38, 49, 50, 53, 59, 65, 73, 86, 142, 159, 160, 171, 270, 698
Turks, 306
Turpin, b. Brechin, ii. 357
Turriff, Aberdeenshire, 231; ii. 178, 179, 181, 183
Tuscany, ii. 260
Tusculum, ii. 564
Tutagual, s. Chinoch, 13, 73; called Tothail, 73
Tutio, s. Conall, s. Comgall, cl
Tweed, R., 272, 274, 289, 583, 595; ii. 2, 41, 144, 234, 408, 601
Tweedmouth, ii. 373, 374
Tyndrum, Perthshire, 59
Tyne, R., E. Lothian, 406
Tyne, R., Northumberland, 266, 297, 406; ii. 14, 41, 45
Tynedale, lxxix; ii. 235, 240, 597, 678
Tyneford, castle, ii. 408
Tynemoor, battle, 406, 446
Tynemouth, ii. 52, 53, 86, 198, 552
Tynningham, Haddingtonshire, 242, 406, 444; ii. 509, 517, 542
Tynwald, Man, ii. 466, 508
Typiaun, s. Cuneda, 12
Tyre, Palestine, ii. 355, 422
Tyrennus, k. Leinster, 231
Tyrone, 3, 36, 219, 241, 285; ii. 363, 364

Ua-hArtacain. *See* Fiachra
Ua-Baetain. *See* Maurice
Ua-Banain. *See* Maelpatraic
Ua-Briain. *See* Diarmait; Donald; Muirchertach; Murchaid; Toirdelbach; Tadc
Ua-Broein, Tigernach, xcv
Ua-Brolchain. *See* Donald; Flaithbertach
Ua-Cerballain. *See* Florence
Ua-Conchobair. *See* Aed; Conchobar; Croibderg; Diarmait; Donald; Ruadri; Toirdelbach; Tomaltach
Ua-Daigri. *See* Olaf
Ua-Daithi. *See* Muiredach, s. Ainfcellach
Ua-Doraig. *See* Maelissa
Ua-Dubdai. *See* Cosnamaig; Maelruanaid
Ua-Eochada. *See* Duncan
Ua-Fergaile. *See* Gilla-Patraic
Ua-Finnachta. *See* Indrechtach
Ua-Gormain. *See* Florence; Maelmaire
Ua-Liathain. *See* Cormac
Ua-Lochlaind. *See* Conchobar; Maelsechlaind; Muirchertach
Ua-Maeldoraid. *See* Gilla-crist; Maelruanaid
Ua-Maelfabaill. *See* Trad
Ua-Maelnambó. *See* Duncan; Murchaid
Ua-Maelsechlaind. *See* Conchobar; Donald; Fland; Loingsech; Murchaid
Ua-Maigne. *See* Maelciarain
Ua-Morgair. *See* Maelmaedoic
Uanfind, dau. Findbarr, xxxvi
Uargal, f. Muiredach, 253
Ua-Robocain. *See* Duncan
Ua-Ruairc. *See* Tigernan
Ua-Siblen. *See* Findan; Osiblen
Uata, k. Connaught, cxlv
Ua-Torain. *See* Maeleoin
Ua-Uchtain. *See* Macc-nia; Maelmuire
Ubba, k. Frisians, 297. Cf. Ubbi, s. Lodbrok
Ubbanford, ii. 38
Ubbi, s. Lodbrok; leader of Scandinavians, 299. *See* Ubba; Hubba
Ubertus, deacon cardinal, S. Eustachii, ii. 670
Uchtan, ? gf. Maelmuire, 527
Udardus, a. Coupar-Angus, ii. 370
Ufeig. *See also* Ofeig
Ufeig (or Thorolf), gf. Burnt-Niál, 503
Uhtred, f. Thomas, ii. 393, 395, 396, 447. ? *See* Galloway, Uhtred
Uhtred, s. Waltheof; e. Northumbria, li, 544, 583, 595; ii. 37, 39-41, 46
Uhtred, s. Waltheof of Tynedale, ii. 182
Ui-Cellaig-Cualann, 520
Ui-Cendselaig, 525, 536

Ui-Colgan, 283
Ui-Domnaill, ii. 393
Ui-Echach of Muaid, ii. 230
Ui-Echach of Munster, 525
Ui-Fathaig, 405
Ui-Meith, of Monaghan, ii. 271
Ui-Neill, lii, 3, 25, 48, 49, 85, 146, 283; ii. 364. *See* Ailech
Ui-Oengusa, 405
Uist, ii. 106, 107, 109
Uist, North, 341
Ulecotes, Philip de, warden of Durham Castle, ii. 408, 410, 419, 420, 445
Ulf, b. Dorchester, 595
Ulf, s. Harold, s. Godwine, ii. 47
Ulf, s. Hrani, ii. 110, 127, 131
Ulf, s. Nicholas, ii. 127
Ulf, s. Sven Forkbeard, 489
Ulf, s. Thorgils Sprakaleggr; e., 596-598; ii. 5, 12, 229
Ulf Bad, 529
Ulf Disquiet, 533, 537, 538, 540
Ulf Squinter, s. Hogni the White, 337, 382
Ulfkel, f. Tryggvi of Buchan, 469
Ulfkil, k., 478, 479
Ulfliót, law-speaker; a Norwegian, 386
Ulfliót's Laws, 386
Ulfreksfiordr, battle, 550, 555
Ulfrun the Unborn, dau. k. Edmund of East-Angles, 315, 346
Ulf-varin, s. Vali the Strong, 342
Ulli, 11. *See* Ælle, s. Yffe
Ul(r)um, 453 (*i.e.* Blervie ?)
Ulster, Ulstermen (Ulaid), cxliii-cxlvi, 38, 83, 85-89, 147, 149, 162, 183, 199, 203, 229, 230, 254, 257, 260, 403, 488; ii. 94, 114, 128, 132, 134, 158, 271, 296, 363, 364, 395, 503
Ultan, St., of Ard-Breccain, 90, 231
Ulvington, ii. 537
Umfraville, Gilbert de, e. Angus, ii. 499, 534
Umfraville, Odinel de, ii. 289
Una, dau. Steinolf, 319, 325
Uni, of Fair Isle, ii. 192
Unn, w. Thorolf Moster's-beard, 362; called dau. Thorstein the Red, 362
Uplands, Norway; Uplanders, xciii, 306, 320, 321, 337, 373, 463, 589
Upsala, 306
Urb Lluyddawg, 282
Urban, b. Llandaff, ii. 167
Urban III, pope, ii. 310, 312
Urban IV, pope, ii. 564, 596, 600, 604, 606, 643, 644, 658
Urbgen, s. Cinmarc, 12, 13; called Urianus; Ulien; and Erwegende, 127. *See* Run
Urianus, br. Lot, 127. Cf. Urbgen
Urquhart, Elginshire, ii. 233, 700
Urquhart, Inverness-shire, 51
Urquhart, in Ross, 220
Uspak, s. Thordis, dau. Side-Hall, ii. 7, 190
Uspak, viking, 534, 538, 540; br. Brodir, 540
Uspak the Hebridean, s. Dungal, s. Somerled; k. Hebrides, ii. 379, 471-477; surnamed Hakon, ii. 471-473; called s. Ogmund, ii. 471
Uthende, dau. Fedlimid, and sis. Columba, 24
Uviet, Alexander, ii. 583
Uxfrea, s. Wilgils, 11
Uzerche, Corrèze, France, ii. 243

Vacella, Wales, ii. 362
Vagn, s. Aki, s. Palnatoki, 506, 507
Valdemar I, s. Cnut Lavard; k. Holmgardr, 598
Val-des-choux, Côte-d'Or, ii. 471
Valdimar, s. Cnut; k. Denmark, ii. 213
Valerantius, a. Deer, ii. 440
Vali the Strong, 342
Vallis Caulium, or Vallis Olearum, monastic order of, ii. 470, 471
Valognes, Manche; treaty of, ii. 290, 405
Valognes, Alice de, ? dau. Philip, ii. 528
Valognes, P. de, ii. 449
Valognes, Philip de, chamberlain of k. Scotland, ii. 290, 298, 405, 436, 437, 528
Valognes, William de, s. Philip, ii. 437
Valthióf, Valthiuf. *See* Waltheof
Valthiófr, s. Olaf, s. Hrólf, ii. 192
Vanlande, s. Svegther, 306
Varenne, Ada, dau. William (2) de; w. e. Henry, s. k. David, ii. 28, 149, 150, 155, 199, 200, 269, 299, 349, 698
Varenne, Edith, sis. William (2) de, ii. 52
Varenne, Gundred de, sis. Ada, ii. 200
Varenne, Isabella, dau. William (3) de; w. William (4), ii. 125, 200, 252
Varenne, Isabella, dau. William (5) de, ii. 487
Varenne, "Malcolm" de, k., ii. 200
Varenne, William (2) de, s. William, c. Varenne and e. Surrey; 2nd e. Surrey († 11 May, 1138; G. E. C.), ii. 28, 52, 155, 199, 200
Varenne, William (3) de, s. William (2); 3rd e. Surrey, ii. 125, 150, 199-201, 265, 366
Varenne, William (4) de. *See* William, s. k. Stephen

Varenne, William (5) de, s. Isabella dau. William (3), and Hamelin s. Geoffrey V, c. Anjou; 6th e. Surrey, ii. 366, 416, 487
Vatn, Iceland, 382
Vatsskard, Iceland, 336
Vaucelles, Cambrai, Nord, ii. 534
Vaudey, Lincolnshire, ii. 586
Vaudreuil, Le, Eure, ii. 342
Vaux, John de, ii. 583
Vaux, Robert de, ii. 278, 289
Vazi (or Vaxi), foster-brother of Tryggvi, s. Ulfkel, 469
Veçano, Geoffrey de, canon of Cambrai, clerk of papal chamber, ii. 681, 686
Vedrorm, s. Vemund the Old, 316, 317
Vegard of Veradalr, ii. 429
Velaug, dau. Viking, 315, 346
Veleif the Old, 382
Vemund, s. Thorgeir Klaufi, 393
Vemund the Old, 314-318, 346; called s. Viking, 315; s. Vedrorm, s. Vemund the Old, 316-317; s. Ronald, s. Ketil Raumr, 317
Vemund the Old, gf. Vemund the Old, 316, 317
Veradalr, Norway, 316; ii. 429. (Now Værdalen, in Trondhjem)
Vere, Alberic (Aubrey) de, s. Alberic de; 1st e. Oxford, ii. 152
Vere, Hugh de, s. e. Robert, s. e. Alberic; e. Oxford, ii. 493
Vere, Robert de, s. e. Hugh; e. Oxford, ii. 493
Vermaland, Sweden, 458; ii. 548
Verneuil, Eure, ii. 287
Verona, Italy, ii. 310
Vesci, Eustace de, s.-in-law of William, k. Scotland, ii. 328, 372, 390, 410, 419, 420
Vesci, John de, ii. 672, 677
Vesci, William de, s. Eustace, ii. 278, 289, 410, 499
Vesci, William de, s. William, ii. 328
Vestar, s. Ketil Hængr, 325
Vestfold, Norway, 306, 308, 314 (district including Jarlsbergs Amt)
Vestlidi, s. Ketil, 381
Vestmann, s. Thorgeir Klaufi, 393
Vestmar, Hebridean viking, 326, 327
Vestmarar, Norway, 308 (on Skager-Rak)
Veteri Ponte, John de, ii. 499
Veteri Ponte, Robert de, ii. 418
Veteri Ponte, William de, ii. 395
Vethorm, s. Vemund the Old, 314-318; called Vedrorm, 316, 317
Vettalond, Norway, ii. 6 (Wætteland, Bohuslæn)
Vézelay, Yonne, xlix
Victorius, 25
Vididalr, Iceland, 301
Vidkunn, s. John; Norwegian baron, ii. 110, 111, 115, 127, 130-132, 136
Viera (Weir, or Wyre), I., Orkney, ii. 6, 482
Vifil, freedman of Aud, 381, 382
Vifil's-dale, Iceland, 381
Viga-Styr, 381
Vigbiod, Hebridean viking, 326, 327
Vigdis, dau. Olaf Feilan, 387
Vigdis, dau. Thori the Silent, 336
Vigdis, dau. Thorstein the Red, 312, 382, 383
Vigeois, Carrèze, ii. 243
Vigfús, s. Biorn, s. Ottar, 363
Vigleik Priest's-son, ii. 617, 625
Vigsterk, f. Bodvar, 345
Vik, the, Norway, 314, 318, 320, 359, 373, 424, 458, 463, 464, 520; ii. 4, 118, 215, 333, 334, 379, 483, 547, 548, 577, 609
Viking, f. Vemund the Old, 315
Vikrarskeid, Iceland, 380
Vilbald, s. Dubthach, s. Donald, 344
Vilborg, dau. Oswald, 315, 346
Vilgeir, s. Biorn the Eastern, 363
Vilgerd, f. Floki, 338
Vineus. *See* Fine
Vingulmark, Norway, 308 (Christiania district, and Smaalenene)
Vín-heath (Vínheiðr), battle, 385, 395, 410, 412, 414-422
Vínland the Good, 337, 491, 492
Vín-river, 415, 418, 422. ? Cf. Winwæd
Vín-wood, 414 ff
Vipont. *See* Veteri Ponte
Virardus, a. Val-des-Choux, ii. 471
Virgnous. *See* Fergna
Viride Stagnum. *See* Saulseat
Virolec, s. Emchat, 51
Visbur, s. Vanlande, 306
Vitalianus, pope, 171
Vitia, Boiamund de, canon of Asti, ii. 670, 681, 682
Vitry, Andrew de, ii. 241
Vitry, Jacques de, ii. 438, 439
Vivian, presbyter cardinal, S. Stephani in Monte Coeliano; papal legate, ii. 296, 297
Voret, f. Drust, 227
Vortigern. *See also* Foirtgirn
Vortigern, k. Britain, 9
Vuroid. *See* Wroid

wadmals, ii. 359-360. (A hundred wadmals = 120 ells (of 18 inches) = about 5 oz. of fine silver)
Wakefield, Peter of. *See* Pontefract
Walcheles, ii. 534

Walchere, b. Durham, ii. 39-42, 45, 46, 159
Walerand, Robert, seneschal of k. England, ii. 581
Wales, Welsh (Britons; Cymry), li, lx, cxv, 2, 9, 12, 13, 39, 133, 134, 141, 184, 239, 243, 256, 261, 276, 282, 295, 305, 351, 355, 356, 366, 368, 394, 399, 400, 402, 405, 409, 410, 412, 450, 452, 459, 479, 502, 504, 506, 507, 517, 536, 537, 541, 545, 554, 589-592; ii. 42, 49, 103, 110, 111, 113, 144, 145, 219, 235, 259, 260, 317, 383, 384, 388, 389, 391, 392, 423, 508, 517, 527, 538, 588, 591, 682
Wales, North (and Gwynedd; Guenedota), 11, 12, 15, 16, 74, 155, 156, 192, 257, 276, 295, 356, 368, 402, 404, 445, 517, 571, 591; ii. 1, 260
Wales, South (and Dyfed; Demetia), 355, 591, 592; ii. 144, 260
Walgannus, s. Lot, 127
Wallingford, Berkshire, ii. 487
Walls, Orkney, 555
Walo. *See* Gualo
Walran, a. Deer, ii. 495
Walter, a. Arbroath, ii. 590
Walter, a. Dryburgh, ii. 517, 565
Walter, a. Tiron, ii. 296
Walter, archb. York. *See* Gray
Walter, archdeacon. *See* Wisbech
Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, lix
Walter, b. Caithness. *See* Baltrodin
Walter, b. Durham. *See* Kirkham
Walter, b. Glasgow (chaplain of k.), ii. 370, 371, 393, 400, 405, 435, 436, 448, 451, 485
Walter, b. Whithorn, ii. 373, 495
Walter, chamberlain of k. in Roxburgh, ii. 298. *See* Berkeley
Walter, chancellor. *See* Bidun
Walter, prior of Inchcolm, ii. 351
Walter, prior of St. Andrews, ii. 206, 245, 246
Walter, seneschal, ii. 581
Walter Mauclerc, b. Carlisle, ii. 426
Waltham Abbey, Essex, li; ii. 153
Waltheof, a. Melrose, s. Simon I de Senlis, lxxvi; ii. 34, 145, 148, 149, 195, 207, 239, 252, 274, 275, 519
Waltheof, a. Newbattle, ii. 664, 667, 668
Waltheof, br. Gospatric; a. Crowland, ii. 170
Waltheof, e., ii. 194
Waltheof, f. Uhtred; e. Northumbria, 544; ii. 39-41: called Waltheof the Elder, ii. 40, 41
Waltheof, s. Edward, s. Gospatric I, ii. 38
Waltheof, s. Gospatric I; lord of Allerdale, 591; ii. 37, 38, 41, 170
Waltheof, s. Gospatric III; e. Lothian, or e. Dunbar, ii. 37, 264, 278, 306
Waltheof, s. Patrick II, e. Dunbar; rector of Dunbar, ii. 552
Waltheof, s. Siward, s. Biorn; e. Northumbria, lxxvi, 583, 594-595, 598; ii. 14, 20, 24, 32-34, 36, 39-40, 42, 46, 145, 148, 155, 158, 170, 494
Waltheof of Tynedale, ii. 182
Wardbury (Weardbyrig), 402 (? Wardborough, Oxfordshire)
Warden, Bedfordshire, ii. 402, 422, 454, 671
Ware, Hertfordshire, ii. 670, 671
Warenne. *See* Varenne
Warinus, a. Rievaulx, ii. 388
Wark, Northumberland, ii. 235, 278, 288, 406, 582
Warkworth, Northumberland, ii. 157, 158, 278
Warner, ? br. Simon I de Senlis, ii. 147
warranty (security, or protection), 25, 81, 83
Warwick, 402, 596; ii. 408
Wassor, 443 (*i.e.* Waulsort, Namur, Belgium)
Waterford, Ireland, 280, 286, 404-407, 525, 591, 592; ii. 270, 272, 439
Waterford, Skye, 585
Wearmouth, Durham, ii. 23, 25
Wedale. *See* Stow
Wedale, Gillissa of, ii. 308
Wedale, Thomas of, canon of St. Andrews, ii. 679
Wedmore, treaty of, 301
wells, 35, 57, 58, 68
Welsh language, cxxi, cxxvi
Wendland (Mecklenburg), Wends, 309, 492, 504-507, 510, 571, 598
Werter-moors, 426
Wessex, 505, 545; ii. 27. *See* West-Saxons
West Angles, 545. *See* West-Saxons
West-Calder, Midlothian, 164, 234
Westerfalca, s. Sæfugel, 11
West-firth, Skye, ii. 636
Westmen, 341 (*i.e.* natives of British Isles)
Westminster, ii. 14, 55, 121, 163, 183, 414, 571, 676
Westmoreland, 140, 583, 596; ii. 39, 157, 503, 504, 536, 661
Westness, Rousay, Orkney, ii. 6, 140
Westport Bay, Mayo county, ii. 226
Westray, Orkney, ii. 192
West-Saxons, 124, 239, 266, 287, 300, 400, 505, 545

Wether-Grim, s. Asi ; a chief, in Sogn, 315, 346, 382
Wexford, 525 ; ii. 439
Whissendine, Rutland, ii. 492
Whitby, Yorkshire, ii. 216
White-foreigners, White-gentiles, 280, 281, etc. *See* Norwegians
White-men's-land, N. America, 337
Whithorn, Wigtonshire, 4, 7, 192, 246, 248, 254 ; ii. 23, 208, 218, 232, 233, 311, 373, 495, 565, 566, 584, 593, 601, 700
Whitsome, Berwickshire, ii. 523
Whittingham, Haddingtonshire, 366 ; ii. 526, 552
Wick, Caithness, ii. 194, 236, 695
Wicklow, 525
Wide-wall Bay, South Ronaldshay, ii. 615, 616, 637
Wido. *See* Guy
Wigton, ii. 470
Wigtonshire, 6. *See* Galloway
Wilfrith, b. York, 137, 460
Wilgils, s. Westerfalca, 11
William, a. Arbroath ; b. Dunblane, ii. 597
William (II), a. Cîteaux (a. Pratea), ii. 310
William (III), a. Cîteaux, ii. 527, 536
William, a. Clairvaux (a. in Nargune), ii. 415, 422, 434
William (I), a. Coupar, (II) a. Melrose, ii. 196, 352, 357, 368
William (II), a. Coupar. *See* Binin
William (III), a. Coupar, ii. 593
William, a. Culross. *See* Ramsay
William, a. Dryburgh, ii. 371
William, a. Dunfermline, ii. 349, ? 443, 509
William, a. Glenluce, ii. 396, 415
William (I), a. Holme Cultram ; (III) a. Melrose ; a. Rievaulx, ii. 196, 211, 405, 413, 422, 454
William (II), a. Holme Cultram, ii. 211, 491
William, a. Holyrood, ii. 219, 275
William (I), a. Melrose, ii. 195, 239, 268, 308
William, a. Mons Dolorosus, ii. 275
William, a. Newbattle, ii. 586, 597
William, a. Paisley, ii. 441
William, a. Rievaulx. *See* Punchard
William, a. Sawtry, ii. 30
William, a. Selkirk ; a. Tiron, ii. 160, 163
William, a. Vézelay, ii. 250
William, a. Warden, ii. 454
William, archb. York. *See* Greenfield ; Wykeham
William, archdeacon. *See* Maulia
William, b. Argyle, ii. 529
William, b. Brechin. *See* Kilconquhar
William, b. Brechin (dean of Brechin), ii. 664
William, b. Caithness, ii. 451, 535
William, b. Dunkeld, ii. 564
William, b. Glasgow. *See* Bondington ; William Malveisin
William, b. Lincoln. *See* Blois
William, b. Moray ; papal legate, ii. 243-245, 247
William, b. Orkney (†1168). *See* William Old
William, b. Orkney (†1188), ii. 314
William, b. St. Andrews. *See* Fraser ; Lamberton ; William Malveisin ; Wishart
William, b. Worcester. *See* Blois
William, cardinal, b. Sabina (†1251-2), ii. 547
William, chancellor. *See* Comyn ; Fraser
William, chaplain of k. Alexander III, ii. 583
William, clerk of Glasgow, ii. 436
William, clerk of Richard b. Moray, ii. 532
William, c. Aumale. *See* Fortibus ; William, s. Stephen
William, c. Ponthieu and Alençon, ii. 265
William, dean of Cunningham, ii. 388
William, e. Arundel. *See* Aubigny
William, e. Ross, ii. 591
William, e. Sutherland, ii. 451
William, f. Roland, ii. 545
William, master of Berwick. *See* Brun
William, prior of Durham, ii. 431
William, sacrist. *See* Duns
William, s. Duncan ; rector of St. Serffs, xli
William, s. Duncan, s. Morgan ; e. Mar (1242 × 1244 – 1274 × 1281), chancellor (1260 × 1263 – 1266 × 1269), ii. 563, 583, 589, 591, 593, 653, 656
William, s. Duncan II, k. Scotland ; lord of Allerdale, ii. 4, 38, 91, 92 ; called the Nobleman, ii. 4
William, s. Freskin. *See* Moray
William, s. Geoffrey of Anjou ; br. k. Henry II, ii. 252
William, s. Henry, s. David ; e. Northumberland ; k. Scotland, xxxv, xlvii, cxv, cxlii, clvii, 271, 364 ; ii. 28, 150-155, 183, 203-205, 218, 222, 234, 235, 240, 255-264, 268, 269, 276-295, 298-313, 319, 322-330, 343, 347-356, 365-367, 372-377, 389-401, 433-436, ? 444, 457,

488, 489, 493, 506, 528, 539, 560, 561 ; called the Ruddy, i. cxv
William, s. Henry I, k. England ; duke of Normandy, ii. 29, 56, 120, 170, 197
William, s. Henry II, k. England, ii. 29
William, s. Robert, half-br. k. William I ; c. Mortain, ii. 241
William, s. Robert, s. k. Henry I ; e. Gloucester, ii. 240
William, s. Stephen, c. Aumale, ii. 150
William, s. Stephen, k. England ; c. Mortain ; c. Varenne ; 4th e. Surrey ; c. Boulogne, ii. 125, 200, 236, 240, 252
William, s. William ; e. Sutherland, ii. 451
William, s. William, s. k. Duncan II ; the " boy of Egremont," ii. 5, 92 ; called the Prince, ii. 5
William I, s. Florence III ; c. Holland, ii. 418
William I (Conqueror), s. Robert I ; duke of Normandy, k. England, 374, 513, 597, 598 ; ii. 14-16, 18, 20-25, 32-37, 40, 42-48, 91, 145, 148, 149, 234, 241
William II (Rufus), s. William I ; k. England, 192 ; ii. 15, 24, 37, 45, 47-49, 51, 52, 89, 91, 99, 119, 122, 234
William II, s. William I ; k. Sicily, ii. 326
William VII, c. Poitou ; IX, d. Aquitaine, ii. 241
William VIII, c. Poitou ; X, d. Aquitaine, ii. 213, 241
William Earl's-son, s. Patrick I, e. Dunbar, ii. 519, 521, 528, 573
William Longespée, br. k. John ; e. Salisbury, ii. 366, 410, 411, 417, 418
William Malveisin, chancellor of Scotland ; b. Glasgow ; b. St. Andrews, ii. 351, 352, 356, 357, 360, 377, 393, 394, 396, 404, 405, 431, 433-436, 443, 444, 451, 490, 500, 509, 510
William of Holland, k. Germany, ii. 576
William of St. Barbara, b. Durham, ii. 218
William of St. Carileph, b. Durham, ii. 159
William Old, b. Orkney, ii. 2, 96, 192, 229, 266, 314
Wilton, Wiltshire, 507 ; ii. 122, 123
Wimund, b. Man, 521, 580 ; ii. 96-98, 233
Wimund, f. Reginald, ii. 98
Winchester, xxiii, 442, 495 ; ii. 24, 40, 46, 47, 152, 163, 411, 418, 424, 487, 493, 494, 511
Windsor, ii. 52, 159, 271, 385, 411
Winidi, 571
Winwæd, battle, 161, 169, 173-175. ? Cf. Vin-river
Wisbech, Walter of, archdeacon of E. Riding, ii. 431, 432, 433
Wishart, John, ii. 583
Wishart, Robert, b. Glasgow, ii. 662, 663, 676, 677
Wishart, William ; chancellor of Scotland ; b. St. Andrews, ii. 542, 580, 583, 662, 663, 674, 675, 678
wizardry (or wizards), witchcraft, 24, 41, 50, 52, 57, 58, 67, 395, 457, 462, 534, 537 ; ii. 5, 11, 140, 627. Cf. shape-changing : talismans
Woden, 97, 175. *See* Odin
Woden's-field, battle, 300
Wodnesbeorg, battle, 97
Wolf-skins, 322
Wollin I., lxx
Woodstock, Oxfordshire, ii. 167, 281, 310, 311
Woolmet, Midlothian, ii. 522
Worcester, ii. 414, 418
Worcester, Philip de, ii. 383, 384
Worcestershire, xc
Wrad, s. Bargoit ; k. Picts, cxxviii, cxxxv, 267 ; ? called Voret, 227 ; called Feradach, 272
Wrath, Cape, Sutherland, ii. 358, 616, 636
Wroid, f. k. Alpin, 250
Wulfhere, s. Penda ; k. Mercia, 183
Wulfnoth, s. Æthelmær, 597
Wulfnoth, s. Godwine, ii. 47
Wulfwig, b. Dorchester, 595
Wulverley, Warwickshire, ii. 30
Würzburg, lxxviii
Wykeham (or Wykewane), William of, archb. York, lxxviii ; ii. 678
Wyre. *See* Viera
Wyrtgeorn, k. Winidi, 570

Yardley, Northamptonshire, ii. 437
Yarmouth, Norfolk, ii. 694
Ybandonia, 476
Yell Sound, Shetland, ii. 192
Yester, Haddingtonshire, ii. 521
Yffe, s. Uxfrea, 11, 154
Ynglingar, 306
Ynguar. *See* Inguar
Yngve, " k. Turks," 306
Yngve, s. Agne, 306
Yngvild, dau. Ketil Wether, 330, 347, 360

Yngvild, dau. Thorgeir, s. Vifil, 381
Yolande, w. Alexander III. *See* Dreux
York, 14, 31, 127, 192, 248, 254, 292, 296, 297, 300, 366, 412, 431, 441, 456, 457, 460, 535, 536, 593, 594; ii. 2, 14, 17, 23, 24, 37, 165, 184, 224, 230, 280-283, 285, 287, 289, 292-294, 319, 323, 353, 366, 367, 382, 406, 432, 443, 444, 469, 491, 495, 502, 505, 552, 562, 565, 569, 578, 581, 592, 649, 678; treaty of, ii. 502-505
Yorkshire, 140; ii. 39, 154, 235, 536. *See also under* York
Yriar, Austrátt, Norway, 588
Yvo, a. Furness, ii. 183, 184
Yvo, friar of Ayr, ii. 601

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